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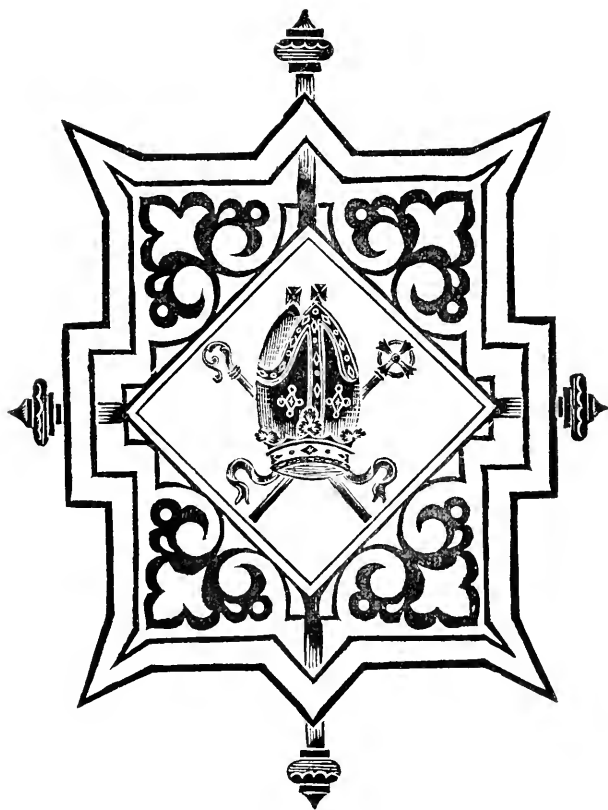
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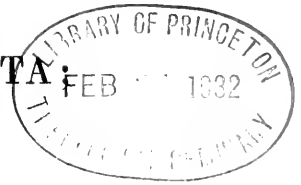
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Ecclesiastical History Society.



Established for the publication and republication
of Church Histories, &c., 1847.

✓
ECCLESIA RESTAURATA;



OR, THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of England.

BY

✓
PETER HEYLYN, D.D.

✓
WITH THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, BY JOHN BARNARD, D.D.

EDITED BY

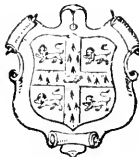
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VICAR OF BEKESBOURNE, IN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,

FOR

The Ecclesiastical History Society.

M.DCCC.XLIX.

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AN
APPENDIX

TO THE FORMER

BOOK,

Touching the Interposings made in
Behalf of the Lady

JANE GRAY,

Publicly Proclaimed

QUEEN of

ENGLAND.

Together with the History of Her Admirable
Life, Short Reign, and most Deplorable Death.

Prov. xxxi. 29.

*Many Daughters have done vertuously; but thou excellest
them all.*

Vell. Patere. lib. 2.

Genere, Probitate, Formâ, *Romanorum* Eminentissima¹, &
per omnia, Deis, quàm hominibus, similior Fœmina.

Cambd. *in Reliquiis.*

*Miraris Janam Graio Sermone loquutam?
Quo primum nata est tempore, Graia fuit².*

LONDON, Printed, Anno Dom. 1660.

¹ Thus far the quotation is from l. ii. c. 75, where the words are used of Livia.

² This is given by Fox, vi. 425, as the composition of Bishop Parkhurst, with the variation of *valere* for *loquutam*.

THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
QUEEN JANE.

ANNO DOM. 1553.

1. **T**HE Lady Jane Gray, whom King Edward had declared Descent of the Lady Jane Grey. for his next successor, was eldest daughter of Henry Lord Gray, Duke of Suffolk and Marquess Dorset, descended from Thomas Lord Gray, Marquess Dorset, the eldest son of Queen Elizabeth, the only wife of Edward the Fourth, by Sir John Gray, her former husband. Her mother was the Lady Frances, daughter, and in fine one of the co-heirs¹, of Charles Brandon, the late Duke of Suffolk, by Mary his wife, Queen Dowager to Lewis the Twelfth of France, and youngest daughter of King Henry the Seventh, Grandfather to King Edward, now deceased. Her high descent, and the great care of King Henry the Eighth to see her happily and well bestowed in marriage, commended her unto the bed of Henry, Lord Marquess Dorset, before remembered—a man of known nobility and of large revenues; possessed not only of the patrimony of the Grays of Groby, but of the whole estate of the Lord Harrington and

148 Bonville, which descended on him in the right of his grandmother², the wife of the first Marquess of Dorset of this name and family. And it is little to be doubted but that the fortunes of the house had been much increased by the especial providence and bounty of the said Queen Elizabeth; who cannot be

¹ Edd. "The Lady Frances's daughter; and in fine, one of the co-heirs."

² Cecily, heiress of her maternal great-grandfather, William Lord Bonville, and also heiress of the Harrington family, through her grandmother, Elizabeth de Harrington, daughter of Lord Harrington.—Nicolas, Synopsis, 71, 304.

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1553.

supposed to have neglected any advantage, in the times of her glory and prosperity, for the advancement of her children by her former husband. In these respects, more than for any personal abilities which he had in himself, he held a very fair esteem amongst the Peers of the realm: rather beloved than revered by the common people¹. For, as he had few commendable qualities which might produce any high opinion of his parts and merit: so was he guilty of no vices which might blunt the edge of that affection in the vulgar sort which commonly is borne to persons of that eminent rank. His wife, as of an higher birth, was of greater spirit; but one that could accommodate it to the will of her husband. Pretermitted in the succession to the crown by the last will and testament of King Henry the Eighth: not out of any disrespect which that King had of her; but because he was not willing to think it probable that either she or the Lady Ellanor, her younger sister, (whom he had pretermitted also in that designation) could live so long as to survive his own three children, and such as in the course of nature should be issued from them.

2. Of this marriage there were born three daughters, that is to say, Jane, Katherine, and Mary. Of which, the eldest, being but some months older than the late King Edward², may be presumed to have took the name of Jane from the Queen Jane Seimour; as Katherine, from Queen Katharine Howard, or Queen Katharine Parr; and Mary, from the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of King Henry, or in relation to her grandmother, his youngest sister. But the great glory of this family was the Lady Jane, who seemed to have been born with those attractions which seat a sovereignty in the face of most beautiful persons; yet was her mind endued with more excellent charms than the attractions of her face—modest and mild of disposition, courteous of carriage, and of such affable deportment as might entitle her to the name of Queen of Hearts, before she was designed for Queen over any subjects. Which native and obliging graces were accompanied with some more profitable ones, of her own acquiring; which set an higher value on them, and much increased the same both in

Her character
and educa-
tion.

¹ "A man for his harmless simplicity neither disliked nor much regarded."—Hayward, 320.

² She was born in 1537.—Biograph. Britannica.

worth and lustre. Having attained unto that age in which other young ladies used to apply themselves to the sports and exercises of their sex, she wholly gave her mind to good arts and sciences; much furthered in that pursuit by the care and diligence of one Mr Elmer, who was appointed for her tutor; the same (if my conjecture deceive me not) who afterwards was deservedly advanced by Queen Elizabeth to the see of London¹. Under his charge she came to such a large proficiency, that she spake the Latin and Greek tongues with as sweet a fluency as if they had been natural and native to her; exactly skilled in the liberal sciences, and perfectly well studied in both kinds of philosophy.

3. For proof whereof, there goes a story², that Mr Roger Ascham (being then tutor to the Princess Elizabeth,) came to attend her once at Broadgates, a house of her father's neighbouring to the town of Leicester: where he found her in her chamber, reading Phædon Platonis in Greek with as much delight as some gentlewomen would have read a merry tale in Geoffery Chaucer³. The Duke her father, the Duchess, and all the rest of the household, were at that time hunting in the park: which moved him to put this question to her, "How she could find in her heart to lose such excellent pastimes?" To which she very cheerfully returned this answer, "That all the pastimes in the park were a shadow only of the pleasure and contentment which she found in that book:" adding moreover, "That one of the greatest blessings God ever gave her, was in sending her sharp parents and a gentle schoolmaster, which
149 made her take delight in nothing so much as in her study." By which agreeableness of disposition, and eminent proficiency in all parts of learning, she became very dear to the young King Edward; to whom Fox⁴ not only makes her equal, but doth acknowledge her also to be his superior in those noble studies. And for an ornament superadded to her other perfections, she was most zealously affected to the true protestant

¹ Strype's Life of Bp. Aylmer. p. 3, ed. Ox. 1821.

² It is related by Ascham himself in his "Schoolmaster."—Works, ed. Bennet, p. 222, where, in a note, is quoted his commendation of Lady Jane, from a letter to Sturmius.

³ "Boeace" in the original passage.

⁴ vi. 384.

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religion, then by law established ; which she embraced, not out of any outward compliance with the present current of the times ; but because her own most excellent judgment had been fully satisfied in the truth and purity thereof. All which together did so endear her to the King, that he took great delight in her conversation, and made it the first step to that royal throne to which he afterwards designed her in the time of his sickness.

Designs of
Dudley, Earl
of Warwick.

4. Thus lived she in these sweet contentments till she came unto the years of marriage, when she, that never found in herself the least spark of ambition, was made the most unhappy instrument of another man's. Dudley of Warwick, a person of a proud, deceitful, and aspiring nature, began to entertain some ambitious thoughts, when Edward first began to reign ; but kept them down as long as his two uncles lived together in peace and concord. But, having found a means to dissolve that knot, occasioned by the pride and insolency of the Duchess of Somerset, one as ill natured as himself, he first made use of the Protector to destroy the Admiral, and after served himself by some Lords of the court for humbling the Lord Protector to an equal level with the rest of the Council. Finding by this experiment how easy a thing it was to serve his turn by them on all other occasions, he drew unto himself the managing of all affairs ; none being so hardy as to question any of his actions, and much less to cross them. But, not content with being looked on as the chief in power, he is resolved to make himself the first in place ; thinking no private greatness to be answerable to so great a merit as he had fancied in himself. Thus busying his unquiet thoughts upon new designs, and passing from one imagination to another, he fixed at last upon a purpose of husbanding the opportunities to his best advantage in transferring the crown into his own family, which he thought capable enough of the highest honours.

5. "For why," said he within himself, "should not the son of a Dudley, being the more noble house of the two, be thought as capable of the imperial Crown of this realm as the son or grandchild of a Scimour ? Though I pretend not to be born of the race of Kings, yet I may give a King to England of my race and progeny, on as good grounds as any which derive themselves from Owen Tudor, the ancestor of the boy now

reigning. That family pretended only from a daughter to the house of Somerset, and there are now some daughters of the house of Suffolk which may pretend as much as she. If, by a match into that house, I can find a way to bring the crown into my own, I shall want no precedents at home, and find many abroad. Some dangers may present themselves in the pursuit of this enterprise: but dangers are to be despised, as in all great actions, so chiefly when a crown is aimed at. It is resolved that I will try my fortune in it: which if it prosper to my wish, I shall live triumphantly; if I sink under the attempt, I shall perish nobly." Which being concluded and resolved on, he first insinuates himself into the good affections of the Marquess of Dorset, whom he assisted in his suit for the title of Suffolk, which without him was not to be gained: exalts himself to the like glorious title of Duke of Northumberland, that he might stand on equal ground with the proudest of them: and, in a word, so cunningly prepareth his toils for the Duke of Somerset, that at the last he fell into them, never to be set free again until death released him: all which particulars have been at large laid down in the former history. And this being done, he suffered the young King to wear out all the following year, the better to avoid all popular suspicion that his uncle's death was only hastened to make way for his. And possible it is that he might have tired it out a little longer, but for a smart jest which he put upon this ambitious minister. The King took great delight in his bow and arrows; and, shooting one day at the butt (as he used to do) hit the very white. "Well aimed, my Liege," said merrily the mighty Duke. "But you aimed better," said the King, "when you shot off the head of my uncle Somerset¹." Which words so stang the conscience of the guilty man, that he could not think himself secure, but by accelerating his design for settling the crown upon the head of one of his children, according to the plot which he had hammered in the forge of his wretched brain.

6. For now, the King beginning sensibly to decay, he takes his time to enter into communication with the Duke of Suffolk, about a marriage to be made betwixt the Lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, and the Lady Jane Gray, the Duke's eldest daughter: which, with the rest of the marriages before²

¹ Fuller, iv. 119.

² i. 293.

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mentioned, being propounded and concluded—(for he was grown too great, and known to be too dangerous, to be denied in any reasonable suit)—a day was set, in which this excellent lady was to be transplanted into the family of the Dudleys; a day which she expected with a virgin modesty, and, after the solemnity of the nuptial rites, delivers her pure body to the chaste embraces of a virtuous consort; who, of all Dudley's brood, had nothing of the father in him. All which succeeding to his wish, he sets himself to the accomplishing of that project which he had long before designed. The King was now grown weak in body and decayed in spirits, and in that weak estate he takes his opportunities to inculcate to him what infinite blessings had been derived from him on this Church and nation, by the blessed reformation of religion, so happily begun and brought to such perfection by him: that it must therefore be his care so to provide for the continuance of those infinite blessings, that posterity might enjoy the benefit and comfort of it, which would gain him a more precious memory amongst his subjects than all his other princely virtues: that nothing was more feared by all sorts of people, than that the Crown imperial (if it should please Almighty God to call him to a crown of glory) would fall upon the head of the Lady Mary, a princess passionately affected to the interest of the Church of Rome, and one who, by her marriage with some potent prince of that religion, might captivate the free-born English nation to a foreign servitude: that both his sisters, being born of disputed marriages, and howsoever being but his half-sisters only, and by several venters¹, could neither be heirs to him nor to one another, by the known laws of the land, which neither Acts of Parliament nor the last Will and Testament of the King deceased were of power to alter: that the young Queen of Scots was an alien born, by consequence incapable of any inheritance in the realm of England, and had, besides, preferred the alliance of the French before that of his Majesty, which rendered her as unworthy as she was incapable: that, for the better carrying on of that blessed work of reformation, the peace and happiness of his people, the preventing of all emergent mischiefs, and his own everlasting fame, it was not possible to make a more happy provision than by transferring the crown

King Edward
is persuaded
to settle the
crown on the
Lady Jane.

¹ Edd. 1, 2, "ventures."

to the Lady Jane, a lady of such excellent virtues as were sufficient to adorn the richest diadem: that there was no question to be made, but that his Majesty knew as well as any the amiable qualities of that matchless lady, her zeal to the religion here by him established, the agreeableness of her conversation with his own affections, and could not but conceive that nation to be infinitely happier than all others, which might fall under the command of so mild a government: and finally, that he was bound by his duty to God, the light of his own conscience, and the love he had to all his subjects, to lay aside all natural affections to his father's house, in respect of that great obligation which he had to God's glory and the true religion; following therein the example of our Lord and Saviour, who looked both for his brothers and sisters amongst his disciples, without relating to his nearest kindred by Joseph or Mary¹.

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151 7. By these suggestions and inducements, he much inclined the King to hearken to his propositions. For furtherance whereof, he caused such as were about him to entertain him with continual discourses of the divine perfections and most heavenly graces of the Lady Jane; the high esteem in which she was with all the subjects for her zeal and piety; the everlasting fame which would wait upon him, by providing such a successor to enjoy the Crown, in whom his² virtues would survive to succeeding ages. Than which no music could sound sweeter in the ears of the King, whom he knew to have an affectionate sympathy with that excellent lady, as being much of the same age, brought up in the same studies, as near to him in the sweetness of her disposition as she was in blood, and of a conversation so agreeable to him as if they had been but the same person in divers habits. And they all plied their game so cunningly, that the weak King, not being able to withstand so many assaults, did at last condescend to that which he found not only most conformable to their importunities, but to his own affections also. Order was taken thereupon, that an instrument should be drawn in due form of law, for the transposing of the Crown to the children of the Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, and daughter

¹ This argument is abridged from Fox, vi. 384.

² "His," not in edd. 1, 2.

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to Mary the French Queen, one of the sisters of King Henry, his Majesty's father. In which instrument nothing was to be defective, which either could be drawn from the grounds of law or the rules of polity to justify and endear the action. In drawing up whereof, there was none thought fitter to be used than Sir William Cecil, one of the chief Secretaries of Estate, who, having before served Dudley's turn against his old master the Duke of Somerset, was looked on as the readiest man for the present service¹.

8. The pretensions taken from the law, for excluding the King's two sisters from the right of succession, were grounded², first, upon the invalidity of their mother's marriage—both being made void by legal sentences of divorce, and those divorces ratified by Acts of Parliament, in which the said two sisters were declared to be illegitimate, and consequently incapable of any of those favours which were intended to them by the Act of Succession, made in the thirty-fifth year of the late King Henry, or by the last Will and Testament of that King, which was built upon it. In the next place, it was pretended that the said two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, being but of half blood to the King now reigning (admitting them to have been born in lawful wedlock), were not in any capacity by the common law, (the old good law of England), to be heirs unto him, or to succeed in any part of that inheritance which came unto him by his father. It was considered also, that, by the known rules and principles of the common law, no manner of person was inheritable to any estate of lands or tenements in the realm of England, who was not born under the King's allegiance, as King of England, but in the case of naturalization by Act of Parliament; which seemed to be a sufficient bar against all titles and demands for the line of Scotland, although derived from Margaret, the eldest daughter of King Henry the Seventh. And whereas the Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, might seem, both by the law of nature

¹ On Hayward's statement to this effect, Strype, *Ecel. Mem.* ii. 480, remarks, "as for Cecil, he was so far from assisting and drawing up this instrument of settlement, that he opposed it as much as he could,—(and so Camden expressly saith)—though he signed with the rest."

² Hayward, 325*; Camden, *Eliz.* 366.

and the right of succession, to have precedency in title before her daughter; yet was no injury offered to her, in regard that she was willing to pass by all her personal claims for the preferment of her children. Which pretermissions of the mother were neither new nor strange in the succession to the Crown of this kingdom. Not new, because the like was done by Maud the Empress, for the advancement of her son King Henry the Second: nor strange, because it had been lately practised in the person of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, in giving way to the preferment of King Henry the Seventh, the first King of the house now regnant.

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9. The reasons or pretexts which seemed to be built on polity and point of state, were: first, the unavoidable danger of reducing this free and noble realm under the vassalage and servitude of the Bishop of Rome, if either of the King's two sisters, in their several turns, should marry with a foreign Prince of that religion, or otherwise, by the transport of their own affections, submit their sceptres to the Pope¹.

10. It was considered also, that by such marriages not only many foreign customs and laws would be introduced; but that there might follow an abolishment of those ancient laws upon which the native rights of all the subjects seemed to have dependence. Besides, that possibly the realm might hereby be annexed to some greater kingdom; of which in time it would be reckoned for a member, and consequently be reduced unto the form of a province, to the utter subversion of the ancient dignity and estate thereof. Which whensoever it should happen, it was neither impossible nor improbable, that the people, upon a just sense of the indignities and pressures, might elect some popular and seditious man to be their king, who, to countenance his own unworthiness and obscurity, would little regard what contumely he cast upon the falling family of the kings before him². To which perchance some further countenance might be added from the holy Scriptures, where Solomon is found to be preferred unto the throne by David before Adonijah:—the youngest son before the eldest: a child before a man experienced and well grown in years. And some examples also might be had of

¹ Hayward, 326*.

² Ibid.

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the like transpositions in the realm of Scotland, in Hungary, Naples, and elsewhere: enough to shew that nothing had been done in this great transaction which was not to be preceded in other places. Upon all which considerations, it was thought most agreeable to the rules of polity, that the King, by letters patent under the Great Seal of England, should so dispose of the possession of the Crown (with such remainders and reversions, as to him seemed best) as might prevent such inconveniencies and emergent mischiefs as might otherwise happen: which could not better be effected, than by setting the crown on the head of the Lady Jane—a lady of royal blood, born in the realm, brought up in the religion now by law established, married already to a person of desert and honour; and such an one in whom all those graces were concentrated which were sufficient to adorn all the rest of her sex.

11. These¹ reasons being thus prepared, the next care was, to have the instrument so contrived in due form of law, that nothing might be wanting in the style and legalities of it which might make it any way obnoxious to disputes and questions. For the doing whereof, it was thought necessary to call in the assistance of some of the Judges, and others of his Majesty's Council learned in the laws of this realm; by whose authority it might be thought more passable amongst the people. Of all which rank, none were thought fitter to be taken into the consultation than Sir Edward Montague²: not only as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and very well experienced in his own profession, but because, he being one of the executors of the King deceased, his concurrence with the rest of the Council seemed the more considerable. A letter is therefore sent unto him on the eleventh of June, subscribed by the Lord Treasurer³, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Bedford, and Pembroke, the Lord Admiral Clinton, the Lord Darcie, Sir John Gates⁴,

¹ Edd. 1, 2. "Thus."

² The authority for the account here given, is a narrative drawn up by Montague himself, and communicated by his great-grandson, Lord Montague of Boughton, to Fuller, who printed it in his Ch. Hist. iv. 137—146.

³ Paulet, Marquess of Winchester.

⁴ Edd. 1, 2, "Gale."

Sir William Petre, Sir William Cecil, and Sir John Cheek. AN. DOM.
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By the tenor whereof he was commanded to attend upon their Lordships the next day, in the afternoon, and to bring with him Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Firstfruits and Tenths, Master Justice Bromeley, together with the Attorney- and Solicitor-General. Being brought into the King's presence, at the time appointed, whom they found attended by the Lord Treasurer and some others of those who had subscribed the former letter: the King declared himself with a weak voice to this effect: viz. That "He had considered in his sickness, of the estate of his realm; which if it should descend on the Lady Mary, who was then unmarried, it might so happen that she might marry a stranger born, whereby not only the laws of the realm might be changed and altered, but all his own proceedings in religion might be also reversed; 153 that it was his pleasure, therefore, that the crown should descend after his decease unto such persons, and in such form, as was contained in certain Articles then ready to be shewed unto them, to be by them digested and disposed of in due form of law."

12. These Articles when they had perused and considered of, they signified unto the King that they conceived them to be contrary to the Act of Succession, which, being made in Parliament, could not be frustrated or made ineffectual but by Parliaments only. Which answer notwithstanding, the King, without allowing further time or deliberation, commanded them to take the Articles along with them, and give the business a dispatch with all speed as might be. But finding greater difficulties in it than had appeared unto their Lordships, they made a report unto them at their next attendance, that they had considered of the King's Articles and the Act of Succession; whereby it appeared manifestly, that, if they should make any book concerning the King's commandment, they should not only be in danger of treason, but their Lordships also. The sum of which report being certified to the Duke of Northumberland (who, though absent, was not out of call), he came in great rage and fury to the Council-chamber, called the Chief Justice traitor, affirmed that he would fight in his shirt in that quarrel against any man living, and behaved himself in such an outrageous manner as put both Montague and Justice Bromeley

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in a very great fear that he would have struck them¹. Called to the Court again, by a letter of the fourteenth of the same month, they found the King more earnest in it than he was before; requiring them, with a sharp voice and a displeased countenance, to dispatch the book, according to the Articles delivered to them; and telling them that he would have a Parliament shortly to confirm the same. When nothing else would serve the turn, answer was made, that his commandment should be obeyed; upon condition that they might be commissioned so to do by his Majesty's warrant, under the Great Seal of England, and have a general pardon for it when the deed was done.

13. Not daring longer to resist, and having made as good provision as they could for their own indemnity, they betook themselves unto the work, digested it in form of law, caused it to be engrossed in parchment, and so dispatched it for the Seal to the Lord Chancellor Goodrick, sufficiently prepared beforehand not to stick upon it. But then appeared another difficulty amongst the Lords of the Council: some of which, not well satisfied with these proceedings, appeared as backward in subscribing to the instrument, before it went unto the Seal, as the great lawyers had done at the first, in being brought to the employment. But such was the authority which Dudley and his party had gained amongst them, that some for fear, and some for favour, did subscribe at last:—a zeal to the reformed religion prevailing in it upon some; a doubt of losing their church-lands more powerfully over-swaying others; and all in fear of getting the displeasure of that mighty tyrant, who by his power and practices carried all before him. The last that stood it out was Archbishop Cranmer. Who, being sent for to the Court, when all the Lords of the Council and most of the Judges of the realm had subscribed the instrument, refused to put his hand unto it, or to consent to the disherison of the late

¹ It was not the first time that Montague had been terrified by the "vultus instantis tyranni." The story is well known, how, when he was Speaker of the House of Commons, and a difficulty was made about granting a supply, Henry VIII. sent for him, and "laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, he said, 'Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of your's shall be off.'"—Hume, iv. 397.

King's daughters. After much reasoning of the case, he requires a longer time of deliberation; consults about it with some of the most learned lawyers, and is finally sent for by the King: who, having fully set his heart upon the business, did use so many reasons to him in behalf of religion, and plied him with such strong persuasions in pursuance of them, that at the last he suffered himself to be overcome by his importunities, and so subscribed it with the rest¹. Only Sir James Hales, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, carried the honour of a resolute and constant man—not only from those of his own rank, but even from all the Lords of the Council, and almost all the peers of the realm to boot; who, being a man observed to be both religious and upright, did very worthily refuse to subscribe, and was afterwards as unworthily requited by Queen Mary for it².

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154 14. Yet, notwithstanding all these rubs, the project was driven on so fast by the hasty Duke, that by the one and twentieth of June, the letters patent were made ready to pass the Seal; which was about a fortnight before the death of

¹ Godwin, Ann. 165; Strype, Cramm. ii. 420-2, Ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. The instrument is printed in Strype's Appendix, No. 68.

² Hayward, 326*. "In the meanwhile [at the beginning of Mary's reign] many men were forward in erecting of altars and masses in churches. And such as would stick to the laws made in King Edward's time, till others should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended; among whom Sir James Hales, a Knight of Kent and Justice of the Common Pleas, was one; who, notwithstanding he had ventured his life in Queen Mary's cause, in that he would not subscribe to the disinheriting of her by the King's Will, yet for that he did, at a Quarter-sessions, give charge upon the Statutes made in the time of King Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, for the Supremacy and Religion, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea Compter and Fleet, and so cruelly handled and put in fear, by talk that the Warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of such torments as were in preparing for heretics,—or for what other cause God knoweth—that he sought to rid himself out of this life, by wounding himself with a knife, and afterward was contented to say as they willed him: whereupon he was discharged. But, after that, he never rested till he had drowned himself in a river, half a mile from his house in Kent."—Fox, vi. 394-5. Comp. vi. 710-717, where the story of Judge Hales is more fully told. Hasted states that at the time of his suicide he was on a visit to his nephew at Thanington, near Canterbury.—Hist. of Kent, iii. 584.

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the King. During which interval, he had another game to play: which was the getting into his power the Princess Mary; whom, of all others, he most feared, as the most likely person to destroy his whole contrivance. For well he knew that, if she stood upon her right, as no doubt she would, she was not only sure of a strong party in the realm, who still remained in good affections to the Church of Rome; but that her party here would be backed and countenanced by her alliances abroad, who could not but prefer and support her interest against all pretenders. He therefore must make sure of her, or else account all void and frustrate which was done already. And, that he might make sure of her, he so prevailed that letters were directed to her, in the King's name, from the Lords of the Council—willing her forthwith to resort to the King; as well to be a comfort to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about him¹. The Lady, suspecting no lurking mischief, addressed herself with all speed to the journey; expressing great joy, that either her company or her service should be esteemed needful to the King. But as she was upon the way, and within half a day's journey of the Court, she received advice both of the King's desperate estate and of the Duke's designs against her: whereupon she returned in haste to her house at Hunsdon², where in a very short time she heard the sad news of her brother's death; who died upon the sixth of July, as before was said. Which being the same day of the month on which King Henry had taken off the head of Sir Thomas More³, for his adhesion to the Pope, the interest of Queen Katharine Dowager and the Princess Mary gave an occasion unto those of the Romish party to look upon it as a piece of Divine retribution, in taking away the life of his only son on the same day also.

Proceedings
for establish-
ing her as
Queen.

15. Two days the death of the King was by special order kept so secret that it was known to very few about the Court. And it concerned them so to do: partly in expectation of the coming of the Princess Mary, whom they knew to be upon the way; and partly to make sure of the city of London, the favour and fidelity whereof was of great importance for the

¹ Hayward, 327.

² Edd. Heyl. "Hoveden."

³ Thuan. l. xiii. c. 1. (Tom. i. p. 439).

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carrying on of the design¹. But understanding by their espials that the Princess Mary was retired—a message was sent on Saturday, the 8th of July, to Sir George Barns, the Lord Mayor of London, requiring him, in the name of the Lords of the Council, to give his attendance at the court, and bring with him six of the principal aldermen, six merchants of the staple, and as many of the company of merchant-adventurers. No haste was wanting on their parts; and, coming at the time appointed, they were privily informed by some of the council (but in the name of all the rest) that the King was dead, and that he had declared by his letters patents, under the great seal of England, subscribed by all the Lords of the Council and almost all the peers of the realm, that his cousin the Lady Jane Gray was to succeed him in the crowns of England and Ireland, as the most true, certain, and undoubted heir of all his dominions. Which being signified unto them, it was no hard matter to obtain their consent to that which they were not able to deny. And so, upon a promise of their best assistance to promote the cause, and to keep secret the King's death until further order, they were dismissed unto their houses.

16. It is an ancient custom of the Kings of England, immediately on the death of their predecessors, to provide their lodgings in the Tower²; taking possession, as it were, by that royal fortress, of the rest of the kingdom; and from thence passing in a solemn and magnificent manner through the principal streets of London to their coronation. According to which ancient custom, the lodgings in the Tower being fitted and prepared for the Queen's reception, the Lords of the Council passed over from Greenwich on Monday, the 10th of the same month. A letter had been brought the night before from the Princess Mary, who had received advertisement of her brother's death³, notwithstanding all their care and diligence in labouring to conceal it from his nearest servants; which made them meet the earlier and in greater numbers, to return an answer thereunto. The Princess knew her own right, and the wrong which

¹ Thuan. xiii. 2. (T. i. 439.)² Ib.³ In the numbering of the old editions, pp. 155-6 are omitted, and pp. 159-160 are doubled.⁴ By a note from the Earl of Arundel.—Lingard, vii. 111.

AN. DOM. was intended to her ; both which she signified unto them in
 1553. these following words :

Letter of
 Mary to the
 Council.

“ 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 thereto belonging, what hath been provided by Act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the realm and the whole world knoweth : the rolls and records appear, by the authority of the King our said father, and the King our said brother, and the subjects of this realm. So that we verily trust that there is no good true subject that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof : and of our part, we have of ourselves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause, our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother dying¹ upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof ;—yet we consider your wisdom 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 common wealth, 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, that ye yet 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 bands² and provisions forcible wherewith you be assembled and prepared : by whom and to what end God and you know ; and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be

¹ Holinshed, iii. 1066, and Heylyn read “ the dying of our said brother.”

² Ed. 1, 2, “ hands.”

it that some consideration politic or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto ; yet doubt ye 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 eschew¹ bloodshed and vengeance against all those that can or will intend the same ; trusting also assuredly that ye 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 all our affiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my Lords, we require you and charge you that² every of you, of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person only employ yourselves ; and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and governance 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 that behalf.

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“ Given under our signet, at our manor of Kenning-hall, the 9th of July, 1553³.”

158 17. This letter seemed to give their Lordships no other
[156] trouble than the returning of an answer. For well they knew that she could do no less than put up her claim ; and they conceived that she was not in a condition for doing more. Only it was thought fit to let her know what she was to trust to—the better to prevent such inconveniences as might otherwise happen. And to that end an answer was presently dispatched, under the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, the Marquesses of Winchester and Northampton, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke, the Lords Cobham and Darcie, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir William Petre, Sir William

¹ “ Pardon the same ; and that to eschew.”—Holinshead and edd. Heylyn.

² Edd. Heyl. read “ and ” for “ that.”

³ Fox, vi. 335.

AN. DOM. Cecil, Sir John Check, Sir John Mason, Sir Edward North,
1553. Sir Robert Bowes¹. The tenor whereof was as followeth :

Answer of
the Council.

“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 King Edward the Sixth (a Prince of most noble memory) invested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm—not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late Sovereign Lord’s letters patents, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of 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 bounden² duty and allegiance, assent³ 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 realm⁴ and you also, to advertise you, that, forasmuch as the divorce made between the King of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and the Lady Katharine your mother, was necessary to be had, both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and the most part of the noble and learned universities in Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry Acts of parliaments remaining yet in force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and unhereditary to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rule⁵ 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

¹ Lord Rich and Sir John Gates are among the subscribers in Fox and Holinshed.

² Edd. Heyl. “bound.”

³ Edd. 1, 2, “and assent.”

⁴ Edd. Heyl. “both for the quiet of the realm,” (omitting “but”).

⁵ Edd. 1, 2, “rules.”

King, our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, and agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence¹ to vex or molest any of our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane her subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her Grace : assuring you that, if you will for respect shew yourself quiet and obedient (as you ought) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may ; and be glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous to us, to yourself, and to them.

“ And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare, &c.²”

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[157] 18. These letters being thus dispatched, and no further danger seeming to be feared on that side, all things are put in readiness against the coming of the Queen, who, the same day, about three of the clock in the afternoon, was brought by water to the Tower, attended by a noble train of both sexes, from Durham-house, in the Strand, where she had been entertained as a part of Dudley's family ever since her marriage. She could not be ignorant of that which had been done in order unto her advancement to the royal throne ; and could not but conceive that her being conducted to the Tower in that solemn manner did portend somewhat which looked toward a coronation. But still she hoped that either she should hear some good news of the King's recovery, or of the altering of his purpose ; and that she might be suffered to enjoy those divine contentments which she had found in the repose of a studious life. But when she came into the presence of the two Dukes, her father and her father-in-law, she observed their behaviour towards her to be very different from that which they had used before. To put her out of which amazement it was signified to her by the Duke of Northumberland, that “ the King was dead, and that he had declared her for his next successor in the crown imperial. That this declaration was approved by all the Lords of the Council, most of the peers, and all the judges of the land, which they had testified by the subscription of their names, and all this ratified and confirmed by letters patents, under the great seal of England : that the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and some of the principal citizens had

¹ Edd. 1, 2, “pretents.”

² Fox, vi. 385.

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been spoke withal, by whom they were assured of the fidelity of the rest of the city: that there was nothing wanting but her grateful acceptance of the high estate which God Almighty, the sovereign disposer of all crowns and sceptres (never sufficiently to be thanked by her for so great a merey), had advanced her to: that therefore she should cheerfully take upon her the name, title, and estate of Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with all the royalties and pre-eminencies to the same belonging—receiving at their hands the first-fruits of the humble duty (now tendered by them on their knees) which shortly was to be paid to her by the rest of the kingdom.”

19. This speech being ended, the poor lady found herself in a great perplexity, not knowing whether she should more lament the death of the King or her adoption to the kingdom: the first loss not to be repaired, the next care possible to be avoided¹. She looked upon the crown as a great temptation, to resist which she stood in need of all the helps which both philosophy and divinity could suggest unto her. And she knew also, that such fortunes seldom knocked twice for entrance at the same man's gate; but that, if once refused, they are gone for ever. Taking some time, therefore, of deliberation, she summoned a council of her purest thoughts; by whose advice, half drowned in tears (either as sorrowing for the King's death or foreseeing her own) she returned an answer in these words, or to this effect—that “the laws of the kingdom and natural right standing for the King's sister², she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke which did belong to them: that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre: that it were to mock God and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown.”

“Besides,” said she, “I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with

¹ There seems to be some error here. Perhaps we might read “impossible;” or, “the first, a loss not to be repaired; the next, scarce possible to be avoided.”

² Qu. “sisters?”

their ruins. What she adored but yesterday, is to-day her pastime. And, if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me in pieces. Nay, with what crown doth she present me? A crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Katharine of Arragon; made more unfortunate by the punishment of Ann Bollen and others that wore it after her. And why then would you have me add my blood to theirs, and to be the third victim from whom this fatal crown may be ravished with the head that wears it? But in case it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its venom were consumed; if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy—should I be well advised to take upon me those thorns which would dilacerate though not kill me outright—to burthen myself with a yoke which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it? My liberty is better than the chain you proffer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters¹. And, if you love me sincerely and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an exalted condition exposed to the wind and followed by some dismal fall.”

20. It had been happy for herself, her fathers, and their several families, if they had suffered themselves to be overcome by such powerful arguments, which were not only persuasive, but might seem convincing, had they not all been fatally hurried unto their own destruction. But the ambition of the two Dukes was too strong and violent to be kept down by any such prudent considerations. So that, being wearied at the last with their importunities, and overcome by the entreaties of her husband, whom she dearly loved, she submitted unto that necessity which she could not vanquish; yielding her head with more unwillingness to the ravishing glories of a crown than afterwards she did to the stroke of the axe. The point being thus concluded on, the two Dukes, with all the rest of the Lords of the Council, swore allegiance to her. And on the same day, about five of the clock in the afternoon, they caused her solemnly to be proclaimed Queen of England,

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Proclamation
of Jane as
Queen.

¹ Ed. 1, 2, “letters.”

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France, and Ireland, &c. in many of the principal streets in London; and after, by degrees, in most of the chief cities, towns, and places of greatest concourse and resort of people. In which proclamation¹ it was signified, that, by the letters patents of the late King Edward, bearing date the 21st of June last past, the Lady Jane Gray, eldest daughter to the Duchess of Suffolk, had been declared his true and lawful successor to the crown of England; the same to be enjoyed after her decease by² the heirs of her body, &c., as in the said letters patents more especially did at large appear. Which proclamation, though it was published in the city with all solemnities, and that the concourse of people was exceeding great, yet their acclamations were but few; which served as a sufficient argument to the friends and followers of the Princess Mary, that they were rather drawn together out of curiosity to behold some unusual spectacle, than out of any purpose to congratulate³ the Queen's advancement. And so far some of them declared their dislike thereof, that the next day one Gilbert Pot was set on the pillory in Cheapside, his ears first nailed and afterwards cut off, for certain words which he had spoken at the publishing of the proclamation; a trumpet sounding at the time of the execution, and an herald in his coat of arms publicly noting his offence in a form prescribed. A severity neither safe nor necessary (the party being of no better condition than a vintner's boy) as the case then stood⁴.

A party is
formed in
favour of
Mary.

21. For the next day the Lords received advertisement from divers hands that many persons of quality were drawn together at Kenning-hall Castle, in Norfolk, to offer their service and assistance to the Princess Mary; who, finding by the answer which she had received from the Lords of the Council that no good was otherwise to be done, resolved not to be wanting to her own pretensions, and to that end gave cheerful entertainment to all comers which either favoured her title or embraced her religion. Amongst such gentlemen as were certified to the Lords of the Council, I find the names of the Earl of Bath, Sir Thomas Wharton, son to the Lord Wharton, Sir John Mordant, son to the Lord Mordant, Sir William Drury,

¹ Printed by Burnet, II. ii. 337.

² "By" omitted in edd. 1, 2.

³ Edd. 1, 2, "to congratulate at."

⁴ Stow, 611.

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Sir John Shelton, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Mr Henry Jerningham, Mr John Sulierd, Mr Richard Higham, of Lincoln's-Inn¹. It was advertised also that the Earl of Sussex and Mr Henry Ratcliff his son were coming towards her with their forces: which last advertisement gave the business some appearance of danger; for what else was to be expected but that the countenance and encouragement of so great a person might draw many more unto the side, who otherwise would have been content to be lookers on, in case they had not moved against her? Prevention in such cases was the wholesomest physic; which therefore was to be administered with all speed that might be, before those companies increased and were united under some commander, which might gain them the reputation of a little army—little at first, but like enough to become formidable to their enemies, if not broken in time. Some forces therefore to be sent under the conduct and command of some person who was well-affected to the cause, to scatter those small companies before they grew unto an head, to seize upon the Lady Mary and bring her with him to the court, where they knew well enough how to make sure of her. For which employment none more fit than the Duke of Suffolk, who had the greatest stock going in the present adventure, and whose affection to the Queen, being raised out of the bowels of nature, would prompt him to dispatch the service with his utmost diligence. And because possibly the Lady Mary, hearing of these preparations, might fly for safety into Flanders, and create more trouble to them there than she could at home, it was thought necessary that such ships as lay upon the Downs should be commanded to attend on the coast of Norfolk, to intercept her on the way, if peradventure she should think of flying to the Emperor's court.

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22. So was it counselled and concluded. But the matter could not be carried so close as not to come to the Queen's knowledge; to whom the least drop of her father's blood was far more precious than all the kingdoms in the world: so that, with tears in her eyes, and voice as mournful as her face, she besought such of the Lords as she conceived to be most tenderly affected towards her, to be her mediators to the rest of the council, that her father might be suffered to remain with her,

¹ Stow, 610.

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and that some other man, more exercised in deeds of arms, might be sent out on that employment¹. Nor was the motion made in vain: for some there were who secretly had as great a mind to put Northumberland upon the service as she could be to have her father excused from it. They saw how things were like to go, and how generally the people were inclined to King Henry's children, and could not promise to themselves any long security under that power which they had put into the hands of a weak young lady, who must be altogether governed by Duke Dudley's counsels—of whom they stood in so great fear, that none of them durst oppose his doings, or steer their course unto that point which most they aimed at, and which they doubted not to gain if they could find a way to send him from the council-table. No way more probable than this; and this they meant to husband to the best advantage, using their best endeavours to persuade him to the undertaking of the present service: "For who," said they, "can be so proper as your Grace to undertake this expedition into Norfolk, where your late victories² hath made your name so terrible to all sorts of people, as may disperse them without battle? For, should the matter come to blows—(which God prohibit!)—what man so able as yourself in the art of war, the order of encamping, the putting of your men into such a figure as may best suit with the advantages which are offered to you, and animating the most cowardly soldiers, not only by your own exemplary valour, but by strong persuasions? Whom have we in the realm so dexterous in point of treaty, so able to persuade the enemy to lay down arms (which is the noblest way of conquering the true-born English), if once it came unto parle," as they hoped it would. Besides, the Queen had made it her most earnest suit, that her father might be spared to stay with her till those terrors and affrights were over; and had moreover pointed out his Grace as the abler man and more fit for action; "than which what can be further said to prompt your Grace to lay fast hold upon all opportunities for obliging her, who may hereafter find so many ways for obliging you³?"

Northumberland sets out against them.

23. Swelling with vain-glory, and tickled with the frequent mention of his dear abilities, he suffered himself to be en-

¹ Stow, 610.

² Over the insurgents of 1549.—Sup. i. 161.

³ The substance of this is in Stow, 610.


160 treated to an action of such fame and merit as that which they presented to him. And, signifying his assent with a feigned unwillingness, he told them that "he would make ready his own power on the morrow after, not doubting but they would send theirs with him, or speed them after him; that he must recommend the Queen unto their fidelity, of whose sacred person he desired them to be very tender." All which they promised him to do. And, having thus settled the affairs, they made the Queen acquainted, in Northumberland's presence, with how great readiness he had took the danger of that action upon himself, to give her the contentment of enjoying her father's company till the present storm was over-blown; who humbly thanked the Duke for so great a favour, and cheerfully desired him not to be wanting to the public and his personal safety. That evening and the greatest part of the next day being spent in raising men and making other necessary preparations for the expedition, he repairs again to the court, and, once more putting them in mind of hastening their forces, and appointing Newmarket for the place of their rendezvous, he took his leave of them in these words, or to this effect: "My Lords," said he, "I, and these other noble personages, with the whole army that now goes forth, as well for the behalf of you and yours as for the establishing of the Queen's Highness, shall not only adventure our bodies and lives amongst the bloody strokes and cruel assaults of our adversaries in the open field; but also we do leave the conservation of ourselves, children, and families, at home here with you, as altogether committed to your trust and fidelity. Whom if we thought you would, through malice, conspiracy, or dissension, leave us, your friends, in the briers, and betray us; we could as well sundry ways foresee and provide for our own safeguards, as any of you, by betraying us, can do for yours. But now, upon the only trust and faithfulness of your honours, whereof we think ourselves most assured, we do hazard our lives: which trust and promise if you shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet shall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the sacred holy oath of allegiance, made freely by you to this virtuous lady, the Queen's Highness, *who by your and our enticement is rather of force placed therein, than by her own seeking and*

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*request*¹. Consider also, that God's cause, which is the preferment of his word, and the fear of the return of Popery², hath been (as ye have hitherto always said) the original cause whereupon ye (even at the first motion) granted your good wills and consents thereunto, as by your hand-writing appeareth. And think not otherwise but that, if you mean deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter, God will revenge the same. I can say no more, but in this troublesome time wish you to use constant hearts; abandoning all malice, envy, and private affections."

24. Which said, and having paused a little, he shut up his address in these following words: "I have not spoken to you, my Lords, in this sort, upon any mistrust I have of your fidelities; of which always I have ever hitherto conceived a trusty confidence: but I have only put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance soever might grow amongst you in my absence. And this I pray you, that you would not wish me less good speed in this journey than you would have yourselves." To which last words, one of them is reported to have thus replied:—"My Lord, if you mistrust any of us in this matter, your Grace is much mistaken in us. For which of us can wash his hands clean of the present business? For if we should shrink from you as one that is culpable, which of us can excuse himself as being guiltless?" Little the more assured by this quick return, he went to take his leave of the Queen, where he found his commission ready sealed, together with certain instructions, subscribed by all the Lords of the Council, in which his marches were laid out and limited from one day to another—conditions not to be imposed on any who commands in chief, nor to have been accepted by him, but that it was a matter of his own desiring. And he desired it for these reasons,—(so strongly was he caught in a snare of his own devising)—partly because he would be thought to have acted nothing but by authority of the Council, which he supposed might serve for his indemnity¹ if the tide should turn; and partly that the blame of all miscarriages might be laid on them, if he were foiled in the adventure. But so instructed he takes

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¹ These words are marked as emphatic, by a difference of type in all the old editions, and by a sign  in the margin of 1 and 3.

² "Papists' entrance," Stow.

³ Stow, 610-11.

¹ See Mary, i. 3.

leave, embraced by all the Lords with great demonstrations of affection, according to the wonted dissimulation in Princes' Courts; by none more passionately than by those who most abhorred his pride and falsehood. Amongst which it is said of the Earl of Arundel (upon whom he had put more disgraces and affronts than on all the rest¹), that he seemed to express much sorrow at the Duke's departure, in regard he was not ordered to be one of his company—in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood, and to lay his life down at his feet². Accompanied with the Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Gray, and others, he passeth by water in his barge to Durham-place, and from thence to Whitehall, where they mustered their men. And the next morning, being Friday, the 14th of the month, he sets forward with a body of six hundred horse, their arms and ammunition being sent before; and Sir John Gates (of whose fidelity and adhesion he was well assured) following not far behind with the rest of his company. Passing through Shoreditch, he found the streets to be thronged with people, but could hear nothing of their prayers for their prosperous journey, insomuch that, turning to the Lord Gray, he could not choose but say unto him, "The people press to see us, but not one bids God speed us³." On Saturday night he comes to Cambridge, where he assured himself of all obedience and conformity which either the university or that town could give him, as being Chancellor of the one, and Seneschal or High Steward of the other;—two offices incompatible in themselves, and never united in one person before or since⁴. At night he sends for Doctor Edwin Sandys, Master of Katharine Hall and Vice-Chancellor of the University, to supper with him; whom he enjoins to preach before him the next day—a service not to be performed, and much less declined, without manifest danger. But the good man, submitting to the present necessity, betakes himself to his study and his prayers, falls on a text exceeding proper to the present exigent (being that of Joshua, chap. i. v. 16), but handled it so warily and with such discretion, that he much satisfied the one, without

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¹ Sup. i. 178.

² Stow, 611.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Fuller, Hist. of Cambridge, 186.

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giving any just advantage against him to the other party¹. On Monday morning the Duke with his whole power goes forward to St Edmond's-Bury, where he lodged that night. But, instead of hearing news of those supplies which were to attend him at Newmarket, he receives letters from some Lords of the Council, so full of trouble and discomfort that he marched back again to Cambridge on the morrow after. And there we will leave him for a time betwixt hope and fear—less confident and worse attended than he was at his first coming thither; as being not only deserted by a great part of his company, but in a manner by himself.

Mary gathers
strength.

25. In the meantime the Princess Mary was not idle, but served herself of all advantages which were offered to her. Comforted and encouraged by so many persons of quality as she had about her, she sends unto the Mayor of Norwich on the 12th of July, requiring him and the rest of the magistrates of that city to proclaim her Queen. Which though they at that time refused to do, because they had no certain knowledge of the death of the King, yet on the next day, having received good assurance of it, they did not only proclaim her Queen (as she had desired) but sent her men and ammunition to advance the service. Not finding Norfolk men so forward as she had expected, she removes with her small party into Suffolk, and puts herself into Framlingham Castle, a castle situate near the sea, from whence she might conveniently escape into Flanders, if her affairs succeeded not to her hopes and prayers. Here she first takes upon her the name of Queen, and by that name dispatcheth letters to the peers of the realm, requiring them and all other her faithful subjects to repair unto her succour. And, for the first handsel of good fortune, it happened that the six ships which were appointed to hover on the coast of Norfolk, were driven by foul weather into the haven of Yarmouth, where Jerningham, above mentioned, was busy in raising men to maintain her quarrel. By whom the captains and the mariners were so cunningly dealt with, that they put them-

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¹ Fuller, Hist. of Cambridge, 186. Sandys was, however, imprisoned for almost a year, and, being then discharged, took refuge in Germany. His Sermon before the Duke of Northumberland is believed not to be in existence. He had prepared it for the press, but was obliged to fly before it was printed.—Fox, viii. 590-598.

selves under his command, drew all their ordnance on shore, and left their ships to be disposed of at his pleasure¹. About which time Sir Edward Hastings, the brother of Francis Earl of Huntington, being commissioned by the Duke of Northumberland to raise four thousand men for the present service, passed over with his men to the other side, and joined himself to her party also². The news whereof, being brought unto the Lords which remained in London, hastened the execution of that design which had been formerly contrived by some amongst them.

26. For no sooner had the great Duke put himself on his march toward Cambridge, but some began to shew themselves in favour of the Princess Mary, and to devise how they might extricate themselves out of those perplexities into which they had been brought by his ambition. Amongst which none more forward than the Earl of Pembroke, in whom he had placed more confidence than in all the others. Who, together with Sir Thomas Cheyny, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, with divers others, endeavoured to get out of the Tower, that they might hold some secret consultation with their friends in London; but were so narrowly watched that they could not do it. On Sunday, the 16th of the month, Doctor Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, is ordered by the Lords of the Council to preach at St Paul's Cross, and in his sermon to advance the title of Queen Jane, and shew the invalidity of the claim of the Lady Mary. Which he performed according to such grounds of law and polity as had been laid together in the letters patents of King Edward, by the authority and consent of all the Lords of the Council, the greatest judges in the land, and almost all the peers of the kingdom. But then, withal, he pressed the incommodities and inconveniences which might arise by receiving Mary for their Queen;—prophesying that which after came to pass, namely, that she would bring in a foreign power to reign over this nation, and that she would subvert the true religion then established by the laws of this realm. He also shewed that, at such time as she lived in his diocese, he had travailed much with her to reduce her to the true religion³; but that (though otherwise she used him with great civility)

¹ Stow, 611.

² Godwin, 158.

³ See Mary. Introd. 24.

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she shewed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no hope to be conceived but that she would disturb and destroy all that which with such great labour had been settled in the reign of her brother¹. For which sermon he incurred so much displeasure that it could never be forgiven him, when the rest were pardoned by whose encouragement and command he had undertook it. But this sermon did not work so much on the people as the ill news which came continually to the Tower had prevailed on many of the Lords. For presently upon that of the six ships which were revolted from the Queen, advertisement is given that the Princess Mary was proclaimed Queen in Oxfordshire by Sir John Williams and others, in Buckinghamshire by the Lord Windsore, Sir Edward Hastings, &c, and in Northamptonshire by Sir Thomas Tresham: and, which was worse than all the other, that the noblemen's tenants refused to serve their Lords against her².

Desertions
from the
party of
Jane.

27. Upon the first bruit of which disasters the Lord Treasurer Paulet gets out of the Tower, and goes unto his house in Broad-street, which made such a powerful apprehension of some dangerous practices to be suddenly put in execution, that the gates of the Tower were locked about seven of the clock, and the keys carried to the Queen. And, though the Lord Treasurer was brought back about twelve at night, yet now the knot of the confederacy began apparently to break. For, finding by intelligence from so many parts of the realm, but chiefly by the Lord Treasurer's return, that generally the people were affected to the title of the Princess Mary, they thought it most expedient for them to declare themselves in her favour also, and not to run themselves, their friends and families, on a certain ruin. But all the difficulty was in finding out a way to get out of the Tower, the gates whereof were so narrowly watched that no man could be suffered to go in and out but by the knowledge and permission of the Duke of Suffolk. But that which their own wisdom could not, the Duke of Northumberland's importunity effected for them; who, failing of the supplies which the Lords had promised to send after him, as before is said, had pressed them earnestly by his letters not to be wanting to their own honour and the public service. This gave them a fair colour to procure their liberty from that re-

¹ Fox, vi. 389.

² Stow, 611; Speed, 842.

straint, by representing to the Queen and the Duke her father, that the supplies expected, and all things necessary to the same, could not be raised unless they were permitted personally to attend the business, both for the pressing of the men, providing them of all things needful, and choosing fit commanders to conduct them in good order to the Duke of Northumberland. Which seemed so reasonable to the Duke of Suffolk—a man of no great depth himself, and so not like to penetrate into the bottom of a deep design—that he gave way to their departure for the present; little conceiving that they never meant to come back again till the state was altered¹.

28. Being thus at their desired liberty, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, together with Sir Thomas Cheyny and Sir John Mason, betake themselves immediately to Baynard's Castle—an house belonging then (as now) to the Earls of Pembroke. To which place they were followed not long after by almost all the rest of the Lords of the Council, bringing with them as many of the nobility then about the town as they conceived to stand fair for the Princess Mary. And, that the meeting might be held with less suspicion, it was given out to be upon a conference with Laval, the French Ambassador, about affairs of great importance for the weal of both kingdoms. No sooner had they took their places, but the Earl of Arundel, who had held intelligence with the Princess ever since the first extremities of her brother's sickness, inveighed most bitterly against the Duke of Northumberland. And, after he had ripped up the acts of his former life, and burdened him with all that had been done unjustly, cruelly, or amiss, in King Edward's time, he at last descends to the treacherous act of the disherison of the children of the late King Henry—professing that he wondered how he had so enthralled such persons as the Lords there present, as to make them instruments of his wickedness. “For was it not,” saith he, “by our consent and suffrages, that the Duke of Suffolk's daughter, the same Northumberland's daughter-in-law, hath took upon her the name and title of the Queen of England?—though it be nothing but the title; the sovereign power remaining wholly in the hands of Dudley, who contrived the plot that he might freely exercise his tyranny on our lives and fortunes. Religion is

¹ Speed, 842; Godwin, 159.

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indeed the thing pretended. But suppose we have no regard to these apostolical rules,—*Evil must not be done that good may come thereof*; and, *We must obey even evil Princes, not for fear, but for conscience-sake*—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. And what a mad blindness is it, for the avoidance of an uncertain danger, to precipitate ourselves into a most certain destruction! I would we had not erred in this kind. But errors past cannot be recalled: some may peradventure be amended; wherein speedy execution oftentimes happily supplieth former defects. Recollect yourselves then, and so make use of your authority, that the Princess Mary, the undoubtedly lawful heir, may publicly be proclaimed Queen of England, &c. No other way but this, as the case now stands, to recover our lost honours, and preserve the state¹.”

29. The Earl of Pembroke was a man altogether unlettered, but so well skilled in humouring King Henry the Eighth, that he had raised himself to a great estate; for which he could not but express some sense of gratitude, in doing good offices for his children. And, having been formerly suspected to have had too great a part in Northumberland's counsels, he conceived himself obliged to wipe off that stain by declaring his zeal and resolution in the cause of the Princess. And therefore, as soon as the Earl of Arundel had concluded his speech, he very cheerfully professed that he approved and would subscribe the proposition; and therewithal, laying his hand upon his sword, he signified his readiness and resolution to defend the Lady Mary's cause against all opponents². The rest of the Lords, encouraged by these good examples, and seeing nothing but apparent danger on all sides if they did the contrary, came to a speedy conclusion with them, and bound themselves to stand together in defence of the late King's sisters against all their enemies. Which being thus so generously and unanimously agreed upon, a messenger is presently dispatched to the Lord Mayor, requiring him to repair to

¹ Godwin, 159-60. De Thou gives a longer speech, l. xiii. c. 2, Tom. I. 441-2.

² Godwin, 160.

Baynard's Castle within an hour, and to bring with him the Recorder and such of the Aldermen of the city as to him seemed best. Who being come accordingly at the time appointed, their Lordships told them, in few words, as well their resolution as their reason of it; and so desired their company to Cheapside-Cross, to proclaim Queen Mary. Which said, without any further dispute about the title, they rode all together in good order through St Paul's Church-yard, till they came to the gate which openeth into the street; where they found such multitudes and throngs of people—whom the noise of such a confluence at Baynard's Castle, and the going down of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, had drawn together—that they could hardly force a way through them to come to the Cross. But being come thither at the last, though with much ado, Sir Christopher Barker, Knight of the Bath and Principal King at Arms, proclaimed by the sound of trumpet the Princess Mary, daughter of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katherine his wife, to be the lawful and undoubted Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith—adding thereto that sacred title of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England¹; which she retained till the beginning of the following parliament, and then rescinded all those Acts by which it had been formerly united to the crown of this realm². The proclamation being ended, they went together in a solemn procession to St Paul's church, where they caused the *Te Deum* to be sung, with the rites³ accustomed, and so dismissed the assembly to their several dwellings. Being returned to Baynard's Castle, the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget are presently dispatched to Framlingham, with thirty horse, to give the Queen a narrative of the whole proceedings⁴. Some companies are also sent to assure the Tower, and to command the Duke of Suffolk to discharge the family and attendants of the Lady Jane; to signify unto her that she must lay aside the name and title of Queen, and suffer herself to be reduced to the rank of a private person. All which he readily obeyed (as easily subject to despair, as before he had been swelled with ambitious hopes); and the next day adjoins himself to the rest of the council, subscribing amongst others to such instructions

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Queen Mary
is proclaimed
in Cheapside,
July 19.

¹ Stow, 612.

² Mary, i. 19.

³ Edd. "rights."

⁴ Stow, 612.

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as were to be dispatched to the Duke of Northumberland for the disbanding of his forces and carrying himself like an obedient and dutiful subject, as he ought to do¹.

30. But there was little need of this message, and none at all of the other. For the noise of these loud acclamations which were made at the proclaiming of the new Queen, passing from one street to another, came at last to the Tower, before the message had been sent to the Duke of Suffolk; where they were heard by the Lady Jane, (now no longer Queen), with such tranquillity of mind and composedness of countenance as if she had not been concerned in the alteration. She had before received the offer of the crown with as even a temper as if it had been nothing but a garland of flowers; and now she lays aside the thought thereof with as much contentedness as she could have thrown away that garland when the scent was gone. The time of her glories was so short, (but a nine days' wonder), that it seemed nothing but a dream, out of which she was not sorry to be awakened. The Tower had been to her a prison rather than a court, and interrupted the delights of her former life by so many terrors, that no day passed without some new alarms to disturb her quiet. She doth now know the worst that fortune can do unto her; and, having always feared that there stood a scaffold secretly behind the throne, she was as readily prepared to act her part upon the one as upon the other. If sorrow and affliction did at any time invade her thoughts, it was rather in reference to her friends, but most of all unto her husband, who were to be involved in the calamity of her misfortunes, than upon any apprehensions which she had of herself. And hereunto the bringing in of so many prisoners, one day after another, gave no small increase—brought hither for no other reason but because they had seemed forward in contributing towards her advancement. In the midst of which disconsolations, the restoring of the Duke her father to his former liberty gave some repose unto her mind; whose sufferings were more grievous to her than her own imprisonment. And then to what a miserable extremity must his death have brought her! And, though the attainder and death of the Duke of Northumberland, which followed very shortly after, might tell her in effect what she was to trust to,—yet she was

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¹ Godwin, 160.

willing to distinguish betwixt his case and her own; betwixt the principal and the accessories in the late design. In which respect she gave herself no improbable hopes, that possibly the like mercies which were¹ shewed to her father might possibly be extended unto others, and amongst others to her husband,—as innocent as herself from any open practice against the Queen. And who could tell but that it might descend on herself at last? whom no ambition of her own had tempted to the acceptance of that dangerous offer, which she beheld as the greatest error of her life, and the only stain of all her actions.

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31. But neither the Queen's fears nor the public justice of the land could be so satisfied. It was held treason to accept of a kingdom offered, to which she could pretend no right whilst the Queen was living. And, if examples of that nature should pass unpunished, no Prince could possibly be safe, nor titles valid, as long as any popular spirit could pretend a colour to advance some other to the throne. Upon which reason of state she was brought to her trial at the Guildhall in London, on the thirteenth² day of November, accompanied with her husband, the Lord Guilford Dudley—(his company never till that hour unwelcome to her)—together with Archbishop Cranmer [and] the Lord Ambrose Dudley, the second son then living to the Duke of Northumberland. Sentence of death passed upon them all, though at that time not executed upon any of them³. The Lord Ambrose was reserved unto better fortunes; as the Archbishop was to a more miserable but more glorious death. And for herself and her dear husband, it was conceived that, now the law had done its part in their condemnation, the Queen, in pity of their youth and innocence, would have gone no further. But, as they were first brought under this affliction by the inordinate ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, so shall they shortly find an end of all their troubles, by the rash and unadvised attempts of the Duke of Suffolk. For upon Wyatt's breaking out in Kent, and the Earl of Devonshire in the west, the Duke had been prevailed with, amongst many others, to appear in the action. To which he unadvisedly yielded, caused proclamation to be made in some towns of Leicestershire against the Queen's intended marriage with the Prince of Spain, and drew together many of his friends and followers⁴, to oppose

Trial of the
Lady Jane
and her ad-
herents.

¹ Edd. 1, 2, "was." ² Edd. "third." ³ Stow, 617. ⁴ Mary. i. 26.

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that match. And, though he was discomfited within few days after, yet the Queen saw that she could promise herself neither peace nor safety as long as the Lady Jane was preserved alive—whose restitution to the throne must be the matter chiefly aimed at in these insurrections, though other colours were devised to disguise the business.

Her prepara-
tion for
death.

32. Her death is now resolved upon; but first she must be practised with to change her religion, as the great Duke of Northumberland had done before. To which end Feeknam is employed—not long before made Dean of St Paul's, and not long after Abbot of Westminster; a man whose great parts promised him an easy victory over a poor lady of a broken and dejected spirit; but it proved the contrary. For so well had she studied the concerns of her own religion, and managed the conference with him with such a readiness of wit, such constancy of resolution, and a judgment so well grounded in all helps of learning, that she was able to make answer to his strongest arguments; as well to her great honour, as his admiration. (The substance of which conference he that lists to see, may find it in the Acts and Monuments, fol. 1290¹). So that, not able to prevail with her in the change of religion, he made offer of his service to prepare her for death: which though she thankfully accepted of, as finding it to proceed from a good affection, yet soon he found that she was also beforehand with him in those preparations which are fit and necessary for a dying Christian. Friday, the ninth of February, was first designed for the day of her execution; but the desire of gaining her to the Church of Rome procured her the short respite of three days more. On Sunday night, being the eve unto the day of her translation, she wrote a letter in the Greek²

¹ vi. 415-17.

² Fox says, "a letter written by the Lady Jane, in the end of the New Testament in Greek, the which she sent unto her sister, the Lady Katherine." Heylyn is mistaken in supposing that the letter itself was in Greek. Banks, in a letter to Bullinger, (Epp. Figur. 201; Orig. Letters, p. 304), plainly intimates that it was in English—"Hæc ego omnia [including this letter] *de vernaculo nostro sermone in Latinum convertenda curavi.*" As to the "Letter to a noble friend, newly fallen from the truth," which is commonly supposed to have been written by Lady Jane to Harding, formerly her father's chaplain—Sir Harris Nicolas, while he maintains its genuineness, argues that Harding cannot

tongue, at the end of the Testament which she bequeathed as a legacy to her sister the Lady Katherine ; which, being such a lively picture of the excellent lady, may well deserve to be continually kept in remembrance of her, and is this that followeth¹ :—

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“ I HAVE here sent you (good sister Katherine) a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book (dear sister) of the law of the Lord. It is his Testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches ; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy, and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woeful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands ; so, if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David (good sister) to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life : and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life ; for as soon, if God calls, goeth the young as the old : and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh ; and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not. Be strong in faith, and yet presume not ; and desire, with St Paul, *to be dissolved, and to be with Christ*, with

Letter to her
sister.

have been the person to whom it was addressed, as it was written before Lady Jane's marriage, whereas Harding did not avow his apostasy until after the accession of Mary. (Remains of Lady J. Gray, lxxvii.). But were there any defections to Romanism before the accession of Mary ? Is it not more likely that there may be some error in the signature of the letter as printed, which is the only ground of the argument as to its date ? Banks, writing in March 1554, refers the letter to the time of Lady Jane's imprisonment.—Epp. Tigur. 201.

¹ The letter here given from Fox, vi. 423, agrees in the main with a MS. in the British Museum, printed by Nicolas, Rem. of Lady J. Gray, 44-5 : in which work another copy is also given.

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whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking; lest, when death cometh and stealeth upon you, like a thief in the night, you be with the evil servant found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding-garment; and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your master Christ, and take upon you¹ your cross. Lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And, as touching my death, rejoice as I do (good sister) that I shall be delivered of this corruption and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal one. The which I pray God to grant you, and send you of his grace, to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith; from the which in God's name I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death. For if you will deny his truth, to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days: and if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort, and to his glory. To the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you! Fare you well (good sister) and put your only trust in God, who only must help you." 167

Execution of
Lord Guild-
ford Dudley,
Feb. 12.

33. The fatal morning being come, the Lord Guilford earnestly desired the officers that he might take his farewell of her. Which though they willingly permitted, yet, upon notice of it, she advised the contrary; assuring him, "that such a meeting would rather add to his afflictions than increase that quiet wherewith they had possessed their souls for the stroke of death; that he demanded a lenitive which would put fire into the wound, and that it was to be feared her presence would rather weaken than strengthen him; that he ought to take courage from his reason, and derive constancy from his own heart; that if his soul were not firm and settled, she could not settle it by her eyes, nor confirm it by her words; that he should do well to remit this interview to the other world; that there indeed friendships were happy, and unions undesolvable²;

¹ For "upon you" Fox reads "up."

² Sic in edd.

and that theirs would be eternal, if their souls carried nothing with them of terrestrial, which might hinder them from rejoicing." All she could do was to give him a farewell out of a window, as he passed toward the place of his dissolution; which he suffered on the scaffold on Tower-hill with much Christian meekness. His dead body being laid in a car, and his head wrapped up in a linen cloth, were carried to the chapel within the Tower; in the way to which they were to pass under the window of the Lady Jane, where she had given him his farewell¹: a spectacle sufficient to disanimate a courageous heart, not armed with the constancy and resolution of so brave a virtue. The spectacle endured by her with the less astonishment, because she knew she was upon the point of meeting with him in a better conjuncture, where they should never find the like intermission of their joys and happinesses.

34. It was once resolved on by the court that she should die on the same scaffold with her husband; but it was feared that, being both pitied and beloved by the common people, some sudden commotion might be raised if she were publicly brought forth to her execution. It was therefore held the safer course that a scaffold should be erected for her within the verge of the Tower, on which she might satisfy the greatest severity of the law without any danger to the state. Towards which being to be led by Sir John Gage² (who was then Constable of the Tower), he desired her to bestow some small gift upon him, to be kept as a memorial of her. To gratify which desire, she gave him her table-book, in which she had written three sentences in Greek, Latin, and English, as she saw her husband's body brought unto the chapel; which she besought him to accept as her last bequest. The Greek to this effect—that "if his executed body should give testimony against her before men, his most blessed soul should give an eternal proof of her innocence in the presence of God." The Latin added that "human justice was against his body, but the divine mercy would be for his soul." And then concluded thus in English, that "if her fault deserved punishment, her youth, at least,

¹ Speed, 844.

² Others mention Sir John Brydges, *lieutenant* of the Tower.—Nicolas, xcix.

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and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse; and that God and posterity would shew her favour¹.”

Execution of
the Lady
Jane.

35. Conducted by Fecknam to the scaffold, she gave not much heed unto his discourses, but kept her eyes upon a prayer-book of her own. And, being mounted on the throne from which she was to receive a more excellent crown than any which this vile earth could give her, she addressed herself in some few words to the standers by, letting them know that “her offence was not for having laid her hand upon the crown, but for not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that she had less erred through ambition than out of respect and reverence to her parents:” acknowledging nevertheless that “her respect was to be accounted as a crime, and such reverence to deserve a punishment; that she would willingly admit of death, so to give satisfaction to the injured state—that by obedience to the laws she might voluntarily take off the scandal which she had given by her constrained obedience to her friends and kindred:” concluding finally, that “she had justly deserved this punishment, for being made the instrument (though the unwilling instrument) of another’s ambition; and should leave behind her an example, that innocence excuseth not great misdeeds, if they any way tend to the destruction of the commonwealth².” Which said, and desiring the people to recommend her in their prayers to the mercies of God, she caused herself to be disrobed by some of her women, who, with wet eyes and heavy hearts, performed that office, which was no more unwelcome than if it had been nothing but the preparation to the death of sleep, and not unto the sleep of death. And being now ready for the block, with the same clear and untroubled countenance wherewith she had acted all the rest of her tragedy, she said aloud the Psalm of *Miserere mei, Deus*, in

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¹ On the improbabilities of this account, (which does not appear in Fox, and only in part in Godwin, 175), see Nicolas, xciv. seqq. He denies altogether that Lady Jane wrote any epigram or sentence on her husband, and considers that the evidence preponderates against her having written any on herself. He believes that the only writing on this occasion consisted of some words inscribed, at the request of Sir J. Brydges, in a book of devotions, which is preserved in the British Museum.

² Thuan. xiii. 4, (T. 1. p. 450); Godwin, 175, (but both less fully).

the English tongue¹, and so submitted her pure neck to the executioner.

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1553-4.

36. Touching the bonds, recognizances, grants, conveyances, and other legal instruments, which had been made in the short reign of this Queen, a doubt was raised amongst our lawyers whether they were good and valid in the law or not. The reason of which scruple was, because that interval of time which passed betwixt the death of King Edward, on the 6th of July, and the proclaiming of Queen Mary in all parts of the realm, was in the law to be esteemed as a part of her reign, without any notice to be taken of the interposing of the Lady Jane; in the first year of whose reign the said bonds, recognizances, grants, &c. had their several dates. And thereupon it was enacted in the following parliament², that “all statutes, recognizances, and other writings whatsoever, knowledged or made by or to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, being the Queen’s subjects, since the 6th day of July last past, until the 1st day of August then next following, under the name of the reign of any other person than under the name of the said Queen’s Majesty, with the style appropriated or united to her Majesty’s imperial crown, shall be as good and effectual in the law, to all intents, purposes, constructions, and meanings, as if upon the making thereof the name of the said Queen Mary, with her style appropriated, had been fully and plainly expressed in the same.” With a proviso notwithstanding, that “all grants, letters patents, and commissions made by the said Lady Jane, to any person or persons whatsoever, should be reputed void and of none effect.” Which proviso seems to have been added, not only for making void of all such grants of the crown-lands as had passed in the name of the said Queen Jane—(if any such grants were ever made)—but for invalidating the commission granted to the Duke of Northumberland for raising arms in her behalf: the pleading whereof, though it could not be allowed for his indemnity when he stood at the bar, might possibly have raised some reproach or trouble to his peers and judges, if the integrity of their proceedings had been called in question.

Validity of
deeds naming
her as Queen.

37. Such was the end of the short life, but far shorter reign, of the Lady Jane: her reign but of nine days, and no

¹ Holinshed, iv. 22.

² 1 Mary, Sess. 2, c. 4.

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1553.

more ; her life, not twice so many years as she reigned days. Such was the end of all the projects of the two great Dukes for her advancement to the crown, and their own in hers. To which as she was raised without any blows, so she might have been deposed without any blows, if the axe had not been more cruel on the scaffold than the sword in the field. The sword had never been unsheathed : but when the scaffold was once erected, and the axe once sharpened, there followed so many executions after one another, till the death of that Queen, that, as her reign began in the blood of those who took upon them the pursuit of this lady's title, so was it stained more foully in the blood of such as were martyred in all parts for her religion. To the relation of which executions, deaths, and martyrdoms, and other the calamities of that tragical and unprosperous reign, we must next proceed.

A F F A I R S
OF
CHURCH and STATE
IN
E N G L A N D,
During the Life and Reign
OF
Q U E E N M A R Y.

Heb. 11. 35, 36, 37.

35. *Some of them were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better Resurrection.*
36. *And others had triall of cruel mockings and scourgings; yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment.*
37. *They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandred about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, &c.*

Vell. Patere. Lib. 2. [c. lxxviii.]

Hujus temporis fortunam ne deflere quidem quispiam [quisquam] satis dignè potuit;
[adeo] nemo exprimere verbis potest.

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

[Lucret. de Rerum Nat. i. 95.]

L O N D O N,

Printed for *H. Twyford, T. Dring, J. Place, and
W. Palmer. Anno 1660.*

PARENTAGE, BIRTH, AND FIRST FORTUNES

OF THE

PRINCESS MARY,

THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

BEFORE HER COMING TO THE CROWN;

WITH A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF HER MOTHER'S MISFORTUNES, FROM THE FIRST AGITATING OF THE DIVORCE TILL THE TIME OF HER DEATH; AND THAT WHICH FOLLOWED THEREUPON.

I. **M**ARY, the eldest daughter of King Henry the Eighth, and of Katherine his first wife, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella Kings of Spain, was born at Greenwich on the 18th day of February¹, anno 1516. Her mother had before been married to Arthur Prince of Wales, the elder brother of King Henry²; but whether bedded by him or not, (more than as to some old formalities of court on the like occasions), was not commonly known. But he dying within few months after³, King Henry the Seventh, the father of the deceased Prince, was secretly dealt with by the agents of the said Ferdinand and Isabella, to proceed unto a second marriage between Henry Duke of York, his now only son, and their daughter Katherine. To which King Henry readily condescendeth, upon divers reasons; partly to be assured of the assistance of the Kings of Spain against all practices of the French; and partly that so great a treasure as the rents and profits of the Princess's jointure might not be carried out of the kingdom, as needs must be, if she should be married to a Prince of another nation⁴. This being agreed

*Birth of Mary.**Her mother's marriages.*

¹ Hall, 584. Stow dates the birth on the 11th of February (504); Sandford, Genral. History, 499, on the 8th.

² Nov. 14, 1501.

³ Apr. 2, 1502.

⁴ Hall, 507; Herbert, 4.

Introduct. on by the parents of either side, Pope Julius the Second is solicited for a dispensation: to the grant whereof he willingly yielded¹, knowing how necessary it was to the peace of Christendom that those Kings should be united in the strictest leagues of love and amity. Which coming to the knowledge of the Princess Katherine, who understood her own condition better than her father or mother, she caused those words *vel forsam coqnitam*² to be inserted into the bull or dispensation; and this she did for the preventing of all such disputes as might arise about the validity of the marriage, in case the consummation of it should be openly known; though afterwards those words were used as the shrewdest argument for the invalidating of the marriage, when it came in question. And some such thing was thought to have prevailed with King Henry the Seventh for deferring the advancement of Henry, his second son, to the style, title, and dignity of Prince of Wales³; that he might first be well assured that no child was likely to be born of the former marriage, to whom that title might more properly and of right belong.

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2. The dispensation being thus granted, Prince Henry, being then eleven years of age or thereabouts⁴, is solemnly contracted to the Princess Katherine, who must needs have a very great stock, as well of Christian prudence as of virgin modesty, to wait the growing up of a husband being then a child, and one of whose affection to her, when he should come to man's estate, she had no assurance; and so it proved in the event. For Henry had no sooner finished the fourteenth year of his age⁵, when, either by the compunction of conscience, the persuasion of some that wished him well, or upon the consideration of the disproportion of age which was then between them—(the Princess being eight years the elder)—he resolved upon the breaking and annulling of the said contract⁶ in which

¹ Dec. 26, 1503. The instrument is printed in Burnet, ii. ii. 15; Collier, ix. 64-6.

² So Hall, 757; Speed, 780. "Illudque [matrimonium] carnali copula forsam consummavissetis."—Collier, ix. 65.

³ Feb. 18, 1503-4.—Sandford, 480.

⁴ He was born June 28, 1491.—Sandf. 479.

⁵ The age of puberty, according to the canon law.—Walter, Lehrb. d. Kirchenrechts, 610, ed. Bonn, 1842.

⁶ It would seem that his father's policy was the chief motive to

his parents¹ had engaged him. To which end, making his address to Doctor Richard Fox, then Bishop of Winchester, he openly renounceth the said contract, not by word only, but by subscription of his name to a legal instrument, containing the effect of that renunciation, his resolution never to proceed any further in it, and his reasons for it. Which instrument he published in the presence of John Read, a public Notary, (the Bishop sitting then at Richmond, as in court or consistory²), and witnessed unto by Giles³ Daubeney, Lord Chamberlain to King Henry the Seventh, and father of Henry Earl of Bridgewater; Sir Charles Somerset, Banneret, created afterwards Earl of Worcester; Dr Nicholas West, after Bishop of Ely; Dr Thomas Rowthall, after Bishop of Durham; and Sir Henry Marnie⁴. The instrument itself, extant in the history of John Speed⁵, may be there consulted. And in pursuance of this act, he waived the consummation of the marriage from one time to another, till the death of his father, which happened on the 22nd of April⁶, anno 1509, he being then within two months of the age of eighteen years. But, being now come unto the crown by the death of his father, reason of state prevailed so far beyond that of conscience, that he consented to the consummation of the marriage which before he had solemnly renounced, and did accordingly celebrate those unhappy nuptials, (the cause of so much trouble both to him and others), on the second of June⁷, and caused her to be crowned with him on the 24th of the same month⁸. This marriage was blest within the year by the birth of a son⁹, whom the King caused to be christened by the name of Henry; and five years

Introduc.
Children of
Henry and
Katherine.

this step.—Burnet, I. 36, (fol.); Collier, iv. 2; Lingard, v. 328-9; vi. 2.

¹ His mother had died Feb. 11, 1502-3, before the marriage was finally settled.—Sandf. 469.

² “In quadam bassa camera, infra palatium regium Richmondie” —as is stated in the instrument itself.

³ Speed and edd. Heyl. “Miles.”

⁴ Speed and edd. Heyl. “Mainie.”

⁵ p. 776. Also in Herbert, 117; Burnet, I. ii. 17; Collier, ix. 66-8.

The date is June 27, 1505.

⁶ April 21.—See Nicolas, Chronology, 333.

⁷ June 3.—Herb. 4; Holinshed, iii. 547; Sandf. 480.

⁸ Hall, 509.

⁹ Jan. 1, 1510-11.—Hall, 516.

Introduc. after with another, who lived not long enough to receive his baptism¹.

Early years
of Mary.

3. But Henry, the first-born, not living to be two months old², the King remained childless³ till the birth of this daughter Mary, the presumptive heir of his dominions; committed in her infancy to the care and charge of the Lady Margaret, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, and by the King, (in reference to her descent from the house of the Montacutes), advanced unto the style and title of Countess of Salisbury, anno 1513⁴. And herein it was thought that the Queen had a particular aim beyond that of the King, and that she rather chose to commit her daughter to the care of that lady than of any other in the kingdom; to the end that, some affection growing to her by any of the Countess's sons, her daughter's title to the crown might be corroborated by the interest of the house of Clarence⁵. And so far her design succeeded, that the Princess Mary always carried such a dear affection to Reginald Pole, her second son, (best known by the name of Cardinal Pole in the following times), that when she came unto the crown, she would have made choice of him for her husband before any other⁶, if the necessity of her affairs, and some artifices used to illude that purpose, had not changed her mind. She had scarce lived to the third year of her age⁷, when she was promised in marriage to the Dauphin of France, with a portion of 333,000 crowns to be paid by her father, and as great a jointure to be made by the French King Francis as ever had been made by any King of that country. And so far did the business seem to be acted in earnest, that it was publicly agreed upon, in the treaty for the town of Tournay, that the espousals should be made within four months by the said two Kings, in the name of their children; in pursuance

Project of
marrying her
to the
Dauphin.
1519.

¹ Nov. 1514.—Stow, 497.

² He died Feb. 22.—Hall.

³ Dr Lingard believes—on authority which seems insufficient—that Henry had by Katherine three sons and two daughters.—vi. 109, 376.

⁴ This lady, the last of the Plantagenets, “was beheaded in the Tower, May 27, 1541, being never arraigned nor tried before, but condemned by Act of parliament.”—Stow, 581.

⁵ Godwin, Ann. 179; Philips, Life of Pole, i. 38.

⁶ Fuller, iv. 174. See below, Mary, i. 22.

⁷ Oct. 1518.—Herbert, 31.

whereof, as the French King sent many rich gifts to some leading men of the court of England, to gain their good liking to this league, so he sent many costly presents to the Princess Mary, the designed wife (if Princes could be bound by such designations) of the heir of France. Introduc.

4. But war beginning to break out between the French and Spaniards, it was thought fit by Charles the Fifth, being then Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, to court the favour of the English; for the obtaining whereof his nearness to Queen Katherine, being sister to the Queen, his mother, gave him no small hopes. Upon this ground he makes a voyage into England, is royally feasted by the King, installed solemnly Knight of the order of the Garter, in the castle of Windsor¹, and there capitulates with the King, amongst other things, to take to wife his daughter Mary, as soon as she should come to the years of marriage. It was also then and there agreed, that as soon as she was twelve years old the Emperor should send a proxy to make good the contract and espouse her *per verba de presenti* in the usual form; that in the meantime the King of England should not give her in marriage unto any other; that a dispensation should be procured from the Pope, at the charge of both Princes, in regard that the parties were within the second degree of consanguinity; that within four months after the contract the Princess should be sent to the Emperor's court, whether it were in Spain or Flanders, at the sole charge of the King of England, and married within four days after her coming thither, in the face of the Church;—her portion limited to 400,000 crowns, if the King should have no issue male, but to be enlarged to 600,000 crowns more, if the King should have any such issue male to succeed in the kingdom; a jointure of 50,000 crowns *per annum* to be made by the Emperor, the one part thereof to be laid in Flanders, and the other in Spain; and finally, that, if either of the said two Princes should break off this marriage, he should forfeit 400,000 crowns to the party injured².

Treaty of marriage with the Emperor Charles V. 1522.

5. And now who could have thought but that the Princess Mary must have been this Emperor's wife, or the wife rather of any Prince than one that was to be begotten by this Emperor on another woman? though in conclusion so it happened. As long as Charles had any need of the assistance and friend-

It is broken through by Charles.

¹ June 19, 1522.—Hall, 641.

² Herbert, 47.

Introduc. ship of England, so long he seemed to go on really in the promised marriage, and by all means must have the Princess sent over presently, to be declared Empress and made Regent of Flanders. But when he had taken the French King at the battle of Pavia¹, sacked Rome, and made the Pope his prisoner, he then conceived himself in a condition of seeking for a wife elsewhere, which might be presently ripe for marriage, without such a tedious expectation as his tarrying for the Princess Mary must needs have brought him. And thereupon he shuts up a marriage with the Lady Isabel, Infanta of Portugal², and daughter to another of his mother's sisters³. For which being questioned by the King, he lays the blame upon the importunity of his council, who could not patiently permit him to remain unmarried till the Princess Mary came to age⁴; and who besides had caused a scruple to be started touching her illegitimation, as being borne by one that had been wife to his eldest brother⁵. King Henry thereupon proceeds to a new treaty with the French, to whom his friendship at the time of their King's captivity had been very useful; which is by them as cheerfully accepted⁶ as by him it had been frankly offered. She had before been promised to the Daulphin of France, but now she is designed for the second son, then Duke of Orleans⁷, who afterwards, by the death of his elder brother, succeeded his father in the crown⁸. But whilst they were upon the

¹ Feb. 24, 1524-5.

² Edd. 1, 2, "Polugull."

³ This marriage was celebrated on March 12, 1525-6.—(Robertson, Hist. of Charles V. i. 416, ed. Oxford, 1825.) Heylyn is therefore wrong in naming the sack of Rome and the capture of the Pope as motives to the breach of the engagement with Mary, these events not having taken place before May and June 1527.

⁴ Herb. 70.

⁵ The statement that the validity of Henry's marriage with Katharine was questioned in Spain is derived from Hall, on whose authority it has been repeated by many later writers. "Among these was Burnet in his first volume; but, having afterwards seen the instructions to the Ambassadors at Madrid, he candidly acknowledged that it was a mistake, (Vol. iii. p. 63)."—Lingard, vi. 85.

⁶ Edd. 1, 2, "excepted."

⁷ It was agreed that she should marry Francis himself, if he remained unmarried until she attained the age of puberty; otherwise, the Duke of Orleans.—Herb. 80; Lingard, vi. 117.

⁸ Henry II.

174 treaty, the former question touching her legitimation was again revived by the Bishop of Tarbie¹, one of the commissioners for the French; which, though it seemed not strong enough to dissolve the treaty, which the French were willing to conclude (as their affairs then stood) upon any conditions, yet it occasioned many troubles in the court of England, and almost all Christendom besides. Introduc.
Question as
to lawfulness
of the mari-
riage with
Katherine.

6. For now the doubt, being started a second time, and started now by such who could not well subsist without his friendship, began to make a deep impression in the mind of the King, and to call back such passages to his remembrance as otherwise would have been forgotten. He now bethinks himself of the protestation which he had made in the presence of Bishop Fox, before remembered, never to take the Lady Katherine for his wife; looks on the death of his two sons as a punishment on him for proceeding in the marriage; and casts a fear of many inconveniences, or mischiefs rather, which must inevitably befall this kingdom, if he should die, and leave no lawful issue to enjoy the crown. Hope of more children there was none, and little pleasure to be taken in a conversation which the disproportion of their years and a greater inequality in their dispositions must render less agreeable every day than other. In this perplexity of mind, he consults his confessor², by whom he was advised to make known his griefs to Cardinal Wolsie, on whose judgment he relied in most other matters; which happened so directly to the Cardinal's mind, as if he had contrived the project. The Emperor had lately crossed him in his suit for the Popedom³, and since denied him the Arch- 1526.

¹ Tarbes.—Herb. 81. Hall states that “that matter was put in suspense, because *the President of Paris* [‘Master Antony Vesey, second President of Paris,’ who was one of the commissioners], doubted whether the marriage between the King and her mother were good or no.”—720.

² Longland, Bishop of Lincoln. This is Henry's own account of the matter (Stow, 543); but it is stated on the other hand that Longland mentioned the subject to the King, and had been instigated to do so by Wolsey. See Wordsworth, *Ecl. Biog.* i. 548, who is disposed to acquit Wolsey. For the other view, Weber, *Gesch. d. Akathol. Kirchen v. Grossbritannien*, i. 654, and his quotation from Turner.

³ A.D. 1523.—*Camd. Eliz.* 364; Robertson, *Charles V.*, i. 364, ed. Oxf.

Introduc. bishoprick of Toledo¹, with the promise whereof he had before bound him to his side. And now the Cardinal resolves to take the opportunity of the King's distractions, for perfecting his revenge against him. In order whereunto, as he had drawn the King to make peace with France, and to conclude a marriage for his daughter with the Duke of Orleans; so now he hopes to separate him from the bed of Katherine, the Emperor's aunt, and marry him to Madam Rhenee², the French Queen's sister, who afterwards was wife to the Duke of Ferrara. About which time the picture of Madam Margaret, the sister of King Francis, first married to the Duke of Alanzon, was brought amongst others into England, by Thomas Bollen, Viscount Rochford, at his return from the French court, where he had been Ambassador for the King of England: which first occasioned a report in the common people, and afterwards a mistake in our common chronicles³ touching this lady's being designed by Wolsie for a wife to his master; whereas she was at that time actually married to the Count of Albret, King of Navarre in title, and in title only⁴.

Anne Boleyn
appears at
the English
court.
1527.

7. But Rochford brought with him out of France another piece, which more excelled the picture of the Duchess of Alanzon than that Duchess did the ordinary beauties in the court of France; that is to say, his daughter Anne, whom he had bred up for a time in the house of the Duchess, which rendered her an exact mistress of the gaities and garb of the great French ladies⁵. Appearing in the court of England, she

¹ The refusal of the Archbishoprick of Toledo rests on the authority of Polydore Vergil.—Herb. 84. It appears that Wolsey had enjoyed a pension of 10,000 ducats out of the revenues of that see,—conferred by the Emperor, and confirmed by the Pope; also that Charles had promised him the bishoprick of Badajoz.—Turner, Hist. of Henry, &c. i. 238. Comp. Harmer, (Wharton), Spec. of Errors, p. 1.

² Renée, afterwards the patroness of Calvin.

³ Hall, 728; Holinsh. iii. 736; Speed, 776; Herbert, 99; Shakespeare, Hen. VIII. Act iii. Sc. 2.

⁴ "Jan. 24, 1527—five months before Wolsey set out on his embassy."—Ling. vi. 380. It would seem, however, that Wolsey had thought of this Princess as a wife for his master *before* her marriage to the titular King of Navarre.

⁵ These words are repeated in the Introduction to the reign of Elizabeth, § 2; which section may be referred to for the time of Anne Boleyn's return to England.

shewed herself with so many advantages above all other ladies Introduc.
 about the Queen, that the King easily took notice of her. Whether more captivated by the allurements of her beauty or the facetiousness of her behaviour, it is hard to say; certain it is, that he suffered himself to be so far transported in affection towards her, that he could think of nothing else but what might tend to the accomplishment of his desires; so that the separation from the bed of Katherine, which was but coldly followed upon ease of conscience, is now more hotly prosecuted in the heat of concupiscence. In the meantime the King adviseth with the Cardinal, and the Cardinal with the most learned men in the realm of England¹. By whom it was modestly resolved, that the King had a very just ground to consult the Pope, and to use all lawful means for extricating himself out of those perplexities in which this marriage had involved him. The Pope had been beholden to the King for procuring his liberty when the imperialists held him prisoner in the fort of St Angelo, and was in reason bound to gratify him for so great a benefit. But then
 5 withal, he neither was to provoke the Emperor, nor hazard the
 175 authority and reputation of the see apostolic, by running on the King's errand with more haste than speed. He therefore goes to work like a Pope of Rome, and entertains the King with hopes, without giving the Emperor and his adherents any cause of despair. A commission is therefore granted to two Cardinals², that is to say, Cardinal Thomas Wolsie, Archbishop of York, and Lawrence Campegius, whom Henry some few years before had made Bishop of Salisbury³; both beneficiaries to the King, and therefore like enough to consult more his interest than the Queen's contentment.

8. Of the erecting of a Court Legantine in the convent of the Black Friars in London, the citing of the King and Queen to appear before them, the King's pathetic oration in the bemoaning of his own misfortunes, and the Queen's appeal from the two Cardinals to the Pope, I shall now say nothing; leaving

Process of the divorce from Katherine.

¹ Cavendish, Life of Wolsey, in Wordsw. Eecl. Biog. i. 539.

² See the correspondence in the Appendix to Burnet, Vol. 1. b. 2. A bull of dispensation, authorising the King, for the sake of offspring, to contract a second marriage, in Wilkins, iii. 707.

³ 1524. He was afterwards deprived.—See i. 65.

Introduc. the reader for those passages to our common annals¹. Suffice
 it² in this place to note, that, while the business went on favourable in the King's behalf, Wolsie was given to understand of his desperate loves to Mistress Bollen; which represented to him two ensuing mischiefs, not to be otherwise avoided than by slackening the course of these proceedings. For, first, he saw that if the King should be divorced definitively from his present wife, he should not be able to draw him to accept of Madam Rhenee, the French Queen's sister, which was the mark he chiefly aimed at. And secondly, he feared that Mistress Anne had brought so much of the Lutheran³ with her as might in time become destructive to the Church of Rome. Of this he certifies the Pope; the Pope recalls Campegius, and revokes his commission⁴,—leaving the King to cast about to some new ways to effect his purpose. And at this time it happened, that Dr Thomas Cranmer (who afterwards obtained to the see of Canterbury) discoursing with some of the King's Ministers⁵

¹ June, 1529.—Hall, 754; Stow, 541; Holinsh. iii. 737; Speed, 779; Godwin, 52; Herbert, 107; Cavendish, Life of Wolsey in Wordsw. Ecl. Biog. i. 542.

² "it," omitted in Edd. 1, 2.

³ Baker, 277. "A gentlewoman nothing favourable to his pontifical pomp, nor no great follower of the rite of those times."—Speed, 782. Comp. 783.

"What though I know her virtuous,
 And well deserving? yet I know her for
 A spleeny Lutheran."—Shakesp. Hen. VIII. Act iii. Sc. 2.

⁴ Stow, 559.

⁵ Edward Fox, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, the almoner, and Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, the secretary. John Fox relates that, when attending on the King in a progress, these two lodged at Waltham in the house of a gentleman named Cressy, and there met with Cranmer, who was tutor to the sons of their host, and had withdrawn from Cambridge with his pupils on account of a sickness then prevailing in the University. (viii. 6.) The martyrologist differs from Heylyn, in stating that Cranmer suggested an appeal to the Universities at home as well as to those of other countries; and the truth of the statement, both in its wider and in its narrower extent, has been disputed. Collier argues (iv. 150) that it must be erroneous, because the meeting at Waltham did not take place until August 1529; whereas (1) the determination of the University of Orleans bears date April 1529; (2) the King, in his speech at Bridewell, Nov. 8, 1528 (Fox, ii. 327, ed. 1631) declares that he had already applied to "the greatest clerks in Christendom" for their opinions; (3) Ca-

about the intricateness and perplexity of this great affair, declared for his opinion in it, that it were better for the King to

Introduc.

vendish (in Wordsw. *Ecl. Biog.* i. 539) ascribes to Wolsey the suggestion of a reference to the Universities. The same reasoning is repeated by Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, 444; and in deference to it Dr Wordsworth (*Ecl. Biog.* iii. 129), and Dr Jenkyns (Pref. to Cranmer, vii.), have given up Fox's story as untrue—in so far, at least, as concerns the *subject* of the conference. On the other hand, Archdeacon Todd (*Life of Cranmer*, i. 11, seqq.) and Dr Weber, of Heidelberg, (in his *Gesch. der Akatholischen Kirchen und Sekten von Grossbritannien*, i. 656-7,—a careful and well-digested work, which as yet extends only to the end of Henry's reign) endeavour to maintain the claim put in for Cranmer, while they allow that the consultation of the Universities had been before proposed by Wolsey. To me it appears that the compromise attempted by the last-mentioned writers is less probable than either of the opinions between which it is intended to mediate. For how, on this supposition, can we account for the sudden rise of Cranmer? If the consultation had been before suggested by Wolsey, is it likely that a repetition of this old idea from another quarter would have been hailed as particularly valuable, or regarded as a token of singular merit in the proposer? (Mr Todd and Dr Weber add to the improbability of their view, by admitting—the former, that the Orleans decree had already been given: the latter, that the English Universities had been consulted before Nov. 1528; admissions which are both erroneous.) On the whole, I cannot but consider Fox's statement the most probable. For (1) the date of the Orleans determination is incorrect. Dr Weber assumes it to be so, because all the other academical judgments are of 1530, and he cannot suppose that that of Orleans preceded them by a year; but we have more satisfactory evidence in the wording itself—"die quinto mensis Aprilis, *ante pascha*." For in 1529, Easter-day was March 28; in 1530, it was April 17, (Nicolas, *Chronology*, 66-7); so that we must refer the decree to the latter year, and suppose the scribe to have committed an error, which might very easily be made, when the beginning of the year was reckoned from March 25. (2) Henry's words in Nov. 1528 are more naturally to be understood of a reference to individual Divines and Canonists, than to academic bodies. (3) It might seem that Cavendish, a contemporary, and a member of Wolsey's household, would be the highest authority on this subject, and entitled to claim our belief; he has, however, vitiated his story by stating that Wolsey not only suggested the reference to the Universities, but procured their opinions under their several seals, (Wordsw. i. 540):—a statement which cannot possibly be true, as it was not until after the Cardinal's disgrace that a judgment was given by any University—that of Cambridge bearing date in Feb. 1530 (Burnet, i. b. ii. Append. 32); that of Oxford, April 8 (Wood's *Hist. of Oxford*, ed. Gutch, iv.

Introduc. govern himself therein by the judgment and determination of the universities beyond the seas, than to depend upon the shifts and artifices of the court of Rome¹. Which being told unto the King, he dispatched Cranmer unto Rome, in the company of Rochford, now made Earl of Wiltshire², to maintain the King's cause by disputation; and at the same time employs his agents to the universities of France and Italy, who, being under the command of the French King or the power of the Pope, gave sentence in behalf of Henry, condemning his marriage with the Lady Katherine, the relict of his brother, to be simply unlawful in itself, and therefore not to be made valid by a dispensation from the Popes of Rome.

Fall of
Wolsey.

9. The putting the King upon this course proved the fall of Wolsey; who, growing every day less than other in the King's esteem, was brought within the compass of a *præmunire*³, and thereby stript of all his goods, to an infinite value; removed not long after unto York, and there arrested⁴ of high treason by the Earl of Northumberland, and committed to the custody of Sir William Kingston, being then Lieutenant of the Tower. By whom conducted towards London, he departed this life in the abbey of Leicester⁵: his great heart not being able to endure so many indignities as had been lately put upon him, and having cause to fear much worse than his former sufferings. But the removing this rub did not much smoothe the way to the King's desires. The Queen's appeal unto the Pope was the greatest difficulty, from which since she could not be removed, it must be made unprofitable and ineffectual for

1530.

44); those of foreign Universities, in the spring of the same year. We are, therefore, justified in setting Cavendish's witness aside, except as to the fact of Wolsey's having held consultations on the subject of the divorce with Bishops and other learned persons. In addition to this, we know that between Christmas and Easter 1528-9, there were conferences at Lambeth between divines from both Universities, which did not end in any decisive conclusion.—(Wood, Hist. Oxf. iv. 36.) But, as there was no academic sentence, either at home or abroad, until 1530, and as the arguments of Collier and others do not bear examination, I have little hesitation in believing the statement of Fox—that the consultation of the Universities was first proposed by Cranmer, and that in or about the month of August 1529.

¹ Dec. 8, 1529.—Godwin, 68.

² Herbert, 140.

⁴ Nov. 4, 1530.

³ Oct. 1529.—Sup. i. 38.

⁵ Nov. 30.—Godw. 65.

the time to come. And thereupon a proclamation¹ is set forth Introduct.
on the 19th of September, 1530, in these following words, viz.:

6
176 “THE King’s Highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, of what estate, degree or condition, he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase, from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, nor use, nor put in execution, divulge or publish, any thing heretofore within this year passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative royal of this said realm, or to the let, hindrance, or impeachment of his Grace’s noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises; upon pain of incurring his Highness’s indignation, and imprisonment and farther punishment of their bodies, for their so doing, at his Grace’s pleasure, to the dreadful example of all others.”

10. This was the prologue to the downfall of the Pope in England, seconded by the King’s taking to himself the title of Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland², acknowledged in the convocation, and confirmed in parliament, and ending finally in an Act intituled, “An Act for extinguishing the Authority of the Bishops of Rome³.” And in all this the King did nothing but what he had example and authority for, at that very time; for in the year 1520, (being but ten years before the setting forth of this proclamation), Monsieur d’Lautreth, governor for the French King in the dukedom of Millain, taking a displeasure against Pope Leo the Tenth, deprived him of all his jurisdiction within the dukedom. And that being done, he so disposed of all ecclesiastical affairs, that the Church there was supremely governed by the Bishop of Bigorre (a Bishop of the Church of France) without the intermeddling of the Pope at all⁴. The like we find to have been done by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who, being no less displeas’d with Pope Clement the Seventh⁵, abolished the

The Pope
disowned.

¹ Sup. i. 38; Hall, 772; Fox, ii. 329, ed. 1631, wrongly refers this proclamation to the year 1532, and is followed by Wilkins, iii. 755.

² Sup. i. 38-9.

³ Sup. i. 39.

⁴ Ut prefecto sacris Bigoranno [Bigerronum] Episcopo, omnia sine Romani Pontificis autoritate administrarentur.—Thuan. *Author.* [Thuan. l. i. c. 9, Tom. i. p. 20—where it is explained in a note that *Bigerronum Episcopus* means the Bishop of Tarbes.]

⁵ Edd. “eighth.”

Introduct. papal power and jurisdiction out of all the churches of his kingdom in Spain; which though it held but for a while (till the breach was closed) yet left he an example by it (as my author noteth) that there was no necessity of any Pope or supreme Pastor in the Church of Christ¹. And before either of these acts or edicts came in point of practice, the learned Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, (when the Pope's power was greater far than it was at the present), had writ and published a discourse, entituled *De Auferibilitate Papæ*², touching the total abrogating of the papal office. Which certainly he had never done, had the papal office been found essential and of intrinsecal concernment to the Church of Christ. According unto which position of that learned man, the greatest Princes of those times did look upon the Pope, and the papal power, as an excrescence at the least in the body mystical, subject and fit to be pared off as occasion served. And if they did or do permit him to retain any part of his former greatness, it is permitted rather upon self ends or reasons of state, or otherwise to serve their turn by him as their need requireth, than out of any opinion of his being so necessary that the Church cannot be well governed or subsist without him.

1531. 11. But leaving these disputes to some other place, we must return unto the Queen. To whom some Lords are sent in the end of May, anno 1531, declaring to her the determinations of the universities concerning the pretended marriage betwixt her and the King. And therewith they demanded of her, whether, for quieting the King's conscience and putting an end to that debate, she would be content to refer the matter to four Bishops and four temporal Lords. But this she absolutely refused, saying, she was his lawful wife, that she would stand to her appeal, and condescend to nothing in that particular, but by the counsel of the Emperor, and the rest of

¹ Ecclesiasticam disciplinam citra Romani [pontificii] nominis auctoritatem posse consecrari, [ad tempus conservari.] *Author*. [Thuan. l. i. c. 11, T. i. p. 23. It will be seen that Heylyn has somewhat exaggerated the opinion of De Thou—especially when the omission of the words *ad tempus* is considered, (*consecrari* being merely a misprint, as appears by comparing our author's Tracts, p. 25—from which place the argument of this section is repeated.)]

² Opera, i. 154, ed. Paris, 1606.

her friends¹. This answer makes the King more resolute, Introduct.
 more open in the demonstration of his affections to the Lady
 Anne Bollen; whom he makes Marchioness of Pembroke,
 by his letters patents, bearing date the first of September,
 1532²; takes her along with him to Callis in October follow- 1532.
 ing, there to behold the glorious interview betwixt him and
 the French King, and, finally, privately marrieth her within
 few days after his return³, the divorce being yet unsentenced
 betwixt him and the Queen. Not long after which, it was
 thought necessary to the King to call a parliament, wherein
 he caused an Act to pass, that no person should appeal for
 any cause out of this realm to the Pope of Rome⁴; but that
 all appeals should be made by the party grieved from the Com-
 missary to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop,
 and from the Archbishop to the King, as had been anciently
 observed amongst the first Kings of the house of Normandy.
 It was also enacted in the same, that all causes [of] ecclesias-
 tical cognisance⁵, in which the King himself was a party, should
 7
 177 be determined finally in the upper house of convocation, with-
 out being bound to make recourse to the court of Rome.
 During the sitting of which parliament it is declared by pro-
 clamations, that Queen Katherine should no longer be called
 Queen, but Princess Dowager, as being the widow of Prince
 Arthur, not the wife of King Henry⁶.

12. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the meantime
 dying⁷, Cranmer is designed for his successor in that eminent
 dignity; which he unwillingly accepts of, partly in regard that
 he was married at that time, and partly in reference to an oath
 which he was to take unto the Pope at his consecration⁸. But
 the King was willing, for his own ends, to wink at the one,
 and the Pope was not in a condition, (as the case then stood.)
 to be too peremptory in the other. So that a protestation

Cranmer
 raised to the
 Primacy.

¹ Hall, 781; Herbert, 53.

² Speed, 783.

³ On the date of the marriage, see Eliz. Introd. § 7 and note.

⁴ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

⁵ Edd. 1, 2, "all causes ecclesiastical cognisances." Ed. 3, "all causes ecclesiastical," (omitting "cognisance.")

⁶ Stow, 562; Holinsh. iii. 777.

⁷ Aug. 22, 1532.—Richardson, in Godwin De Præsul. 136.

⁸ Fox, viii. 65; Godwin, Ann. 70. His unwillingness is denied by Lingard: but see Jenkyns, iv. 92; Weber, Gesch. d. Akath. Kirchen, 282.

Introduct. being admitted, of not being otherwise bound to the Pope than should be found agreeable to the word of God¹, and the laws and statutes of the realm, he takes his oath, and receives the episcopal consecration, the 30th of March, 1533², the parliament still sitting which before we spake of. At his first entrance into the house of convocation, he propounds two questions³ to be considered and disputed by the Bishops and Clergy; the first was, whether the marrying of a brother's wife, carnally known, though without any issue by him, be so prohibited by the will and word of God, as not to be dispensed withal by the Pope of Rome. The second was, whether it did appear, upon the evidence given in before the Cardinals, that Katherine had been carnally known by Prince Arthur, or not. Both questions being carried in the affirmative, though not without some opposition in either house,—in the first especially;—it was concluded thereupon in the convocation, and not long after in the parliament also, that the King might lawfully proceed to another marriage.

He gives
sentence of
divorce.

13. These preparations being made, the marriage precondemned by convocation, and all appeals to Rome made ineffectual by Act of parliament, the new Archbishop (upon his own desire and motion, contained in his letters of the 11th

¹ Wilkins, iii. 757. "Non est, nec erit, meæ voluntatis aut intentionis, per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualiterunque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorundem posthac dicend. faciend. aut attemptand. quod erit aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra illustrissimum Regem nostrum Angliæ, aut rempublicam hujus sui regni Angliæ, legesve aut prærogativas ejusdem; et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta quovismodo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam in omnibus in singulis reformationem religionis christianæ, gubernationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, republicæve commoditatem quoquomodo concernentibus, et ea ubique exequi et reformare, quæ mihi in ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videntur." On Cranmer's protestation, see Palmer's Treatise on the Church, i. 536, ed. 1838; Massingberd's Hist. of the English Reformation, Lond. 1842, p. 271. It was, as Dr Weber observes, in accordance with the casuistry of the time, if not with true morality; "and Romish and Jesuitical writers are the last persons who can have any right to speak severely in reproof of it."—Akathol. Kirchen v. Grossbrit. i. 283.

² Godw. de Præsul. 139.

³ Wilkins, iii. 758.

of April) is authorised by the King, under his sign manual, to proceed definitively in the cause¹. Who thereupon, accompanied with the Bishops of London, Winchester, Wells, and Lincoln, and divers other persons to serve as officers in that court, repaired to Dunstable in the beginning of May; and, having a convenient place prepared in the form of a consistory, they sent a citation to the Princess Dowager, who was then at Amptill, (a manor-house of the King's about six miles off), requiring her to appear before them at the day appointed. Which day being come, and no appearance by her made, either in person or by proxy, (as they knew there would not), she is called peremptorily every day, fifteen days together²; and every day there was great posting betwixt them and the court, to certify the King and Cromwell, (a principal stickler in this business), how all matters went. In one of which, from the new Archbishop, extant in the Cottonian library³, a resolution is signified to Cromwell for coming to a final sentence on Friday the 18th of that month, but with a vehement conjuration both to him and the King, not to divulge so great a secret, for fear the Princess Dowager on the hearing of it, either before, or on the day of passing sentence, should make her appearance in the court. "For," saith he, "if the noble Lady Katherine should, upon the bruit of this matter, either in the mouths of the inhabitants of the country, or by her friends or counsel hearing of this bruit, be moved, stirred, counselled, or persuaded to appear before me, in the time or afore the time of sentence, I should be thereby greatly stayed and let in the process, and the King's Grace's counsel here present shall be much uncertain what shall be then further done therein. For a great bruit and voice of the people in this behalf might perchance move her to do the thing which peradventure she would not if she hear little of it. And therefore I pray you to speak as little of this matter as you may, and to move the King's Highness so to do, for consideration above recited."

8
178 But so it happened to their wish, that the Queen, persisting constant in her resolution of standing to the judgment of no other court than the court of Rome, vouchsafed not to take

¹ The letters both of Crammer and of the King are printed in Cramm. Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 237-8.

² Stow, 563.

³ Printed in Cramm. Works, ii. 242.

Introduct. any notice of their proceeding in this cause. And thereupon, at the day and time before designed, she was pronounced to be contumax for defect of appearance; and by the general consent of all the learned men then present, the sentence of the divorce was passed, and her marriage with the King declared void, and of none effect¹.

Behaviour
of Queen
Katherine.

14. Of all these doings, as the divorced Queen would take no notice, so by her officers and attendants she was served as in her former capacity. Which coming to the King's knowledge, he sends the Duke of Suffolk and some others in the month of July, with certain instructions given in writing, to persuade her to submit to the determinations of the King and state, to lay aside the title of Queen, to content herself with that of the Princess Dowager; and to remove her from the Bishop of Lincoln's house at Bugden², where she then remained, to a place called Somersham, belonging to the Bishop and Church of Ely. To none of which when she would hearken, an oath is tendered to her officers and the rest of her household, to serve her only in the capacity of Princess Dowager, and not as formerly in the notion of a Queen of England. Which at first was generally refused amongst them, upon a resolution which had been made in the case by Abel and Berker, her two Chaplains; that is to say, that, having already took an oath to serve her as Queen, they could not with a good conscience take any other³. But in the end, a fear of losing their said places, but more of falling into the King's displeasure, so prevailed upon them, that the oath was taken by most of them;—not suffered from thenceforth to come into the Queen's presence, (who looked upon them as the betrayers of her cause), or to perform any service about her person. Some motives to induce her to a better conformity were ordered to be laid before her; none like to be more prevalent than that which might concern the interest of her daughter Mary. And therefore it was offered to her consideration—"That chiefly and above all things she should have regard to the honourable and her most dear daughter, the Lady Princess; from whom, in

¹ May 23.—Wilkins, iii. 759; Stow, 563; Herbert, 101-5.

² Edd. 1, 2, "Bayden."

³ Hall, 807-8. Comp. Letter of Suffolk and others to the King, Dec. 19, 1533.—State Pap. Henry VIII., i. 415.

case the King's Highness, (being thus enforced, exagitated, and moved by the unkindness of the Dowager), might also withdraw his princely estimation, goodness, zeal, and affection, it would be to her no little regret, sorrow, and extreme calamity¹." But the wise Queen knew well enough, that if she stood, her daughter could not do amiss; whereas there could be nothing gained by such submissions, but the dishonour of the one, the bastardizing of the other, and the excluding of them both from all possibility of being restored in time to come to their first condition. Introduct.

15. Finding small hopes of any justice to be done her in the realm of England, and not well able to endure so many indignities as had been daily put upon her, she makes her complaint unto the Pope, whom she found willing to shew his teeth, though he could not bite. For presently hereupon a bull² is issued, for accursing both the King and the realm: the bearer whereof³, not daring to proclaim the same in England, caused it to be set up in some public places in the town of Dunkirk, (one of the haven towns of Flanders), that so the roaring of it might be heard on this side of the sea, to which it was not safe to bring it. But neither the Pope nor the Queen Dowager got any thing by this rash adventure, which only served to exasperate the King against them, as also against all which adhered unto them. For in the following parliament, which began on the 15th⁴ of January, and ended on the 30th of March, an Act was passed, inhibiting the payment of firstfruits to the Bishop of Rome, and for the electing, Measures
against
opposers of
the divorce.

¹ See a Letter of Mountjoy and others to the Council, State Papers, i. 400. The volume contains much correspondence relating to conferences with Katherine.

² I cannot find that any bull against Henry was framed before 1535, or published before 1538.—(Sup. i. 20.) Godwin, whom Heylyn appears to have followed in some respects, antedates the supposed bull yet further—representing it as having preceded and provoked the reduction of Katherine's household. (74-5.) It would seem that there is some confusion between the decisions of the Pope and his consistory against the divorce—which were accompanied with threats of excommunication in case of disobedience,—(Collier. iv. 217, 227),—and the bulls of later date. Paul III. in his bull of 1535, mentions censures (the margin says excommunication) passed on Henry by Clement VII.—Bullar. Rom. ed. Rom. 1745, vi. 126.

³ Edd. "hereof."

⁴ Edd. "25th."

Introd. 1534. consecrating, and confirming of the Archbishops and Bishops in the realm of England, without recourse unto the Pope, [25 Hen. VIII.] cap. 20. Another Act for the attaindure of Elizabeth Barton¹, commonly called "the holy maid of Kent," with many other her adherents, for stickling in the cause of the Princess Dowager, cap. 12, and finally, of establishing the succession in the crown imperial of this realm, cap. 22. In which last Act, the sentence of the divorce was confirmed and ratified, the Princess Mary declared to be illegitimate, the succession of the crown entailed on the King's issue by Queen Anne Bollen, an oath prescribed for all the subjects in maintenance of the said statute of succession, and taken by the Lords and Commons at the end of that parliament, as generally by all the subjects of the kingdom within few months after. For the refusal whereof², as also for denying the King's supremacy, and some suspicion of confederacy with Elizabeth Barton, Doctor John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, not many days before created Cardinal by Pope Paul the Third, was on the 22nd of June beheaded publicly on the Tower-hill, and his head most disgracefully fixed upon a pole, and set on the top of the gate on London-bridge. And on the sixth of July then next following, Sir Thomas Moor, who had succeeded Wolsey in the place of Lord Chancellor, was beheaded for the same cause also³. But I find him not accused, as I do the other, for having any hand in the conspiracy of Elizabeth Barton⁴.

1535.

9
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¹ On the subject of Elizabeth Barton, see Hall, 808-814; Stow, 569-571; Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 271-4.

² Fisher and More were willing to swear to the succession, but objected to the preamble of the Act. "The offensive passages in this statute seem to be these: viz. the parliament's pronouncing against the dispensation with the first marriage. Secondly, their declaring for the legality of Cranmer's proceedings in the divorce. And thirdly, there were some pretty broad satirical expressions against the Pope's supremacy. But which of these particulars, or whether all of them, shocked Fisher and More, they would not discover. Cranmer advised the admitting them to swear upon their own terms, as appears by his letter to Cromwell."—Collier, iv. 242. Comp. Wordsworth, *Ecel. Biog.* ii. 141; Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 286; Strype, *Cranm.* ed. *Ecel. Hist.* Soc. i. 337-340.

³ Hall, 817; Stow, 572; Holinsh. iii. 793; Herbert, 174, 183-4.

⁴ Herbert states that she named More as concerned.—176. But this, if not an error of the historian, would seem to have been a

16. The execution of which great persons, and of so many others who wished well unto her, added so much affliction to the desolate and disconsolate Queen, that, not being able longer to bear the burden of so many miseries, she fell into a languishing sickness; which more and more increasing on her, and finding the near approach of death, (the only remedy now left for all her sorrows), she dictated this ensuing letter, which she caused to be delivered to the King by one of her women, wherein she laid before him these her last requests, viz.:

Introduc.

 Death of
 Katherine.

“MY MOST DEAR LORD, KING, AND HUSBAND;”
 (for so she called him.)

17. “THE hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose but, out of the love I bear you, advise you of your soul’s health, which you ought to prefer above all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever: for which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father unto her, as I have heretofore desired. I must entreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being but three. And to all my other servants a year’s pay, besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes have desired you above all things.

“Farewell¹.”

18. Within few days after the writing of which letter, that is to say, on the eighth of January then next following, 1535-6.

falsehood on her part. “What presumptions lay against Sir Thomas More, I have not been able to find out, only that he wrote a letter to the nun, at which the King took great exception; yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her, for in discourse with his beloved daughter, Mrs Roper, he called her commonly the silly nun.”—Burnet, i. 303. Among the documents attached to his second volume, Burnet prints (401) a letter from More to Cromwell, in which the nun is spoken of as a hypocrite and impostor. This letter had been suppressed by the Romish editors of More’s works.—(Burnet, ii. 634.) Comp. Wordsworth, *Ecel. Biog.* ii. 132; *Liugard*, vi. 212.

¹ Herb. 188.

Introduc. she yielded her pious soul to God at the King's manor-house of Kimbolton, in the county of Huntington, and was solemnly interred not long after in the abbey of Peterborough¹. The reading of her letter drew some tears from the King, which could not but be much increased by the news of her death. Moved by them both to such a measure of commiseration of her sad condition, that he caused the greatest part of her goods, (amounting to 5000 marks), to be expended on her funeral, and in the recompensing of such of her servants as had best deserved it². Never so kind to her in the time of her life, as when he had rendered her incapable of receiving a kindness.

Subsequent
history of
Mary.

19. The Princess Mary is now left wholly to herself, declared illegitimate by her father, deprived of the comfort of her mother, and in a manner forsaken by all her friends, whom the severe proceedings against Moor and Fisher had so deterred that few durst pay her any offices of love or duty. Of any proceedings in the match with the Duke of Orleans we hear no more news, all further prosecution of it being at a stand by the misfortunes of her mother; nor was she sought in marriage by any other Prince in the life of her father, but only by James the Fifth of Scotland³; but finding himself deluded in it by King Henry, he thought it best to strengthen himself by a match with France, where he was first married to Madam Magdalene, the first daughter of King Francis, and afterwards to Mary, daughter of Claude of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, by whom he had one only daughter, called Mary also. In which condition, the poor Princess had no greater comfort than what she could gather from her books, in which she had been carefully instructed by Doctor John Voisie, alias Harman, appointed her tutor by the King, and, for his good performance in that place of trust, advanced by him to the see of Exon, anno 1529⁴, and afterwards made Lord President

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¹ Hall, 818.

² Herb. 188.

³ Tytler, v. pp. 196, 208. This historian, however, speaks of the match as desired by Henry; and as declined by James, out of a wish to avoid any share in the English King's breach with Rome.

⁴ Heylyn has dated Voysey's appointment to the bishoprick ten years after the real time. (1519, Godw. de Præsul. 416), and is, consequently, incorrect in stating that he owed his preferment to the

of Wales: which fell out better for the tutor than it did for Introduc.
 the pupil; who, being left destitute of the counsel of so grave
 a man, began to give way more and more to her grief and
 passions, which brought her at the last to such an averseness
 from the King, and such a manifest disaffection to his person
 and government, that he was once upon the point of sending
 her prisoner to the Tower; and had so done, if Cranmer had
 not interposed some powerful reasons to dissuade him from it¹.

20. During which time of her averseness, the King sent
 certain of the Lords to remove her to Hatfield; who, having
 no authority to treat her by the name of Princess, but only
 to execute the King's commands, gave her occasion thus to
 signify her discontentments, "My Lords (said she) as touching
 my removing 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 sen-
 tence definitive; to whose final judgment I submit myself²." In
 pursuance of which claim to the title of Princess, together
 with the privileges and pre-eminences thereunto belonging, she
 writes this following letter to the King her father, on a like
 occasion:

successful discharge of his duties as Mary's tutor. She was but three
 years old when he was made Bishop.

¹ "He was fully purposed to proceed further with her, (as is re-
 ported) had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer the Archbishop
 reconciled the King to favour and pardon his own daughter."—Fox,
 ii. 787, ed. 1631.

² Fox, ii. 788, ed. 1631.

Introduc. “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 shewed 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 unto the Castle of Hartford. Whereupon I desired him to see the same letter, which he shewed me ; wherein was written, that the Lady Mary, the King’s daughter, should remove to the place before said,—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 should. And in all other things your Grace shall have me always as humble an 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. 11 181

“By your most humble daughter,

“MARY, Princess¹.

“From your manor of Beaulieu², Octob. 2.”

And on these terms she stood from the divorce of her mother till the attaindure of Queen Anne Bollen, against whom she thought it did concern her to bear up to the highest, as she did accordingly.

Her condition improved after the death of Queen Anne.

21. But growing into better hopes by the death of the said Queen Anne, the annulling of the marriage also, and the bastardizing of the Princess Elizabeth, her only daughter, she began to cast about again, writes her submissive letters to the King her father, and humbly craves some testimonies of his love and goodness. Which so prevailed, that the Duke of Norfolk is sent to treat with her upon certain instructions,—so

¹ Fox, ii. 788, ed. 1631.

² Edd. Heyl. “Beaulien.”

necessary to the knowledge of her affairs in this conjuncture, Introduc.
that they deserve a place here, and are these that follow¹ :

“Certain articles and injunctions given by the King’s Highness to his right 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.

“FIRST, whereas the said Lady Mary hath sundry ways, with long continuance, shewed 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’s 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 aforesaid. And that of late nevertheless, calling to remembrance her transgressions and offences in this part towards God, [and] 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 ingrately 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 Ma-

¹ Herbert gives the articles only, without the preamble.—195. Strype also gives only the articles from a different copy.—Ecel. Mem. i. App. No. 75. Comp. State Papers, i. 458-9. The MS., in the Cottonian Library, is greatly mutilated.

Introduct. jesty'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 inquire of her certain questions. Her answers whereunto his pleasure is they shall require, and note in writing; which shall throughly decipher whether she be indeed the person she pretendeth, or for any respect hath with general words laboured to cloke the special matter, which is repugnant and contrary to that which his Majesty hath gathered and conceived of the same.

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“(1) And first, after their access and declaration of the premises, they shall for their first question demand of her, Whether she doth recognise 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.

“(2) Also, whether she will, with all her power and qualities that God hath endued 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.

“(3) Also, whether she will recognise, 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 that behalf, and¹ of all the King's true subjects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and ob-

¹ Edd. “in the behalf of all,” &c. The alteration is according to the copy of Mary's submission in Collier, iv. 349. Strype reads “in that behalf,” but omits the remainder of the article.

served: 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. Introduc.

“(4) 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 recognise 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 unlawful¹.

“(5) Also, be she inquired or examined, for what cause, and by whose motion and means, she hath continued and remained in her obstinacy so long; and who did embold or animate her thereto, with other circumstances thereto² appertaining?

“(6) Also, What is the cause that she at this present time, rather than at any other heretofore, doth submit herself?”

22. To these six articles she was required to give a plain and positive answer; which plainly shews the doubtfulness and uncertainty of her present condition, in being either forced to confess herself to be illegitimate, or running on the last hazard of the King's displeasure if she should do otherwise. But, wisely considering in herself whom she had to deal with, she thought it safest to strike sail, and to submit herself to him, with whom it was not lawful for her to dispute that point, if she had been able. She therefore makes a clear acknowledgment of the four first articles, by the subscribing of her name³; but craved leave to demur on the two last, because some persons were concerned in them whom she was not willing to discover. And by this means she gained so far upon the King, that from

¹ This article is considerably different in Strype; who inserts between it and the next, one in which the Princess acknowledges herself to be “illegitimate and a bastard.”

² So Strype: edd. Heyl. “thereof.”

³ Herbert, 195. The submission is printed by Burnet, i. 418; Collier, iv. 339.

Introduc. that time forward he held her in the same rank with the rest of his children; gave her her turn in the succession of the kingdom; assigned her portion of ten thousand pounds, to be paid at her marriage, and in the interim three thousand pounds per annum, for her personal maintenance. And more than this he did not do for his daughter Elizabeth, notwithstanding the esteem and affection which he bare to her mother—for bringing whom into his bed he had cancelled all the bonds of his former marriage. Little or nothing more occurreth of her in the time of King Henry, because there was little or nothing altered in the face of religion, which might give her any cause of public or personal dislike. But when the great alterations happened in the time of King Edward, she then declared herself more openly, (as she might more safely), in opposition to the same: concerning which she thus declares herself in a letter to the Lord Protector and the rest of the council, dated at Kenninghall¹, June 22, anno 1549²:

Her position
in the reign
of Edward.

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“MY LORD,

“I PERCEIVE by the letters which I late received from you, and other of the King’s Majesty’s council, that you be all sorry to find so little conformity in me, touching the observation of his Majesty’s laws; who am well assured 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 the name of law, both for the King’s honour’s sake and the wealth of the realm, and giving the occasion of an evil bruit throughout all Christendom, besides the partiality used in the same, and (as my conscience is very well persuaded) the offending 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

¹ The lordship and manor of Kenninghall, with the impropriate rectory and its appurtenances, were granted to the Lady Mary by Edward VI. May 17, 1548.—*Strype, Eccl. Mem.* ii. 99.

² Fox, vi. 7. Heylyn has not given the whole of the letter.

judge in this matter himself. Whereunto, 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 of mine opinion is for two causes. One principally for my conscience; 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. Introduc.

“Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loth 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. I pray you, my Lord¹, and the rest of the council, no more to unquiet and trouble 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 I¹ 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 of the whole realm. And thus, my Lord², I wish unto you, and all the rest, as well to do as myself.”

23. Upon such passages of this letter which seemed most to pinch upon them, the Lords returned their gloss or comment, but such as had more in it of an animadversion than an expli-

¹ The word “I” is omitted in Fox, as if “pray” were in apposition with “live.”

² Edd. Heyl. “Lords.”

Introduc. tion¹. They signified withal how well they understood their own authority; how sensible they were of those inconveniences which the example of her inconformity to the laws established was likely to produce amongst the rest of the subjects. No favour being otherwise to be hoped for from them, the Emperor is moved to intercede in her behalf by his Ambassador, then residing about the court. Upon whose earnest solicitation, it was declared by the King, with the consent of his council, (as
 1550. appeareth by their letters to her, of the 25th of December), “that for his sake, and her own also, it should be suffered and winked at if she had the private mass used in her own closet for a season, until she might be better informed; but so that none but some few of her own chamber should be present with her, and that to all the rest of her household the service of the Church should be only used².” For the abuse of which indulgence, in saying mass promiscuously (in her absence) to her household servants, Mallet and Barklay, two of her Chaplains, are seized on, and committed prisoners, which first occasioned an exchange of letters betwixt her and the King, and afterwards more frequently between her and the council; for which, consult the Acts and Monuments, fol. 1213—1214³. A proposition had been made, about the surrendry of Bulloign, for a marriage betwixt her and the Prince of Portugal; and the like motion made in favour of the Duke of Brunswick, whilst the other treaty was depending⁴. But neither of the two succeeding to the wish of the party, a plot was laid to pass her over into Flanders; shipping provided to transport her, some of her servants sent before, and a commotion practised in the county of Essex, that in the bustle she might be conveyed away without any discovery. But this plot being happily prevented by the care and diligence of Sir John Gates, one of the captains of the *gens d’armes*, (then lately ranged under the command of the Marquess of Northampton), she was by him conducted, much against her will, to the Lord Chancellor’s house at Leez⁵, from thence to Hunsdon, and at last to Westminster. Much troubled at her coming thither upon the apprehension of Sir Robert

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184¹ Fox, vi. 8.² Fox, vi. 14. See i. 219.³ Fox, vi. 10-22; sup. i. 217-220.⁴ Hayward, 313.⁵ Edd. 1, 2, “Leezdi;” ed. 3, “Leezdy.” I have substituted the form of the name which is usual in the work.

Rochester, Sir [Edward] Walgrave, and Sir Francis Inglefield¹, Introduc.
 servants of special trust about her, and all suspected to be privy
 to the design for conveying her over into Flanders.

24. Much care was taken, and many endeavours used by the King and council, to win her to a good conceit of the Reformation. But her interest was so bound up with that of the Pope, that no persuasions could prevail with her to desert that cause on which her own legitimation and the validity of her mother's marriage did so much depend. As much unprofitable pains was taken by the Emperor's agents, in labouring to procure for her the exercise of her own religion; mingling some threats with their entreaties, in case so great a Prince should be refused in so small a suit. Which when it could not be obtained from the King by the Lords of the Council, nor by the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, (whom the Lords employed to move him in it²), the Emperor laid aside the prosecution of a cause which he perceived he could not carry. And the King slackened by degrees his accustomed diligence in labouring by persuasions to work on one who was resolved beforehand not to be persuaded. So that, being weary of the court, and the court of her, she was permitted for a time to remain at Hunsdon, in the county of Hartford. To which place, (being in the diocese of London), Bishop Ridley had recourse unto her, and at first was kindly entertained. But having staid dinner at her request, he made an offer of his service to preach before her on the Sunday following; to which she answered³, "that the doors of the parish-church adjoining should be open for him, that he might preach there if he listed; but that neither she nor any of her servants

Vain attempts to convert her from Romanism.

[About Sept. 8.] 1552.

¹ Rochester and Waldegrave do not appear to have been Knights at the time in question.

² Sup. i. 219.

³ *Mary*:—"My lord, as for this last matter, I pray you make the answer to it yourself."

Bishop:—"Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you."

Mary:—"Well, I pray you, make the answer, (as I have said,) to this matter yourself; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you an answer,—the door of the parish-church shall be open, &c."—Fox, vi. 354.

Introduc- would be there to hear him." "Madam," said he, "I hope
 you will not refuse to hear God's word." To which she answered, that "she could not tell what they called God's word; that which was now called the word of God not having been accounted such in the days of her father." After which, falling into many different expressions against the religion then established¹, she dismissed him thus—"My Lord," said she, "for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offer to preach before me I thank you not." Which said, he was conducted by Sir Thomas Wharton, one of her principal officers, to the place where they dined, by whom he was presented with a cup of wine; which having drank, and looking very sadly on it, "Surely," said he, "I have done amiss, in drinking in that place where God's word offered was refused. Whereas if I had done my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken the dust from off my feet, in testimony against this house, in which the word of God could not find admittance." Which words he spake with such a vehemency of spirit, as made the hair of some of those which were present to stand an end, as themselves afterwards confessed².

Her
 accession.
 1553.

25. Of this behaviour of the Princess, as the Bishop much complained in other places, so most especially in a sermon preached at St Paul's Cross, on the sixteenth of July³; in which he was appointed by the Lords of the Council to set forth the title of Queen Jane, to whom the succession of the crown had been transferred by King Edward, at the solicitation and procurement of the Duke of Northumberland, who served himself of nothing more than of her obstinate averseness from the reformed religion, then by law established. The cunning contrivance of which plot, and all that had been done in pursuance of it, hath been laid down at large in the Appendix to the former book. Suffice it⁴ in this place to know, that, being secretly advertised of her brother's death, she dispatched her letters of the ninth of July to the Lords of the Council⁵, requiring them not only to acknowledge her just title to the

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¹ "After many bitter words against the form of religion then established."—Fox.

² Fox, vi. 354.

³ Sup. p. 31.

⁴ "it" omitted in Edd. 1. 2.

⁵ Sup. p. 18.

crown of this realm, but to cause proclamation of it to be made in the usual form; which though it was denied by them, as the case then stood, yet she was gratified therein by the Mayor of Norwich, who first proclaimed her Queen, on the fourth day after; as afterwards was done in some other places by those who did prefer the interest of King Henry's children before that of the Dudleys. But hearing of the great preparations which were made against her, and finding her condition in a manner desperate, when she first put herself into Framlingham¹ Castle, she faithfully assured the gentry and other inhabitants of the county of Suffolk that she would not alter the religion which had been settled and confirmed in the reign of her brother². On which assurance, there was such a confluence to her from those parts of the kingdom, that in short space she had an army of fourteen thousand fighting men to maintain her quarrel. The news whereof, together with the risings of the people in other places on the same account, wrought such an alteration in the Lords of the Council, whom she had before solicited in vain to allow her title, that on the nineteenth of July she was solemnly proclaimed Queen at Cheapside Cross, not only by their general and joint consent, but by the joyful acclamations of all sorts of people. But as mariners seldom pay those vows which they make in a tempest, when once they are delivered from the danger of it, so Mary, once established in the royal throne, forgot the services which she received from those of Suffolk, together with the promises which she made unto them in the case of religion. Insomuch that afterwards, being petitioned by them in that behalf, it was answered with more churlishness than could be rationally expected in a green estate, that "Members must obey their head, and not look to rule it³." And that she might no more be troubled with the like petitions, she caused one Dobb, a gentleman on Windham side, who had presumed to put her in remembrance of her former promise, to be punished by standing in the pil-

¹ Heylyn sometimes writes "Framingham."

² Fox, vi. 387; Speed, 842. Dr Lingard, vii. 373, tries (very unsuccessfully) to shew that Mary did not make any promise, although he admits that the Emperor advised such measures, and that her partisans *probably* used them "to allure men to her standard!"

³ Fox, Speed, as above referred to.

Introduct. lory three days together, to be a gazing-stock to all men¹.
But such is the condition of our human nature, that we are far more ready to require a favour when we stand in need of it, than willing to acknowledge or requite it when our turn is served. Of which we cannot easily meet with a clearer evidence than the example of this Queen; who was so far from gratifying those who had been most aiding to her in the time of her trouble, that she persecuted them and all others of the same persuasions with fire and fagot, as by the sequel of her story will at large appear.

¹ Fox, Speed.

THE
LIFE AND REIGN
OF
QUEEN MARY.

ANNO REG. MAR. 1, ANNO DOM. 1553, 1554.

I. **T**HE interposing in behalf of the Lady Jane being dis-
 relished generally in most parts of the kingdom, Mary, Proclamation of Queen Mary.
 the eldest sister of King Edward the Sixth, is proclaimed Queen
 by the Lords of the Council, assisted by the Lord Mayor of
 London and such of the nobility as were then resident about
 the city, on Wednesday the nineteenth day of July, anno 1553¹.
 The proclamation published at the Cross in Cheap, with all
 solemnities accustomed on the like occasions; and entertained
 with joyful acclamations by all sorts of people, who feared
 nothing more than the pride and tyranny of the Duke of
 Northumberland. To carry which news to the Queen at Fram-
 lingham, the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget are dis-
 patched immediately by the rest of the council, and letters are
 speedily posted by some private friends to the Duke, at Cam-
 bridge. Who, understanding how things went, without ex-
 pecting any order from the Lords at London, dismissed the
 remnant of his army, and presently repairing into the Market-
 place, proclaimed the Queen, crying “God save Queen Mary”
 as loud as any, and flinging up his cap for joy, as the others
 did². Which service he had scarce performed, when Rose, a
 Pursuivant of Arms, comes to him with instructions from the
 Lords of the Council, subscribed by the Archbishop of Canter-
 bury, the Lord Chancellor Goodrick, the Lord Treasurer Paulet,
 the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls³ of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and
Proceedings against the partizans of the Lady Jane.

¹ Sup. p. 35. Comp. “Diary of Henry Machyn, citizen of London, 1550—1563,” p. 37. This diary, (Cotton MSS. Vitell. F. v.) which had been much used by Strype, was first edited by Mr J. G. Nichols, and published by the Camden Society, Lond. 1848.

² Stow, 612.

³ Edd. 1, 2, “Earl.”

AN. REG. 1, 1553. Pembroke, the Lord Darcie, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir William Petre and Sir William Cecil, the two principal Secretaries, Sir John Cheek, tutor to the last King, Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Tenths and Firstfruits, Sir John Mason, Master of the Requests, R. Bowes, Master of the Rolls :—most of which had formerly subscribed the answer to a letter which came to them from the Princess Mary, on the ninth of July¹, and were all pardoned for so doing, except Cranmer only. Now the tenor of the said instructions was as followeth :

“In the name of our Sovereign Lady Mary the Queen, to be declared to the Duke of Northumberland, and all other his band, of what degree soever they be. 17 187

“You shall command and charge, in the Queen’s Highness’s name, the said Duke to disarm himself, and to cease all his men of war, and to suffer no part of his army to do any villany, nor any thing contrary to the peace; and himself to forbear his coming to this city until the Queen’s pleasure be expressly declared unto him. And if he will shew himself like a good quiet subject, we will then continue as we have begun, as humble suitors to our Sovereign Lady the Queen’s Highness, for him and his and for ourselves. And if he do not, we will not fail to spend our lives in subduing of him and his.

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

“Item, Ye shall in all places where ye come, notify it—If the Duke of Northumberland do not submit himself to the Queen’s Highness, Queen Mary, he shall be accepted as a traitor. And all we of the nobility, that were Counsellors to the late King, will to the utmost portion of our power persecute him and his to their utter² confusion³.”

2. The Pursuivant, having communicated his instructions, found none more ready to obey them than the Duke himself, who had before dismissed his forces, and now prepared for his departure from that place, though to what he knew not. But as he was pulling on his boots, he was first stayed by some of

¹ Sup. p. 19.

² Edd. Heyl. “after.”

³ Stow, 612.

the Pensioners, who, being drawn into the action against their wills, resolved to have him in a readiness to bear witness to it; and after taken into custody by Slegg, a Serjeant¹. The business being in dispute, another packet comes from the Lords of the Council, by which all parties were required to depart to their several dwellings; the benefit whereof the Duke laid claim to for himself, and was accordingly left by them at his own disposal. And so he passed that night in some good assurance that he should fare no worse than the rest of the Council, who had engaged him in the same cause, and by whose order he had undertaken the command of that army. In the meantime, the Earl of Arundel had done his errand to the Queen to so good a purpose that he was presently dispatched with order to seize upon him. Who, coming to Cambridge the next morning, found him preparing for his journey, laid hold upon him, and committed him to the charge of some of the guard. It is reported that the Duke had no sooner seen the Earl of Arundel but he fell down upon his knees, and besought him to be good unto him, humbling himself before him with more abjectedness than formerly he had insulted over him with pride and insolence². By safe but easy journeys he is brought unto the Tower on the 25th day of July, together with the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Huntington, the Lord Hastings, the Lord Ambrose and the Lord Henry Dudley, two of Northumberland's younger sons, Sir Andrew Dudley, the Duke's brother, Sir John Gates and Henry Gates his brother, Sir Thomas Palmer (who formerly had served his turn in the destruction of the Duke of Somerset,) and Dr Sandys, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Followed the next day after by the Marquess of Northampton, Dr Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, the Lord Robert Dudley, another of Northumberland's sons, and Sir Robert Corbet³; who, having made their applications to the Queen at Framlingham, found there no better entertainment than if they had been taken in some act of hostility. The 27th day brings in Sir Roger Chomley, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Edward Mountague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; the Duke of Suffolk and Sir John Cheek on the morrow after shutting up the arrear. But the Duke of Suffolk stayed not long; for,

AN. REG. 1,
1553.

¹ Stow, 612.

² Ibid.; Speed, 843.

³ Stow, 612.

AN. REG. 1, 1553. being considered in himself as an easy person, of whom they were to fear no danger, and otherwise no more in fault than the rest of the council, he was released again within three days after¹, to the great comfort of his daughter, the late Queen Jane, who would have died daily for her father, though but once for herself. 18
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Trials of
Northum-
berland and
others.

3. But so it fared not with the Duke of Northumberland, a more dangerous person ; who, together with John Earl of Warwick, his eldest son, and William Marquess of Northampton, was brought to their trial on the eighth of August, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk, then sitting as Lord High Steward in Westminster-hall. The Duke, being brought unto the bar, humbled himself with great reverence before his peers, professing his faith and allegiance to the Queen ; against whom he confessed he had so grievously offended that he intended not to speak any thing in his own defence. But, having been trained up to the study of the laws in his younger days, he desired the judgment of the court in these two points : “ First, Whether any man doing any act by authority of the Prince’s Council, and by warrant of the great seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof. And secondly,” (which pinched then his judges to some purpose) “ Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in the crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might sit as judges, and pass upon his trial as his peers.” Whereunto it was answered by the court, with advice of the judges—“ First, That the great seal which he pretended for his warrant was not the seal of the lawful Queen of the realm, but the seal of an usurper, who had no authority ; and therefore could be no warrant to him. And secondly, That if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself, yet so long as no attainder was upon record against them, they were looked upon by the law as persons capable of passing upon any trial, and not to be challenged by any in that respect, but only at the Prince’s pleasure².” Which being delivered by the court in point of law, the Duke conceived that it would be to no purpose for him to plead not guilty, and thereupon confessed the indictment, as the other

¹ Stow, 613.

² Stow, 614.

two prisoners also did : they all received judgment in the usual form. On the pronouncing whereof, he besought the Lords AN. REG. I,
1553. to move the Queen that she would be gracious to his sons, who might be able to do good service in the time to come ; considering that they went not with him of their own free will, but only in obedience to his commands, who was their father¹ ; in which, as his desires were granted by the Lords, so the Lords were gratified in them by the Queen ; none of his sons being executed (though all condemned) except Guilford only, whose case was different from the others. The like judgment also passed on the morrow after on Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer ; who, confessing the indictment also, submitted themselves to the Queen's mercy without further trial².

4. In that short interval which passed between the sentence and the execution, the Duke was frequently visited by Dr Nicholas Heath, then newly restored unto the see of Worcester. It was another of the requests which he made to the Lords, that some godly and learned man might be licensed by the Queen to repair unto him, for the quiet and satisfaction of his conscience³ ; and she resolved to send him none (as she did to others in like case) but one of her own, under a pretence of doing good unto their souls by gaining them to a right understanding of the faith in Christ. According to which purpose, Heath bestirs himself with such dexterity, that the Duke, either out of weakness, or hope of life, or that it was indifferent to him in what faith he died, who had shewn so little while he lived, retracted that religion which he had adorned in the time of King Edward and outwardly professed for some years in the reign of King Henry. And hereof he gave public notice when he was on the scaffold, on the 22nd of that month. In the way towards which there passed some words betwixt him and Gates, each laying the blame of the late action on the other ; but afterwards mutually forgiving and being forgiven, they died in good charity with one another⁴. Turning himself unto the people, he made a long oration to them touching the quality of his offence and his forepassed life, and then admonished the spectators, "to stand to the religion of their ancestors, rejecting that of later date, which had occasioned all

Execution of
Northum-
berland.

¹ Stow, 614.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

AN. REG. 1, the misery of the foregoing thirty years; and that for prevention for the future, if they desired to present their souls unspotted in the sight of God, and were truly affected to their country, they should expel those trumpets of sedition, the preachers of the reformed religion; that for himself, whatever had otherwise been pretended¹, he professed no other religion than that of his fathers, for testimony whereof he appealed to his good friend and ghostly father, the Lord Bishop of Worcester; and finally, that being blinded with ambition, he had been contented to make wrack of his conscience by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely repentant, and so acknowledged the justice of his death²." A declaration very unseasonable, whether true or false; as that which rendered him less pitied by the one side, and more scorned by the other. With him died also Gates and Palmer, the rest of the condemned prisoners being first reprieved and afterwards absolutely pardoned³.

5. Such was the end of this great person, the first Earl of Warwick and the last Duke of Northumberland of this name and family. By birth he was the eldest son of Sir Edmond Sutton, alias Dudley⁴, who, together with Sir Richard Empson, were the chief instruments and promoters under Henry the Seventh for putting the penal laws in execution, to the great

¹ "He might pretend."—Godwin. "Se quidem non aliam quam majorum religionem semper in sinu coluisse."—Thuanus. The speech is given in a fuller form than usual, from the Harleian collection, by Mr Tytler, Edw. and Mary, ii. 230-3. In that version Northumberland does not say, (as most writers represent him to have said), that he had been always a Romanist; but, professing to die in the Roman faith, and appealing to the Bishop of Worcester in witness of his sincerity, he expresses regret that he had not "had this belief sooner."

² The speech is taken, (with the variation just noticed), from Godwin, 164, who follows De Thou, l. xiii. c. 2. (T. i. 445.)

³ Holinshed, iv. 4.

⁴ It is a mistake to style the elder Dudley a Knight, although Empson was one.—(Hall, 505.) But, unlike his associate, Dudley was a man of family—grandson of John Sutton, Lord Dudley.—Dugdale, Baronage, ii. 217. Herbert styles him "a gentleman of birth, and of such parts as he was chosen speaker of the parliament-house, 19 Hen. VII."—(p. 3.) Bacon distinguishes the "horseleeches" thus—"Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sievemaker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever."—Life of Hen. VII. 119. Lond. 1676.

grievance and oppression of all sorts of subjects. For which, AN. REG. 1,
1553. and other offences of a higher nature, they were both sacrificed to the fury of the common people by King Henry the Eighth; which possibly might make him carry a vindicative¹ mind towards that King's children, and prompt him to the disinheriting of all his progeny. First trained up (as his father had also been before him) in the study of the common laws, which made him cunning enough to pick holes in any man's estate, and to find ways by which to bring their lives in danger. But, finding that the long sword was of more estimation than the long robe in the time of that King, he put himself forwards on all actions wherein honour was to be acquired. In which he gave such testimony of his judgment and valour, that he gained much on the affections of his Prince, by whom he was created Viscount Lisle, on the 15th of March, anno 1541, installed Knight of the Garter, 1543, and made Lord Admiral of England. Employed in many actions against the Scots, he came off always with success and victory; and having said this, we have said all that was accounted good or commendable in the whole course of his life. Being advanced unto the title of Earl of Warwick by King Edward the Sixth, he thought himself in a capacity of making Queens, as well as Richard Nevil (one of his predecessors in that title) had been of setting up and deposing Kings; and they both perished under the ambition of those proud attempts². Punished as Nevil also was, in having no issue male remaining to preserve his name; for, though he had six sons, all of them living to be men, and all of them to be married men, yet they went all childless to the grave—(I mean as to the having of lawful issue)—as if the curse of Jeconijah³ had been laid upon them. With him died also the proud title of Duke of Northumberland, never aspired to by the Percies, though men of eminent nobility, and ever since the time of King Henry the First, of the race of Emperors; which family, as well in reference to the merit of their noble ancestors as the intercession of some powerful friends, were afterwards restored to all the titles and honours which belonged to that house, in the persons of Thomas and Henry, grand-children to Henry the fifth Earl thereof, anno 1557⁴.

¹ Sic edd.² Fuller, Hist. of Cambridge, 186.³ Jerem. xxii. 30.⁴ Mary, v. 18.

AN. REG. 1,
1553.

The Queen's
entry into
London.

6. The matters being thus laid together, we must next look back upon the Queen; who, seeing all obstacles removed betwixt her and the crown, dissolved her camp at Framlingham, consisting of fourteen thousand¹ men, and prepared for her journey towards London. Met on the way by the Princess Elizabeth her sister, attended with no fewer than one thousand horse, she made her entrance into London on the third of August—no less magnificent for the pomp and bravery of it than that of any of her predecessors. Taking possession of the Tower, she was first welcomed thither by Thomas, the old Duke of Norfolk, Ann Duchess of Somerset, Edward Lord Courtney, eldest son to the late Marquess of Exeter, and Dr Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; all which she lifted from the ground, called them her prisoners, graciously kissed them, and restored them shortly after to their former liberty². Taking the great seal from Dr Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, within two days after, she gave it for the present to the custody of Sir Nicholas Hare³, whom she made Master of the Rolls, and afterwards committed⁴ it, on the 23rd of the same month, together with the title of Lord Chancellor, on the said Dr Gardiner, then actually restored to the see of Winchester⁵. Having performed the obsequies of her brother on the 9th and 10th⁶, she removes her court unto Whitehall, and there continues till it was within two or three days of her coronation. Which time now drawing near at hand, she passed by water to the Tower on the 27th of September, accompanied by her sister the Princess Elizabeth, and a great train of noble ladies; made her return through the principal streets of the city on the last of the same month, in most stately manner; and the next day proceeded with the like magnificence to the abbey church⁷; where she was met by three silver crosses, and

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The
coronation.

¹ Stow, 613, says 13,000.

² Stow, 613; Godwin, Ann. 162.

³ Stow, 613.

⁴ Qu. "conferred?"

⁵ Richardson (n. on Godw.) states that it was on the 21st; but the record, quoted by Lord Campbell, ii. 54, confirms the date given in the text, and by Stow, Holinshed, iv. 5, and Godwin De Presul. 236. The Great Seal had been delivered up by Goodrick to the Lords Arundel and Paget, who carried it with them when they joined Mary at Framlingham.—Campb. ii. 37.

⁶ Sup. i. 298.

⁷ Stow, 616.

eighty singing men, all in rich and gorgeous copes—(so sudden AN. REG. 1,
1553. a recruit was made of these sacred vestments)—amongst whom went the new Dean of Westminster, Dr Weston, and divers Chaplains of her own, each of them bearing in their hands some ensign or other. After them marched ten Bishops (which were as many as remained of her persuasion) with their mitres, rich copes, and crosier-staves¹. The sermon was preached by Dr Day, whom she had restored to the see of Chichester, and the solemnity of the coronation celebrated by the new Lord Chancellor; Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, being then committed, and otherwise conceived unworthy of so great an honour. Till this time none more dear to her than her sister Elizabeth, whom she always took with her by the hand where-soever she went, and seldom dined or supped without her. But this solemnity being passed over, (as if she were now freed from all the fears of a competition), she estranged herself from her in such a manner as shewed that she had formerly desired her company for some by-respects, and not out of natural affection. More grateful unto other persons who deserved well of her, she preferred Henry Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex (Commander General of her Army) to the Society of the Garter, which honour she conferred on his son Thomas after his decease, and to be covered in her presence at all times and places, according² to the custom of the grandees in the realm of Spain. Which privilege, not being very frequent in the polity of the realm of England, I find to be recorded in these following words, viz.:

New appointments.

“MARY, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland in earth the Supreme Head, to all to whom this present writing shall come sendeth greeting in our Lord everlasting. Know ye that we do give and pardon to our well-beloved and trusty cousin, and one of our privy council, Henry Earl of Sussex and Viscount Fitzwater, Lord Egremond and Burnel, liberty, licence, and pardon to wear his cap, coif, or night-cap, or two of them at his pleasure, as well in our presence as in the presence of any other person or persons within this our realm, or any other place of our dominions whatsoever, during

¹ Fox, vi. 540.

² Edd. 1, 2, “tending.”

AN. REG. 1, his life; and these our letters shall be his sufficient warrant in
 1553. this behalf. Given under our sign manual, at our palace of
 Westminster, 2 Octob. 1 Regni.¹"

7. With the like royal gratitude, she advanced the Earl of Arundel, who had deserved as well of her in the council as the Earl of Sussex in the camp, to the place or office of Lord Steward; investing him with all those powers and privileges which had been formerly exercised by the Lord Great Master, whom he succeeded in authority, though not in title. Sir Edward Hastings, who came over to her with 4000 men, she first made Master of the Horse and Knight of the Garter, and afterwards Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and Lord Hastings of Louthborough². Sir John Williams, who had done her very good service in Buckingham and Oxford shires, she honoured with the title of Lord Williams of Tame; of which more hereafter. Sir Henry Jerningham, who first appeared in Norfolk for her, she preferred to be Captain of her Guard as soon as she came unto the crown; and toward the latter end of her reign³, Sir Thomas Tresham was created Lord Prior of the Order of St John⁴ of Jerusalem, and consequently, according to the old pretension, the first Baron⁵ of England. And as for her domestic servants who had suffered with her, she thought it no unfit decorum that they should in part reign with her also. To which end she preferred Hopton, her old Chaplain, to the see of Norwich⁶, Rochester to be Comptroller of her Household, Inglefield to be Master of the Wards, and Walgrave to be Master of the Wardrobe,—which is sufficient to declare that she was willing to comply with all obligations, and not to be too long in debt to her greatest subjects, but much less to her menial servants. But in regard that all these were considered for their personal merits, not in reference only to their zeal for the catholic cause, she

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¹ This is the only one of Heylyn's documents which the editor has not found elsewhere.

² This was not until Jan. 18, 1558.—Stow, 632.

³ Nov. 30, 1557.—Stow, 631. See sup. p. 32, and Mary, iv. 5.

⁴ Edd. 1, 2, "John's."

⁵ See Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 299.

⁶ As successor to Thirlby, who was translated to Ely. Hopton was consecrated Oct. 25 or 28, 1554.—Godw. de Præsul. 441.

was to shew some act of favour unto those of that party which might create a confidence in them of her good affections. To which end she made choice of Sir John Gage (a man most zealously addicted to the Church of Rome) to be Lord Chamberlain of her Household, when she came first to the Tower, to the great satisfaction of all those of that religion. And that she might in some measure also oblige the rest of her subjects, and make the entrance of her reign the more pleasing to them, her coronation was accompanied with a general pardon, at the least in show. Out of which all prisoners in the Tower [and] such as remained in the Fleet, together with sixty others, being excepted, and the restrictions and provisos, with which it was in all parts clogged, being well observed, there were not many, especially of those whom it most concerned, that could create unto themselves any benefit by it¹.

AN. REG. 1,
1553.

8. Thus was the civil state established on a right foundation, and the succession settled most agreeably to the laws of nature, according to the last will and testament of King Henry the Eighth and the laws made in that behalf. But we shall see the pillars of the Church removed, the very foundation of it shaken, and the whole fabric of religion so demolished that scarce one stone thereof did seem to stand upon the other; without regard unto the laws, and contrary to the will and purpose of King Edward the Sixth. At the Queen's first entrance into London, on the third of August, she discharged Gardiner of the Tower, as she did Bonner of the Marshalsea, and Bishop Tunstal from the King's Bench within two days after². To make way to whose restitution to their former sees, Bishop Ridley is removed from London, Bishop Pointet from Winchester, and an Act of parliament procured for the restoring of the Church of Durham to all its lands, pre-eminences, and jurisdictions, of which it stood divested by the late Act of dissolution made in the last year of the King deceased³. By the like power was Coverdale displaced from the see of Exon, Scory from that of Chichester, and Hooper dispossessed of that jurisdiction which he held as the commendatory of the see of Worcester; to which sees⁴ Voysie,

Changes of
Bishops.

¹ Fox, vi. 540.

² Stow, 613.

³ Sup. i. 287. The Act for the restoration is 1 Mar. Sess. 3. c. 3.

⁴ Edd. 1. 2. "Sec."

AN. REG. 1,
1553.

Day, and Heath were again restored. The like course also followed for the depriving of all Deans, Dignitaries, and Parochial Ministers, who had succeeded into any of those preferments during the reign of the two last Kings, the old incumbents whereof were then found living and able to supply their places¹. Which though it could not be objected against Dr Cox, either in reference to his Deanery of Christ Church or that of Westminster, (both which he held at the same time), yet being brought unto the Marshalsea, on the 5th of August², he was unjustly spoiled of both, to make room for Dr Richard Marshal in the one, and Dr Hugh Weston in the other³. And all this done without so much as any shew of legal process, or the conventing of the persons whom it did concern, or any satisfaction given unto the laws (which in some cases favour possession more than right) so strangely violated.

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Divisions
about
religion.

9. But greater was the havoc which was made amongst them when there was any colour or pretence of law; as in the case of having wives, or not conforming to the Queen's pleasure in all points of religion; considering how forward and pragmatical too many were to run before the laws in the like particular. The Queen was zealous in her way, and by her interest strongly biassed to the Church of Rome. But it concerned her to be wary, and not to press too much at once upon the people, which generally were well affected to the Reformation. Of this she had a stout experiment within very few days after her first entrance into London. For so it happened, that Dr Bourn, Archdeacon of London and one of the Prebendaries⁴ of St Paul's, preaching a sermon at the Cross, on the 13th of August, inveighed in favour of Bishop Bonner, who was present at it, against some proceedings in the time of the late King Edward. Which so incensed the people that suddenly a great tumult arose upon it; some pelting him with stones, others crying out aloud, "Pull him down! pull him down!" and one (who never could be known⁵) flinging a dagger at his head, which after was found sticking in a post of the pulpit. And

¹ Stow, 613.

² Fox, vi. 537.

³ Harmer (Wharton), 124.

⁴ Edd. 1, 2, "Prebends."

⁵ "But who it was, it could not then be proved, albeit afterward it was known."—Fox, vi. 392. Comp. vii. 144.

greater had the mischief been upon this occasion, if Mr Bradford and Mr Rogers, two eminent preachers in the time of King Edward, and of great credit and esteem with the common people, had not endeavoured to appease the enraged multitude, and with great difficulty secured the preacher in the school adjoining. By reason of which tumult an order was taken by the Lords of the Council with the Mayor and Aldermen of London, that they, calling the next day following a Common Council of the City, should thereby charge every householder to cause their children and apprentices to keep their own parish churches upon the holy-days, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace. Willing them also to signify to the said assembly the Queen's determination uttered to them by her Highness, the 12th of August, in the Tower; which was, that albeit her Grace's conscience was staid in matters of religion, yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other men's, otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put into their hearts a persuasion of that truth which she was in, through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers; that is to say, such preachers only as were to be hereafter licensed by the Queen's authority¹.

10. But yet, for fear that these instructions might not edify with the common people, order was taken for preventing the like tumult on the Sunday following; at what time the sermon was preached by Dr Watson, who afterwards² was Bishop of Lincoln, but Chaplain only at that time to the Bishop of Winchester. For whose security, not only many of the Lords of the Council—that is to say, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lords Wentworth and Rich—were severally desired to be there present, but Jerningham, Captain of the Guard, was appointed with two hundred of his stoutest yeomen to stand round about him with their halberts³. The Mayor had also taken order that all the Companies in their liveries should be present at it, which was well taken by the Queen. And because the coming of the Guard on the one side affrighted some, and the order of the Lords above mentioned had restrained others from coming to those public sermons, it was commanded by

¹ Stow, 614; Fox, vi. 392.

² A. D. 1557.

³ Stow, 614.

AN. REG. 1, the Lord Mayor, that the ancients of all Companies should
 1553. give attendance at those sermons for the time to come, lest otherwise the preachers might be discouraged at the sight of so thin an auditory¹. The safety of those public preachers being thus provided for by the Lords of the Council, their next care was, that nothing should be preached in private churches contrary to the doctrine which was and should be taught at the Cross by them which were appointed to it. Whereupon it was further ordered, that every Alderman in his ward should forthwith send for the curates of every church within their liberties, and warn them not only to forbear preaching themselves, but also not to suffer any other to preach or make any open or solemn reading of scripture in their churches, unless the said preachers were severally licensed by the Queen². To which purpose letters were directed also to the Bishop of Norwich³, and possibly to all other Bishops in their several dioceses. But nothing more discovers the true state and temper of the present time than a proclamation published by the Queen, on the 18th of August. The tenor of which is as followeth :

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Proclamation
 respecting
 religion.

“THE Queen’s Highness, well remembering what great inconvenience and dangers have grown to this her realm in times past, through the diversities of opinions in questions 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 [light and] evil-disposed persons, hath thought good to give to understand to all her Highness’s 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 entertained⁴.

¹ Fox, vi. 393.

² Ibid.

³ Aug. 16.—Ibid.

⁴ “Embraced,” Fox.

“And yet she doth signify unto 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 interpreting 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 [said] 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 [and holy word], 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 fond¹ 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

AN. REG. 1,
1553.

¹ “False-found,” FOX.

AN. REG. 1, and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition,
 1553. or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth
 to preach, or by way of reading in churches, or 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's indig-
 nation and displeasure¹."

24
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The Romish
 system
 restored.

11. It cannot be denied but that this proclamation was very cautiously and cunningly penned;—giving encouragement enough to those which had a mind to outrun the law, or otherwise to conform themselves to the Queen's religion, to follow their own course therein without dread or danger; and yet commanding nothing contrary to the laws established, which might give trouble or offence to the other party. For hereupon many of the people shewed themselves so ready for receiving their old religion, that in many places of the realm, before any law was made for the same, they erected again their altars, and used the mass and Latin service in such sort as was wont to be in King Henry's time². Which was so well taken by the Queen, that all such as stood upon the laws which were made to the contrary before had a mark of displeasure set upon them. Which being observed by some of the Clergy, they were as forward as the rest, in setting up the pageants of St Katherine³ and St Nicholas⁴, formerly erected in the chancels, and to set forth their processions (which they celebrated in the Latin tongue) with their old solemnities, contrary to the laws

¹ Fox, vi. 390. The proclamation is here given only in part. Strype records the first reappearance of the mass in a London church, Aug. 21. "Mass began at St Nicholas Cole-Abbey, sung in Latin, and tapers set on the altar, and a cross. The next day a goodly mass in Latin was sung also in Bread-street. And here I cannot but make this remark upon the incumbent of the said St Nicolas, whose name was Parson Chicken, that he sold his wife to a butcher, and Nov. 24 was carted about London."—Eecl. Mem. iii. 22. (Comp. Machyn. 48, 336.) The Latin service began at St Paul's on the 28th of August.—Holinsh. iv. 5.

² Fox, vi. 394.

³ See below, §. 22.

⁴ See i. 21; Strype, Eecl. Mem. iii. 200.

and ordinances of King Edward's time. All which irregular ac- AN. REG. I,
1553.
tivities in the priest and people were sheltered under the name of setting forward "the Queen's proceedings." And by that name the official of the Archdeacon of Ely gave it in charge amongst the articles of his visitation, that the Churchwardens should present all such as did disturb the Queen's proceedings, in letting the Latin service, setting up of altars, saying of mass, &c.¹ But more particularly at Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor² challenged one Pierson, on the third of October, for officiating the communion in his own parish church in the English tongue³; and on the 26th displaced Dr Madew, Master of Clare Hall, for being married⁴; though they had both as much authority on their side as the laws could give them. In like manner some of the popish party in King's College (not tarrying the making of any law) on the 28th of the same officiated the divine service in the Latin tongue⁵; and on the 6th of November then next following, a sermon is preached openly at St Michael's⁶, contrary to the laws in that behalf, not as then repealed. Not altogether so eager on the scent at Oxon as they were at Cambridge, though with more difficulty brought at first to the Reformation. Only it pleased Dr Tresham, one of the Canons of Christ-Church, of the last foundation, to cause the great bell there to be new cast, and christened by the name of Mary; much comforting himself with the melodious sound thereof, when it tolled to mass⁷, which Marshal, the new Dean, by his help and counsel had again restored.

12. But these were only the essays of those alterations Proceedings
against
Bishops.
which generally were intended in all parts of the Church, as soon as the times were ripe for them and the people fitted to receive them; in order whereunto, it was not thought sufficient to displace the Bishops, and silence the old protestant preachers also, unless they brought them under some exemplary punish-

¹ Fox, vi. 542.

² Dr Young, Master of Pembroke Hall.—Fuller, Hist. of Camb. 188.

³ He added the offence of "receiving strangers of other parishes to the same."—Fox, vi. 540.

⁴ Ib. 541.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ "The 6th of November, Master Pollard preached at St Michael's, and in his sermon approved purgatory."—Fox, vi. 542.

⁷ Humphrey, Vita Juelli, p. 41, ed. 1573; Fuller, iv. 151.

AN. REG. 1, ment, that others might be terrified from the outward pro-
 1553. fession of that truth out of which they could not be disputed.

Of Ridley's being brought prisoner to the Tower, and of Cox's committing to the Marshalsea, we have spoke before. On the 22nd of August letters are sent from the Lords of the Council, commanding Bishop Coverdale and Bishop Hooper to appear before them. By whom (after two or three appearances) committed to their several prisons; the one reserved for the stake, the other sent upon request to the King of Denmark¹. On the 5th of September the like letters are dispatched to old Bishop Latimer, committed close prisoner to the Tower on the eighth day after; followed the next morning by Archbishop Cranmer, whose story doth require a more particular account; of which more anon. Harley of Hereford (to which he had been consecrated in May foregoing) and Taylor of Lincoln, another of the last of King Edward's Bishops, were present at the opening of the parliament on the 10th of October; but no sooner was the mass begun (though not then restored by any law) than they left the church². For which the Bishop of Lincoln being first examined, and making profession of his faith, prevented the malice of his enemies by a timely death³. And Harley, upon information of his marriage, was presently excluded from the parliament-house, and not long after from his bishoprick also⁴. Which being observed by Bishop Barlow of Wells, and Scory⁵ of Chichester, they withdrew themselves beyond the

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¹ Fox, vi. 705.

² Fox, vi. 394; Fuller, iv. 163. "But Beale, clerk of the Council, in Queen Elizabeth's time, says that Bishop Taylor took his place in his robes, but, refusing to give any reverence to the mass, was *violently thrust out* of the house."—Collier, vi. 21.

³ Not, however, until after he had been deprived, March 15, 1553-4.—Wilkins, iv. 118. He died in December following.—Note in Godw. de Præsul. 301.

⁴ He died in 1554.—Godw. 494.

⁵ "Scory, though, upon Day's being restored, he was put out of his bishoprick, did comply merely; he came before Bonner, and renounced his wife, and did penance for it, and had his absolution under his seal the 14th of July, 1554, [printed in ii. ii. 361.] But it seems this was out of fear; for he soon after fled out of England, and lived beyond sea until Queen Elizabeth's days, and then he came over; but it was judged indecent to restore him to his former see, where it is likely this scandal that he had given was known; and so he was made Bishop of

seas; followed not long after by Bishop Poinet of Winchester. But Barlow made not so much haste as not to be committed to the Fleet by the Lords of the Council, from whence, upon some satisfaction given to the Lord Chancellor Gardiner by his discreet and moderate answers, he was not long after set at liberty, and so crossed the seas—resolved to trust himself no more to a second hazard, having with so much difficulty escaped the first¹. How it succeeded with the rest, we shall see hereafter. Upon which smiting of the shepherds, it is not to be wondered at if their flocks were scattered.

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1553.

13. Now as concerning the Archbishop, the substance of his story is briefly this. He had been a chief instrument in King Henry's time of setting forward the divorce; and in King Edward's, of advancing the Reformation. The Queen conceived hereupon such a high displeasure—(it had been malice in another)—against the man, that nothing but his death could appease the same². His death is therefore fully resolved upon by Gardiner, Bonner, and the rest of the popish Prelates. Of which the first had prosecuted the divorce as far as any; and the second was as forward as the best in the Reformation, as long as Cromwell lived to prefer and countenance him. But their standings out and sufferings for it in King Edward's time were thought sufficient expiations for their former errors, when the good offices which Cranmer had done for her in her father's time³ were worn out of memory. Die then he must; but by what law he was to die, proved a knot more difficult than could be speedily untied. It was advised to charge him with high treason, as being privy to the plot of the Duke of Northumberland for excluding the Queen from the succession. But against this it was objected that he was the last of the council who subscribed unto it; and that the council would be wary of making that a capital offence in him, of which they were all equally guilty. In the next place it was propounded to pro-

Imprisonment of
Craumer.

Hereford."—Burnet, II. 553. Comp. Wharton in Strype's Cranmer, ii. 682, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

¹ Burnet states, II. 553, that a violent book against the Reformation was published at this time in Barlow's name; but he questions its genuineness. Comp. Collier, vi. 68. Barlow's recantation is given by Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 153.

² Godwin, Ann. 165.

³ Ibid.

AN. REG. 1, 1553. proceed against him in case of heresy, that being the most likely way to content the Pope, whose favour was to be procured by all means imaginable. But the worst was, that the statutes made in the time of King Richard the Second and King Henry the Fourth, for putting heretics to death, had been abrogated in the time of King Henry the Eighth¹; as that of the Six Articles, more terrible than either of the other two, had been repealed by the late King Edward the Sixth. No better course, therefore, than to find some occasion for laying him up in some safe prison; and when they had him there, to proceed against him as time and opportunity should administer some fit matter for it.

14. About this time a bruit was raised that Cranmer, to ingratiate himself with the Queen, had promised to celebrate the exequies of the deceased King according to the Romish manner². To clear himself of which reproach he drew up a manifest³, declaring in the same that he was ready to maintain the Articles of Religion set forth by his procurement in the time of King Edward, to be consonant to the word of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, and the practice of the best and purest times. These papers, lying in the window in his private chamber, were seen and liked by Bishop Scory, by whom they were transcribed and communicated to many others⁴. Coming at last unto the knowledge of the council, the Archbishop is commanded to appear before them, interrogated about the papers, and prompted by Bishop Heath, who was then amongst them, to let them know whether he were not sorry for it. To which the Archbishop made reply, that, as he did not deny himself to be the author of those papers, so he must needs confess

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¹ This is a mistake; for the act 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14, while it repealed that of Hen. IV., confirmed those of Rich. II. and Hen. V., and enacted the punishment of death. It was the act of 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, which abrogated all these—as is rightly stated above, i. 97.

² It was also said that the restoration of the mass at Canterbury was by the Archbishop's authority.

³ Printed by Fox, vi. 539; Burnet, ii. ii. 349.

⁴ Fox, viii. 39. Terentianus, in the letter mentioned, p. 102, n. 2, states that the Archbishop actually executed his intention of posting his declaration about London.—Orig. Letters, Park. Soc. 371; Epp. Tigur. 245. Comp. Jenkyns, Pref. to Cranm. cxii. The same statement is made by Sleidan, b. xxi. p. 475. Lat. 590. Eng.

himself to be sorry that they went from him in such sort as they did. "For I had purposed," saith he, "to set out the manifest in a more large and ample manner; and to have it set upon St Paul's door, and the doors of all the churches in London, with my own seal affixed unto it¹." Upon which stout and honest answer, they thought fit to dismiss him for the present: it being conceived by some of the more moderate spirits, that it would be punishment enough to deprive him only of his bishoprick, and to assign him a sufficient maintenance upon the exhibiting of a true inventory of his whole estate, with a commandment to keep his house without meddling in matters of religion. But those who better understood the mind of the Queen so ordered it, that on the 14th of September he was sent to the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the 3rd of November. At what time he was arraigned in the Guild-hall of London, together with the Lord Guilford Dudley, the late Queen Jane his wife, and others; all of them being attainted and condemned of treason, as before was said². And he lay under this attaindure till the year next following, when the old statutes for putting heretics to death were revived in parliament. Which having furnished his adversaries with a better ground to proceed upon, to the contentment of the Pope and the Queen together, they waived the prosecuting of that attaindure to an execution, and wholly fixed themselves on the point of heresy. At the hearing whereof he was right well pleased, because the case was not now his own, but Christ's; not the Queen's, but the Church's³.

15. The severity of this beginning against the natives gave a sufficient warning to all such strangers who had took sanctuary here in the time of King Edward, to provide betimes for their departure. Amongst whom none more openly aimed at than Peter Martyr, because none of them had given wider wounds than he to the catholic cause. Tresham, a senior Canon of Christ-Church, had held some points against him at his first coming thither; and now he took the benefit of the times, in causing both that house and many others in the University to put some public scorn upon him. Not finding any safety there, he retires to Lambeth, where he was sure of as much safety as that place could give him. A consultation had been held by

AN. REG. 1,
1553.

Expulsion of
foreign
Protestants

¹ Fox, viii. 39.

² Sup. 37.

³ Fox, vi. 413.

AN. REG. 1, some of the more fiery spirits for his commitment unto prison¹.
 1553.

But he came hither (as it was well known) on the public faith, which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of some private persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further employment, and to license him to depart in peace, none being more forward to furnish him with all things necessary for his going hence than the new Lord Chancellor; whether in honour to his learning, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned². But less humanity was shewed unto him in his wife, whose body, having been buried in the church of St Frideswide, was afterwards by public order taken out of the grave and buried in a common dunghill³. About the same time also such strangers as were gathered together into the church of John à Lasco, not only were necessitated to forbear their meetings, but to dissolve their congregation, and to quit the country. Such a displeasure was conceived against them by those which governed the affairs, that it was no small difficulty for them to get leave for their departure; and glad they were to take the opportunity of two Danish ships, and to put themselves to sea in the beginning of winter, fearing more storms in England than upon the ocean⁴. And so farewell to John à Lasco; it was an ill wind which brought him hither, and worse he could not have for his going back. The like haste make the French Protestants also; and that they might have no pretence for a long stay, command was sent unto the Mayor[s] of Rie and Dover, on the 16th of September⁵, to suffer all French Protestants to cross the seas, except such only whose names should be signified unto them by the French Ambassadors. But notwithstanding these removes, many, both Dutch and French, remained still in the kingdom, some of which being after found in Wiat's army, occasioned the banishing of all the rest, except denizens and merchants only, by a public edict⁶. At which

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¹ Sanders, 247.

² A curious account of P. Martyr's escape is given by Julius Terentianus in a letter of Nov. 20, 1553.—Epp. Tigur. 242-7; Orig. Letters, 369-72.

³ Sanders, 247.

⁴ Fuller, iv. 155; Fox, vi. 429.

⁵ Fox, vi. 394.

⁶ A proclamation "for driving out of the realm strangers and foreigners," is given by Fox, vi. 429; Wilkins, iv. 93.

time many of the English departed also, as well students as others, to the number of 300 or thereabouts; hoping to find that freedom and protection in a foreign country which was denied them in their own. The principal of those which put themselves into this voluntary exile were, Katherine, the last wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk¹, Robert Bertye, Esquire, husband to the Duchess, the Bishops of Winchester and Wells², Sir Richard Morrison, Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir John Cheek³, Dr Cox, Dr Sandys and Dr Grindall, and divers others of whom we shall hear more hereafter on another occasion⁴.

16. Of all these things they neither were nor could be ignorant in the court of Rome, to which the death of King Edward had been swiftly posted on the wings of fame. The news of the succession of Queen Mary stayed not long behind—so much more welcome to Pope Julius the Third, who then held that see, because it gave him some assurance of his re-admission into the power and jurisdiction of his predecessors in the realm of England. For what less was to be expected, considering that she was brought up in the catholic religion, interested in the respects of her mother, and cousin in the first degree unto Charles the Emperor? In the pursuance of which hopes it was resolved that Cardinal Pole should be sent Legate into England⁵, who, being of the royal blood, a man of eminent learning and exemplary life, was looked on as the fittest instrument to reduce that kingdom. The Cardinal, well knowing that he stood attainted by the laws of the land, and that the name of Henry was still preserved in estimation amongst the people, thought it not safe to venture thither before he fully understood the state of things. He therefore secretly dispatcheth Commendonius⁶, a right trusty minister, by whom

AN. REG. 1,
1553.

Pole appointed
Legate for
England.

¹ A narrative of the Duchess' escape is given by Fox, viii. 569, seqq.

² Poinet and Barlow.

³ Cheke was arrested in Flanders, and brought back to England. He recanted, and soon after died, it is said, of grief and shame which followed from his lapse.—Fox, viii. 257; Fuller, iv. 232-3.

⁴ Fuller, iv. 228-37.

⁵ Sarpi, 384. The Bull of his appointment, dated Aug. 5, 1553, is in Wilkins, iv. 87.

⁶ Sarpi, 384; Sanders, 250—who, however, commits the mistake of representing Commendonius as sent by the Pope, whereas he was really

AN. REG. 1, he writes a private letter to the Queen; in which, commending
 1553. first her perseverance in religion in the time of her troubles, he exhorteth her to a continuance in it in the days of her happiness. He commended also to her the salvation of the souls of her people, and the restitution of the true worship of God. Commendonius, having diligently informed himself of all particulars, found means of speaking with the Queen; by whom he understood not only her own good affections to the see apostolic, but that she was resolved to use her best endeavours for re-establishing the religion of the Church of Rome in all her kingdoms. Which being made known unto the Cardinal, he puts himself into the voyage. The news whereof being brought to Charles (who had his own design apart from that of the Pope) he signified by Dandino, the Pope's Nuncio with him, that an apostolic Legate could not be sent into England as affairs then stood, either with safety to himself or honour to the Church of Rome; and therefore that he might do well to defer the journey till the English might be brought to a better temper¹.

Repeal of
 Acts against
 Rome.

17. But the Queen, knowing nothing of this stop, and being full of expectation of the Cardinal's coming, had called a parliament, to begin on the 10th of October. In which she made it her first act to take away all statutes passed by the two last Kings, wherein certain offences had been made high treason, and others brought within the compass of a *præmunire*.

sent by Dandino, the nuncio at Brussels, at the instance of Pole.—Burnet, II. 516; Collier, vi. 29; Lingard, vii. 137.

¹ Sanders, 254; Thuan. I. xiii. c. 3; Godwin, Ann. 180. Burnet states that the Emperor was partly influenced by Gardiner, who represented the exasperation of the English against the Pope, the difficulties as to church-lands, &c.: that Gardiner's wish was to restore, in the first instance, the system of Henry's latter years, leaving the revival of the papal supremacy to be effected afterwards; while the Queen desired to re-establish the power of the Pope at once—because (among other reasons) her legitimacy depended on the papal sentence. There was much correspondence with the Emperor, who advised moderate proceedings in the matter of religion.—Burnet, II. 484. Comp. Sleidan, b. xxv. p. 591. Eng. The Queen wrote to Pole, desiring him not to come to England, until further advised.—Burnet, II. 520. The conclusion of his answer is given by Burnet, II. ii. 351; and in the *third* volume there is much additional matter, illustrated by documents, relating to this part of the history.

And this she did especially for Pole's security, that neither he by exercising his authority, nor the Clergy by submitting to it, might be entangled in the like snares in which Cardinal Wolsey and the whole Clergy of his time had before been caught¹. It was designed also to rescind all former statutes which had been made by the said two Kings against the jurisdiction of the Pope, the doctrine and religion of the Church of Rome, and to reduce all matters ecclesiastical to the same estate in which they stood in the beginning of the reign of the King her father. But this was looked upon by others as too great an enterprise to be attempted by a woman, especially in a green estate, and amongst people sensible of those many benefits which they enjoyed by shaking off their former vassalage to a foreign power. It was advised, therefore, to proceed no further at the present than to repeal all Acts and statutes which had been made in derogation to the doctrine of the Church of Rome in the time of her brother; which being passed in his minority, when all affairs were carried by faction and strong hand, contrary to the judgment of the best and soundest part of the Clergy and laity, might give a just pretence for their abrogation till all particulars might be considered and debated in a lawful synod. According to which temperament the point was carried, and the Act passed no higher than for "repealing certain statutes of the time of King Edward²;" by which one blow she felled down all which had been done in the Reformation in seven years before.

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18. For by this Act they took away all former statutes for administering the communion in both kinds; for establishing the first and second Liturgy; for confirming the new ordinal or form of consecrating Archbishops and Bishops, &c.; for abrogating certain fasts and festivals which had been formerly observed; for authorising the marriage of Priests and legitimation of their children; not to say any thing of that statute (as not worth the naming) for making Bishops by the King's letters patents, and exercising their episcopal jurisdiction in the King's name only. So that, upon the matter, not only all things were reduced to the same estate in which they stood at Edward's coming to the crown, but all those Bishops and Priests which had married by authority of the former statutes

Other new
Acts.

¹ Sup. i. 38.

² 1 Mar. Sess. i. c. 2.

AN. REG. 1, 1553. were made uncanonical, and consequently obnoxious to a deprivation. So that for want of canonical ordination on the one side, and under colour of uncanonical marriages on the other, we shall presently find such a general remove amongst the Bishops and Clergy as is not any where to be paralleled in so short a time. And because some affronts had been lately offered to such Priests as had been forward in setting up the mass in their several churches, and that no small danger was incurred by Dr Bourn above mentioned, for a sermon preached at St Paul's Cross; an Act was passed for the preventing of the like for the time to come, entitled "An Act against offenders of Preachers and other Ministers in the Church¹." Which two Acts were no sooner passed, but they were seconded by the Queen with two proclamations on the 5th of December². By one of which it was declared, that all statutes made in the time of the late King Edward, which concerned religion, were repealed by parliament; and therefore that the mass should be said as formerly, to begin on the 20th of that month: and by the other it was commanded, that no manner of person from thenceforth should dare to disturb the Priests in saying mass, or executing any other divine office, under the pains and penalties therein contained. According unto which appointment the mass was publicly officiated in all parts of the kingdom, and so continued during the reign of this Queen, without interruption.

19. There also passed another Act, wherein it was enacted that the marriage between King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katherine his first wife should be definitively, clearly and absolutely declared, deemed, adjudged to be and stand with God's laws, and his most holy word, and to be accepted, reputed, and taken of good effect and validity to all intents and purposes whatsoever; that the decree or sentence of divorce heretofore passed between the said King Henry the Eighth and the said Queen, by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, should be deemed, taken and reputed to be void and null; with a repeal of all such statutes or Acts of parliament in which the Queen had been declared to be illegitimate³. The making of which Act, as it did much conduce to

¹ 1 Mar. Sess. i. c. 3.

² Dec. 15. Fox, vi. 542.

³ 1 Mar. Sess. ii. c. 1.

the establishment of the Queen's estate, so did it tacitly and implicitly acknowledge the supremacy to be in the Pope of Rome, which could not be attained explicitly and in terms express, as affairs then stood. For since the marriage neither was nor could be reputed valid but by the dispensation of Pope Julius the Second, the declaration of the goodness and validity of it did consequently infer the Pope's authority, from which that dispensation issued. And therefore it was well observed by the author of the History of the Council of Trent¹, that it seemed ridiculous in the English nobility to oppose the restitution of the Pope's supremacy, when it was propounded to them by the Queen in the following session—considering that the yielding to this demand was virtually contained in their assent to the marriage. There also passed another Act, in which there was a clause for the invalidating of all such commissions as had been granted in the time of the late Queen Jane²; and one in confirmation of the attainders of the late Duke of Northumberland, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.³ Which shews that there was somewhat in the said proceedings not so clear in law but that there seemed a necessity of calling in the legislative power to confirm the same, for the indemnity of those who had acted in them.

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1553.

20. Together with this parliament the Queen was pleased to summon a convocation, to the end that all matters of religion might be first debated and concluded in a synodical way, before they were offered to the consideration of the other assembly. In the writ of which summons she retained the title of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, &c.; the want whereof in those of the present parliament occasioned a dispute amongst some of the members, whether they might lawfully proceed or not in such public businesses as were to be propounded to them in that session⁴. Archbishop Cranmer had been before impri-

A Convoca-
tion, Oct. 6.

¹ Sarpi, 385. "But," says Collier, "the reasoning of this author seems not conclusive. For the parliament might find their declaration upon Deuteronomy xxv. 5, and believe that King Henry VIII.'s marriage with Katherine of Spain stood upon the reason and equity of that law."—vi. 25.

² Sup. 43.

³ 1 Mar. Sess. ii. c. 16.

⁴ Selden, Titles of Honour. Works, ed. Wilkins, iii. 177, (quoting Dyer's Reports.) There is a curious note on this title in Gibson,

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1553.

soned in the Tower of London, and was detained there all the time of this convocation, so that he could not do that service to God and the Church which his place required. This took¹ for a sufficient ground to transfer the presidentship of the convocation upon Bonner, of London, privileged in respect of his see to preside in all such provincial synods which were either held during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, or in the necessary absence of the Metropolitan². The lower house of

Codex, 34. "It is alleged by my Lord Coke, (4 Inst. p. 344.) that the repeal [by 1, 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 8, of the act for ratification of the King's Majesty's style, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 3] is only a repeal of the *treasons* made and enacted by that statute, 'but,' as he adds, 'the style and title of the crown without question remaineth of force unrepealed.'" In the first year of Elizabeth the same question was raised, whether the omission of the title of *Supreme Head* did not invalidate the writs of summons. It was held that it did not;—this decision, however, did not rest on a supposition of the *invalidity* of Henry's act, through that of Philip and Mary, but on the ground that the words of the statute were "only affirmative, and not negative, so as to make it a style of absolute necessity." After all, the statement in the text appears to be questionable. "Why," says Collier, "the Queen should use the title of *Supreme Head* in a writ to the convocation, and omit it in those for the parliament, is not easy to imagine. Besides, in the Statutes at Large, printed from the Parliament-Rolls by Cawood, the Queen's printer, the distinction of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, &c. is added to the rest of the royal titles, both in the first and second sessions of this parliament."—vi. 38. (It is so in the Statutes of the Realm, published by order of George III. Vol. iv. pp. 177, 179.) For Mary's dislike of the title, see Phillips, *Life of Pole*, ii. 57, quoting Pole's Epistles.

¹ i. e. was taken.

² "But this post was not annexed to the see of London by common right, but by the choice of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury: in case a convocation meets when the see of Canterbury happens to be void, the Prior and Convent formerly, but since the Reformation the Dean and Chapter, direct a commission to some Bishop to represent them: for, being beneath an episcopal character, they are unqualified to preside in person in the upper house: they commonly make the Bishop of London their representative upon such occasions; they have the liberty, notwithstanding, of pitching upon any other; and thus, in the convocation held in the year 1532, when the see of Canterbury was void by the death of Archbishop Warham, the Prior and Convent chose the Bishop of St Asaph for their commissioner, who, upon the strength of this representation, presided in the convocation. Farther, they are not tied to the nomination of a single Bishop, but may join

the Clergy also was fitted with a Prolocutor of the same affections; Dr Hugh Weston, then newly substituted Dean of Westminster in the place of Cox, being elected to that office¹. On Wednesday, the 18th of October, it was signified by the Prolocutor that it was the Queen's pleasure that they of the house should debate of matters of religion, and proceed to the making of such constitutions as should be found necessary in that case. But there was no equality in number between the parties, and reason was of no authority where the major part had formerly resolved upon the points. So partially had the elections been returned from the several dioceses, that we find none of King Edward's Clergy amongst the clerks²; and such an alteration had been made in the Deans and dignitaries, that we find but six of that rank neither to have suffrage in it, that is to say, James Haddon, Dean of Exeter; Walter Philips, Dean of Rochester; John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester; John Elmer, Archdeacon of Stow, in the diocese of Lincoln; Richard Cheny, Archdeacon of Hereford³. One more I find, but without any name in the "Acts and Mon.," who joined himself to the other five in the disputation⁴. Nor would the Prolocutor admit of more, though earnestly desired by Philpot that some of the divines which had the passing of the Book of Articles in King Edward's time might be associated with them in the defence thereof⁵. Which motion he the rather made, because

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two or three in the instrument for this purpose: and thus it happened [in the first convocation under Elizabeth, (see below, Eliz. i. 20)], the Bishops of Worcester and Coventry being joined in commission with Bonner."—Collier, vi. 205. Comp. Cardwell, Synodalia, 496.

¹ Fox, vi. 395.

² i. e. the proctors for the capitular and parochial Clergy.

³ These are the persons mentioned as dissentient from the articles agreed on by the convocation concerning the Eucharistic Presence and Transubstantiation.—Wilkins, iv. 88. Philips recanted in the following year (ib. 94), but retained his preferment under Elizabeth.—Fox, vi. 398.

⁴ Thomas Young, precentor of St David's, preferred under Elizabeth to the bishoprick of St David's and the archbishoprick of York.—Burnet, ii. 527. Pollanus, in his Latin translation of the "Disputation," observes that, though Young took no part in the argument, yet he was one of those who refused to subscribe the acts of the Synod.—N. in Philpot's Works, ed. Park. Soc. 171.

⁵ Fox, vi. 396, seqq. The disputation is also reprinted in Philpot's Works.

AN. REG. I, one of the points proposed by the Prolocutor related to a cate-
 1553. chism set forth in the said King's time, intituled to the said
 convocation in the year 1552. Of which it was to be inquired
 whether or no it was the work of that convocation¹. But that
 matter being passed lightly over, the main point in debate con-
 cerned the manner of Christ's presence in the blessed Sacra-
 ment. It was not denied by Philpot and the rest of the pro-
 testant party that Christ was present in his Sacrament, rightly
 ministered according to his institution; but only that he was
 not present after the gross and carnal manner which they of
 the popish party had before subscribed to. Six days the dis-
 putation lasted, but to little purpose; for on the one side it
 was said by Weston and his associates that their adversaries
 were sufficiently confuted, and all their arguments fully answered;
 and on the other side it was affirmed by the divines of King
 Edward's time, that neither any satisfaction had been given to
 their arguments, nor that any right judgment could be made in
 the points disputed, where the adverse party sat as judges in
 their own concernments. Many checks had been given by
 Weston to the six divines, but especially to the Archdeacon
 of Winchester²; and there was much disorder otherwise in the
 disputation (though certain great Lords were present at it)
 which hindered it from producing any good effect: so that,
 being weary at the last of their own confusions, it was thought
 fit to put an end to the dispute. Which Weston did accord-
 ingly in these following words—"It is not," saith he, "the
 Queen's pleasure that we should spend any longer time in these
 debates, and ye are well enough already. *For you,*" saith he,
 "*have the word, and we have the sword*³." So powerful is the
 truth—that many times it will find some means to vent itself
 when we least intend it, and sometimes also when we most
 labour to suppress it.

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Zealous
 proceedings
 of Bonner.

21. The parliament and convocation had thus concluded
 on the point, and little question would be made but that such
 Bishops as disliked the alterations in the time of King Edward

¹ Sup. i. 257—8.

² "Penultimo die Octobris Mag. Philpot propter ignorantiam, arrogan-
 tiam, insolentiam ac pertinacitatem ad disputandum non est ulterius
 admissus nisi in causis civilibus."—Registr. Lambeth. ap. Wilkins,
 iv. 88.

³ Holinshed, iv. 9.

will be sufficiently active in advancing the results of both. But AN. REG. 1,
1553. Bonner will not stay long: he is resolved to go along with the parliament, if not before it. For after the ending of the Evensong on St Katherine's day, before the consultations of the parliament had been confirmed by the royal assent, he caused the quire of St Paul's to go about the steeple, singing with lights after the old custom¹. And on St Andrew's day next following he began the procession in Latin himself, with many parsons and curates and the whole quire, together with the Lord Mayor and divers of the Aldermen, the Prebendaries² of the church attired in their old gray amises (as they used to call them); in which manner they continued it for three days after³. In setting up the mass with all the pomps and rites thereof at the time appointed, it is not to be thought that he could be backward who shewed himself so forward in the rest of his actings. And therefore it can be no news to hear that, on the 14th of January, he restored the solemn Sundays-procession about the church, with the Mayor and Aldermen in their cloaks; the Preacher taking his benediction in the midst of the church, according to the ancient custom; or that he should send out his mandates to all Parsons and Curates within his diocese, for taking the names of all such as would not come the Lent following to auricular confession, and receive at Easter⁴: or, finally, that he should issue out the like commands to all Priests and Curates which lived within the compass of his jurisdiction, for the abolishing of such paintings and sentences of holy Scripture as had been pencilled on the church-walls in King Edward's days⁵. He knew full well, that as the actions of the mother church would easily become exemplary to the rest of the city, so the proceedings of that city and the parts about it would in time give the law to the rest of the kingdom;

¹ Nov. 25.—Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 52. Machyn, 49.

² Edd. 1, 2, "Prebends."

³ Fox, vi. 413.

⁴ i. e. the Bishop's. See Gavanti, Thes. Sacr. Rit. i. 209, ed. Aug. Vindel. 1763.

⁵ Fox, vi. 426.

⁶ Oct. 25, 1554.—Fox, vi. 565; Wilkins, iv. 108. The texts had been chosen with a controversial intention, as is declared in Bonner's order. Stow, relating the pulling down of images in the preceding reign, adds that "texts of scriptures were written on the walls of the churches, *against images*."—Chron. 595.

AN. REG. 1,
1553.

and that there was no speedier way to advance a general conformity over all the kingdom, than to take beginning at the head, from whence both sense and motion is derived to the rest of the body. Which makes it seem the greater wonder that he should be so backward in advancing images (if at the least his actings in that kind have not been misplaced) as not to go about it till the year next following; unless it were that he began to be so wise as to stay until the Queen's affairs were better settled. But no sooner was her marriage past, when we find him at it. For having by that time prepared a fair and large image of our Saviour, which they called the Rood, he caused it to be laid along upon the pavement of St Paul's quire, and all the doors of the church to be kept close shut, whilst he, together with the Prebendaries¹, sung and said divers prayers by it. Which done, they anointed it with oil in divers places, and after the anointing of it, crept unto it and kissed it, and after weighed it up, and set it in its accustomed place; the whole quire in the mean time singing *Te Deum*, and the bells publishing their joy at the end of the pageant². After which a command is given to Dr Story (who was then Chancellor of his diocese, and afterwards a most active instrument in all his butcheries) to visit every parish-church in London and Middlesex, to see their rood-lofts repaired, and the image of the crucifix with Mary and John to be placed on them³.

A match
between the
Queen and
Philip,
Prince of
Spain.

22. But it is time that we return to the former parliament; during the sitting whereof the Queen had been desired to marry, and three husbands had been nominated, of several qualities, that she might please herself in the choice of one: that is to say, Edward Lord Courtney, whom she had lately restored to the title of Earl of Devon⁴; Reginald Pole, a Cardinal of the Church of Rome, descended from George Duke of Clarence; and Philip, the eldest son of Charles the Emperor. It is affirmed that she had carried some good affections to the Earl of Devonshire ever since she first saw him in the Tower, as being of a lovely personage and royal extraction, the grandson of a daughter of King Edward the Fourth; but he, being sounded afar off, had declined the matter. Concerning which there goes a story, that the young Earl petitioning her for leave

¹ Edd. 1, 2, "Prebends."

³ Stow, 627.

² Fox, vi. 558.

⁴ Sept. 3, 1553.—Stow, 616.

to travel, she advised him to marry and stay at home, assuring him that no lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse to accept him for an husband. By which words, though she pointed out herself unto him, as plainly as might either stand with the modesty or majesty of a maiden Queen, yet the young gentleman, not daring to look so high as a crown, or being better affected to the person of the Princess Elizabeth, desired the Queen to give him leave to marry her sister. Which gave the Queen so much displeasure that she looked with an evil eye upon them both for ever after;—upon the Earl for not accepting that love which she seemed to offer, and on her sister as her rival in the Earl's affections¹. It was supposed also that she might have some inclinations to Cardinal Pole, as having been brought up with him in the house of his mother, the late Countess of Salisbury². But against him it was objected that he began to grow in years³, and was so given to his book that he seemed fitter for a cowl than to wear a crown; that he had few dependences at home, and fewer alliances abroad; and that the Queen's affairs did require a man both stout and active, well backed with friends, and able at all points to carry on the great concernments of the kingdom. And then what fitter husband could be found out for her than Philip Prince of Spain? a Prince in the verdure of his years, and eldest son to the most mighty Emperor Charles the Fifth; by whom, the Netherlands being laid to England, and both secured by the assistance and power of Spain, this nation might be rendered more considerable both by sea and land than any people in the world⁴.

23. To this last match the Queen was carefully solicited

¹ Dr Lingard, (vii. 128) shews, from the dispatches of Noailles, the French Ambassador, that Courtenay forfeited the Queen's regard by misconduct; that while "in public she observed that it was not for her honour to marry a subject...to her confidential friends she attributed the cause to the immorality of Courtenay." (Comp. Tytler, Edw. and Mary, ii. 259.) Dr Lingard has, however, done wrong to Hume in saying that he "could have had no better authority than his own imagination" for his "very romantic statement" as to the cause of Courtenay's rejection; for Hume only followed Heylyn. On the subject of Courtenay, see the British Magazine, xviii. 256-60.

² Sup. p. 50.

³ He was born in 1500.—Life by Phillips, i. 4.

⁴ Godwin, 167.

AN. REG. 1, 1553. by the Bishop of Winchester¹, who neither loved the person of Pole nor desired his company, for fear of growing less in power and reputation by coming under the command of a Cardinal Legate. To which end he encouraged Charles the Emperor to go on with this marriage for his son; not without some secret intimation of his advice for not suffering Pole to come into England (if he were suffered to come at all) till the treaty was concluded, and the match agreed on. According whereunto, the Lord Lamoralle Earl of Edgmond, Charles Earl of Lalaing, and John d'Mount Morency, Earl of Horn, arrived in England as Ambassadors from the Emperor². In the beginning of

1553-4. January they began to treat upon the marriage, which they found so well prepared before their coming that in short time

Conditions of marriage.

it was accorded upon these conditions.—“ 1. That it should be lawful for Philip to assume the title of all the kingdoms and provinces belonging to his wife, and should be joint Governor with her over those kingdoms; the privileges and customs thereof always preserved inviolate, and the full and free distribution of bishopricks, benefices, favours and offices, always remaining entire in the Queen. 2. That the Queen should also carry the titles of all those realms into which Philip either then was or should be afterwards invested. 3. That if the Queen survived Philip, sixty thousand pounds per annum should be assigned to her for her jointure, as had been formerly assigned to the Lady Margaret, sister to King Edward the Fourth, and wife to Charles Duke of Burgundy. 4. That the issue begotten by this marriage should succeed in all the Queen's dominions, as also in the dukedom and county of Burgundy, and all those provinces in the Netherlands of which the Emperor was possessed. 5. That if none but daughters should proceed from this marriage, the eldest should succeed in all the said provinces of the Netherlands; provided that by the counsel and consent of Charles (the son of Philip, by Mary of Portugal his first wife) she should make choice of a husband

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¹ It is, however, certain, especially from the dispatches of Noailles, that “Gardiner was an obstinate opponent of the match in the cabinet, and then only sought to make it palatable and useful to the nation, when he found that it was not in his power to prevent it.”—Lingard, vii. 147, cf. 132.

² Godwin, 167.

out of England or the Netherlands; or otherwise to be deprived of her right in the succession in the said estates, and Charles to be invested in them; and in that case convenient portions to be made for her and the rest of the daughters. 6. And finally, That if the said Charles should depart this life without lawful issue, that then the heir surviving of this marriage, though female only, should succeed in all the kingdoms of Spain, together with all the dominions and estates of Italy thereunto belonging¹." Conditions fair and large enough, and more to the advantage of the realm of England than the crown of Spain.

AN. REG. I,
1553-4.

24. But so it was not understood by the generality of the people of England, many of which, out of a restless disposition, or otherwise desirous to restore the reformed religion, had caused it to be noised abroad that the Spaniards were by this accord to become the absolute Lords of all the kingdom; that they were to have the managing of all affairs; and that, abolishing all the ancient laws of the realm, they would impose upon the land a most intolerable yoke of servitude, as a conquered nation. Which either being certainly known or probably suspected by the Queen and the Council, it was thought fit that the Lord Chancellor² should make a true and perfect declaration of all points of the agreement, not only in the Presence Chamber to such lords and gentlemen as were at that time about the court and the city of London, but also to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and certain of the chief commoners of that City, purposely sent for to the court upon that occasion: which services he performed on the 14th and 15th days of January. And having summarily reported all the articles of the Capitulation, he shewed unto them how much they were bound to thank God "That such a noble, worthy, and famous Prince would vouchsafe so to humble himself, as in this marriage to take upon him rather as a subject than otherwise: considering that the Queen and her Council were to rule and govern all things as they did before; and that none of the Spaniards or other strangers were to be of the Council, nor to have the custody of any castles, forts, &c., nor to have any office in the Queen's house, or elsewhere through-

Unpopularity of the match.

¹ Godwin, 167-8.

² Gardiner.

AN. REG. 1,
1553-4.

out the kingdom. In which respect it was the Queen's request to the Lords and gentlemen, that for her sake they would most lovingly receive the said Prince with joy and honour; and to the Lord Mayor and citizens, That they would behave themselves to be good subjects with all humility and rejoicing¹."

Insurrec-
tions in
opposition
to it.

25. Which declaration notwithstanding, the subjects were not easily satisfied in those fears and jealousies which cunningly had been infused into them by some popular spirits, who greedily affected a change of government, and to that end sowed divers other discontents amongst the people. To some they secretly complained, that the Queen had broken her promise to the Suffolk men, in suppressing the religion settled by King Edward the Sixth; to others, that the marriage with the Prince of Spain was but the introduction to a second vassalage to the Popes of Rome. Sometimes they pitied the calamity of the Lady Jane, not only forcibly deposed, but barbarously condemned to a cruel death; and sometimes magnified the eminent virtues of the Princess Elizabeth, as the only blessing of the kingdom; and by those articles² prepared the people in most places for the act of rebellion³. And that it might succeed the better, nothing must be pretended but the preservation and defence of their civil liberties, which they knew was generally like to take both with Papists and Protestants; but so that they had many engines to draw such others to the side as either were considerable for power or quality. The Duke of Suffolk was hooked in, upon the promise of re-establishing his daughter in the royal throne; the Carews and other gentlemen of Devonshire, upon assurance of marrying the Lord Courtney to the Princess Elizabeth, and setting the crown upon their heads; and all they that wished well to the Reformation, upon the like hopes of restoring that religion which had been settled by the care and piety of the good King Edward, but now suppressed, contrary to all faith and promise, by the Queen and her ministers. By means of which suggestions and subtle practices the contagion was so generally diffused over all the kingdom, that, if it had not accidentally⁴ broke out before the time appointed by them, it was conceived by many wise and knowing

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¹ Stow, 617.

² Qu. "artifices"?

³ Godwin, 168.

⁴ Edd. 1, 2, "accidently."

men that the danger might have proved far greater, the disease AN. REG. 1,
1553-4.
ineurable.

26. For so it happened that the Carews, conceiving that the deferring of the execution of the plot thus laid might prove destructive to that cause, or otherwise fatally thrust on by their own ill destiny, began to levy men in Cornwall; which could not be so closely carried but that their purpose was discovered, and the chief of them forced to fly the kingdom¹. The news whereof gave such an alarm to the confederates, that they shewed themselves in several places before the people were prepared and made ready for them. Insomuch that the Duke of Suffolk, together with the Lord Thomas² Gray and the Lord Leonard Gray, having made proclamation in divers places on the 25th of that month against the Queen's intended marriage with the Prince of Spain, and finding that the people came not in so fast unto them as they did expect, were forced to dismiss their slender company, and shift for themselves, upon the first news that the Earl of Huntington was coming toward them with three hundred horse³. An action very unfortunate to himself and to all his family; for, first, the Queen finding that she was to expect no peace or quiet as long as the Lady Jane was suffered to remain alive, caused her and the Lord Guilford Dudley to be openly executed on the 12th of February then next following. His daughter Katherine, formerly married to Henry Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Earl of Pembroke, (but the marriage by reason of her tender years not coming unto a consummation by carnal knowledge) was by him repudiated and cast off⁴, and a marriage presently made betwixt him and another Katherine, a daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury. His brothers John and Thomas committed prisoners to the Tower; of which two, Thomas suffered death about two months after⁵. And for himself, being compelled to hide his head in the house of one Underwood, whom he had preferred unto the keeping of one of his parks, he was by him most basely and treacherously betrayed to the said Earl of Huntington, on the

¹ Godwin, 169.

² Godwin, 171, names Lord *John* Grey here, instead of Lord Thomas. The Duke's three brothers were all concerned.

³ Stow, 617.

⁴ See Eliz. iv. 15.

⁵ April 27.—Fox, vi. 549.

AN. REG. 1, 11th of February. Arraigned on the 17th of the same month, and beheaded on the twenty-third¹.

27. Nor fared it better with the rest, though they of Kent, conducted by Sir Thomas Wyatt² (the chief contriver of the plot), were suddenly grown considerable for their number, and quickly formidable for their power. The news of whose rising being swiftly posted to the court, the Duke of Norfolk was appointed to go against him, attended with few more than the Queen's ordinary guards, and followed by 500 Londoners, newly raised and sent by water to Gravesend under the charge of Captain Alexander Bret. With which few forces he intended to assault the rebels, who had put themselves into Rochester Castle and fortified the bridge with some pieces of cannon. But being ready to fall on, Bret with his Londoners fell off to Wyatt, and so necessitated the old Duke to return to London in great haste, accompanied by the Earl of Arundel and Sir Henry Jerningham with some few of their horse, leaving their foot, eight pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition belonging to them, in the power of the enemy. This brings the Queen to the Guildhall in London on the first of February, where she finds the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and many of the chief citizens in their several liveries. To whom she signified, "That she never did intend to marry but on such conditions as in the judgment of her Council should be found honourable to the realm and profitable to her subjects; that therefore they should give no credit to those many calumnies which Wyatt and his accomplices, according³ to the guise of rebels, had purposely dispersed to defame both her and her government; but rather that they should contribute their best assistance for the suppressing of those who contrary to their duty were in arms against her⁴." And though she had as good as she brought,—that is to say fair promises for her gracious words—yet, understanding that many in the city held correspondence with the Kentish rebels, she appointed the Lord

¹ Fox, vi. 544; Stow, 622-3.

² For Wyatt's rebellion, see Stow, 618 seqq.; Holinshed, iv. 10, seqq.; Stow, 854-7; Godwin, 168, seqq.

³ Edd. "who according."

⁴ This can hardly be called an abridgment of the longer reports in Fox, vi. 415; Stow, 619; Godwin, 172.

William Howard (whom afterward she created Lord Howard of Effingham) to be Lieutenant of the city, and Pembroke General of the field. The event shewed that she followed that counsel which proved best for her preservation; for had she trusted to the city, she had been betrayed¹.

28. Encouraged with this success, and confident of a strong party amongst the Londoners, on the third day of February he entereth Southwark, where he and his were finely feasted by the people. But when he hoped to have found the way open to the rest of the city, he found the drawbridge to be cut down, the bridge-gate to be shut, and the ordinance of the Tower bent against him, by the appointment and direction of the Lord Lieutenant. Two days he trifled out in Southwark to no purpose at all, more than the sacking of Winchester House and the defacing of the Bishop's library there², unless it were to leave a document to posterity that God infatuates the counsels of those wretched men who traitorously take arms against their Princes. And, having liberally bestowed these two days upon the Queen, the better to enable her to provide for her safety, he wheels about on Sunday the sixth of the same month to Kingston Bridge. And though the bridge was broken down before his coming, and that the opposite shore was guarded by two hundred men, yet did he use such diligence that he removed away those forces, repaired the bridge, passed over both his men and cannon, and might in all probability have surprised both the court and city in the dead of the night, if the same spirit of infatuation had not rested on him. For, having marched beyond Brainford in the way towards London, without giving or taking the alarm, it happened that one of his great pieces was dismounted by the breach of its wheels. In the mending and mounting whereof he obstinately wasted so much time, notwithstanding all the persuasions which his friends could make unto him, that many of his men slipped from him, and some gave notice to the court, not only of his near approach, but also what his purpose was, and what had hindered him from putting it in execution. On this advertisement the Earl of Pembroke arms, and draws out his men to

¹ See i. 172, n. 2.

² Stow, 619. Some remains of the Bishop of Winchester's palace are still to be seen, near the western end of St Saviour's Church.

AS RES.
1554-4.

attend the motion of the rebels, who about ten of the clock came to Charing Cross, and without falling on the court, (which was then in very great amazement) turn up the Strand to Temple Bar, and so toward Ludgate, the Earl of Pembroke following and cutting him off in the rear upon every turn. Coming to London, (when it was too late for his intendments,) he found the gates fast shut against him, and the Lord William Howard in as great a readiness to oppose him there as when he was before in Southwark. So that, being hemmed in on both sides without hope of relief, he yields himself to Sir Morris Berkley, is carried prisoner to the court, from thence committed to the Tower, arraigned at Westminster on the fifteenth of March, and executed on the eleventh of April, having first heard that no fewer than fifty of his accomplices were hanged in London, and Bret with twenty-two more in several places of Kent¹.

See the
writings of
Reformers.

29. 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 (associated with John Knox, for setting up presbytery and rebellion in the Kirk of Scotland), in which he takes upon him to shew "How far superior magistrates ought to be obeyed." For, 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 enterprise²." But this book³ was written at Geneva, where Calvin reigned: to whom no pamphlet could be more agreeable than such as did reproach this Queen: whom in his Comment upon Amos he entitleth by the name of Pros-

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¹ See, 222-4.

² Fuller, iv. 38. — (where the quotation is not exactly the same). Compare with this section, *As. Res.* p. 25. Also the chapters on "Puritan Politics," in Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation*, pp. 53, 54, 55, or *British Magazine*, Vol. xxix.

³ See Maitland, 103, 116-120.

erpine, and saith that she exceeded in her cruelties all the devils in hell. Much more it is to be admired that Dr John Poinet, the late Bishop of Winchester, should be of counsel in the plot, or put himself into their camp, and attend them to the place where the carriage brake. Where, when he could not work on Wyat to desist from that unprofitable labour in remounting the cannon, he counselled Vauhan², Bret, and others, to shift for themselves, took leave of his more secret friends, told them that he would pray for their good success, and so departed and took ship for Germany, where he after died³.

30 The fortunate suppressing of these insurrections secured the Queen from any fear of the like dangers for the present. And thereupon it was advised to make use of the opportunity for putting the Church into a posture, when the spirits of the opposite party were so crushed and broken that no resistance could be looked for. Articles therefore are sent into every diocese, and letters writ unto the several and respective Bishops on the third⁴ of March, to see them carefully and speedily put in execution. The tenor of which Articles was⁵ as followeth:

AN. REG. 1,
1553-4.

Royal
Instructions
to the
Bishops.

(1) · THAT every Bishop and his officers, with all other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution

¹ Calv. in Amos, c. 7, Opp. v. 223, col. 1, designates Gardiner as "impostor ille qui postea fuit cancellarius hujus Proserpinæ, quæ hodie illic [in Anglia] superat omnes diabolos."

² Edd. 1, 2, "Vauham;" ed. 3, "Vanham."

³ Stow, 62). Burnet argues that Poinet cannot have been in the affair, because if so, the fact would have been published by Queen Mary's government, and Gardiner would have moved for his attainder. But such arguments do not warrant us in setting aside the positive testimony of Stow, who was resident in London at the time. (Maitland, 95-6). And Poinet's appearance in the rebellion was perfectly consistent with the principles of a work which he soon after published—"A treatise of Politic Power." On this work, see Collier, vi. 61; Hallam, Literature of Europe, ii. 188-192, ed. 1; Maitland, 97, 123, &c. Poinet died at Strasburg, 1556, aged 49. Godwin de Præsul, 256. (A story against him, which has been disbelieved as coming from Sanders, 239, is confirmed by Machyn's Diary—"The 27 day of July [1551] was the new bishoppe of W. devorsyd from the bucher wyff with shame enogh."—p. 8.)

⁴ Fox, vi. 426.

⁵ Edd. 1, 2, "were."

AN. REG. 1, all such canons and ecclesiastical laws heretofore in the time
 1553-4. of King Henry the Eighth used within this realm of England
 and the dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly
 contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

(2) That no Bishop or any his officer or other person hereafter in any of their ecclesiastical writings, in process or other extrajudicial acts, do use to¹ put in this clause or sentence, *Regia autoritate fulcitus*².

(3) That no Bishop nor any his officer or other person do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late [in] few years past hath been accustomed and used.

(4) 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 unreasonable leases.

(5) That every Bishop and all other persons aforesaid do diligently travail for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the Clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

(6) That every Bishop and all other persons aforesaid do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred and discord amongst the people. And that Schoolmasters, Teachers, and Preachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties, without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary they may be by the Bishop and his said officers punished and removed.

(7) That every Bishop and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive or declare deprived, and remove³ according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their

¹ Edd. Heyl. "or."

² (Sic.)

³ "amove," Burnet.

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.

AN. REG. 1,
1553-4.

(8) That the said Bishop and other persons aforesaid do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married whose wives be dead, than with others whose women do yet remain alive. And likewise such Priests as with the consent of their wives or women openly in the presence of the Bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourable. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the Bishop according to his discretion and wisdom may, upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administrations, 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 the discretion of the said Bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the same benefice.

(9) That every Bishop and other person 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*¹ in divers parishes, and to allot the said Curate for his labour some part of the benefice which he so serveth.

(11) That all and all manner of processions in the Church be used, frequented², and continued after the old order of the Church, in the Latin tongue.

(12) That all such Holy Days and Fasting Days be observed and kept as were observed and kept in the latter time of King Henry the Eighth.

(13) That the laudable and honest Ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the Church, be

¹ Edd. 1, 2, and Fox, "alienis."

² Edd. Heyl. "used frequently."

AN. REG. 1, hereafter frequented, used, and observed¹; and that children be christened by the Priest and confirmed by the Bishop as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

(14) 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 ability² in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, [and] then according to his discretion admit them to minister.

(15) 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.

(16) That they examine all Schoolmasters and Teachers of children, and finding them suspect in any wise, 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 to³ mass, as hath been accustomed.

(17) That the said Bishops and all other the 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 and⁴ keeping under of vice and unthriftiness, 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 cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation, and profit of this our realm and the dominions of the same⁵."

Imposture of
"the spirit in
the wall."

31. The generality of the people, not being well pleased before with the Queen's proceedings, were startled more than ever at the noise of these Articles; none more exasperated than those whose either hands or hearts had been joined with

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¹ In Fox, Burnet, and Wilkins, the latter part of this paragraph is a distinct article, so that the number of the whole is eighteen.

² Edd. Heyl. "sufficient ability."

³ Edd. Heyl. "at."

⁴ Edd. Heyl. "or."

⁵ Fox, vi. 427; Burnet, II. App. 252, (folio); Wilkins, iv. 89.

Wyat. But not being able to prevail by open army¹, a new device is found out to befool the people, and bring them to a misconceit of the present government. A young maid called Elizabeth Crofts, about the age of eighteen years, was tutored to counterfeit certain speeches in the wall of a house not far from Aldersgate, where she was heard of many but seen of none, and, that her voice might be conceived to have somewhat in it more than ordinary, a strange whistle was devised for her, out of which her words proceeded in such a tone as seemed to have nothing mortal in it. And thereupon it was affirmed by some of the people (great multitudes whereof resorted daily to the place) that it was an angel, or at least a voice from heaven; by others, that it could be nothing but the Holy Ghost; but generally she passed by the name of the *Spirit in the wall*. For the interpreting of whose words there wanted not some of the confederates, who mingled themselves by turns amongst the rest of the people, and, taking on them to expound what the spirit said, delivered many dangerous and seditious words against the Queen, her marriage with the Prince of Spain, the Mass, Confession, and the like. The practice was first set on foot on the 14th of March, which was within ten days after the publishing of the Articles, and for a while it went on fortunately enough, according to the purpose of the chief contrivers. But the abuse being searched into, and the plot discovered, the wench was ordered to stand upon a scaffold near St Paul's Cross on the 15th of July, there to abide during the time of the Sermon, and that being done, to make a public declaration of that lewd imposture². Let not the Papists be from henceforth charged with Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the Holy Maid of Kent; since now the Zuinglian Gospellers (for I cannot but consider this as a plot of theirs³) have raised up their Elizabeth Crofts, whom they called the Spirit in the wall, to draw aside the people from their due allegiance.

¹ Qu. "arms?"

² Sanders, 255; Stow, 625.

³ Burnet, II. 549, and ii. 565, protests against "the malignity of one of our historians" (Heylyn), in having adopted this notion from Sanders. But the *subject* of the words uttered by the "Spirit" appears to bear out the remark in the text; moreover Speed, a writer of principles very opposite to Sanders, ascribes the imposture to "certain giddy reformers." 851: and the girl herself declared that she was instigated by a servant of Sir Antony Knevett—one of Wyatt's adherents.—Machyn, 66.

AN. REG. I,
1554.

Further
conditions of
the Queen's
marriage.

32. Wyat's rebellion being quenched, and the realm in a condition capable of holding a parliament, the Queen convenes the Lords and Commons on the second of April; in which session the Queen's marriage with the Prince of Spain, being offered unto consideration, was finally concluded and agreed unto upon these conditions, that is to say,—“That Philip should not advance any to any public office or dignity in England, but such as were natives of the realm, and the Queen's subjects. That he should admit of a set number of English in his household, whom he should use respectively, and not suffer them to be injured by foreigners. That he should not transport the Queen out of England, but at her entreaty, nor any of the issue begotten by her, who should have their education in this realm, and should not be suffered but upon necessity and good reason to go out of the same, nor then neither 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, nor the immunities and customs of the realm, but should be bound by oath to confirm and keep them. That he should not transport any jewels, nor 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 the King of France, but that the peace between the English and the French should remain firm and inviolate¹.”

New
Peerages.

33. For the clearer carrying on this great business, and to encourage them for the performance of such further services as her occasions might require, the Queen was pleased to increase the number of her Barons. In pursuance whereof, she advanced the Lord William Howard, cousin german to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, to the title of Lord Howard of Effingham, on the eleventh of March, and elected him into the Order of the Garter within few months after; whose son called Charles, being Lord Admiral of England, and of no small renown for his success at the Isle of Gades, was by Queen Eliza-

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¹ Godwin, 178.

beth created Earl of Nottingham, anno 1589¹. Next to him followed Sir John Williams, created Lord Williams of Tame on the fifth of April; who, dying without issue male², left his estate (though not his honours) betwixt two daughters; the eldest of whom, called Margaret, was married to Sir Henry Norris, whom Queen Elizabeth created Lord Norris of Ricot, in reference perhaps to his father's suffering in the cause of her mother³; from whom descended Francis Lord Norris, advanced by King James to the honours of Viscount Tame and Earl of Berkshire, by letters patents bearing date in January, anno 1620⁴. After him, on the 7th of April, comes Sir Edward North, created Baron of Chartlege⁵, in the county of Cambridge, who, having been Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations in the time of King Henry, and raised himself a fair estate by the fall of abbeys, was by the King made one of his executors, and nominated to be one of the great Council of estate in his son's minority. Sir John Bruges brings up the rear, who, being descended from Sir John Chandois, a right noble Banneret, and from the Bottelers, Lords of Sudley, was made Lord Chandois of Sudley on the 8th of April; which goodly manor he had lately purchased of the crown, to which it was escheated on the death of Sir Thomas Seimour, anno 1549. The title still enjoyed, though but little else, by the seventh Lord of this name and family; most of the lands being dismembered from the house by the unparalleled imprudence⁶ (to give it no worse name) of his elder brother.

AN. REG. 1,
1554.

34. Some Bishops I find consecrated about this time also, Consecra-
tions of
bishops.

¹ 1597, for his services against the Armada, 1588, and in the Cadiz expedition, 1596. *Camd. Eliz. Lat.* ii. 137.

² A. D. 1559.

³ See *Eliz. Introd.* 15-17.

⁴ *Dugd.* ii. 404.

⁵ He was created Lord North of "Kirtling, now called Carthlage."—*Dugdale*, ii. 394. *Edd.* 1, 3, read "Charleleg;" *Ed.* 2, "Charlebeg." I have given the name as it is in *Godwin*, 184.

⁶ *Edd.* 1, 2, "impudence." *Dugdale*, (ii. 356) mentions that George, Lord Chandos, died in 1654. "To whom succeeded in his honour, William his brother, but not to much of his lands, he having settled the inheritance of them upon Jane his last wife," by whom they passed to her second husband, George Pitts, Esq., ancestor of the Earls of Rivers. For an account of the Chandos peerage, see the *Supplement to Collins*, Vol. ix., and many other publications of Sir Egerton Brydges. Against his claim, a work by Mr G. F. Beltz. of the *Heralds' College*.

AN. REG. 1, 1554. to make the stronger party for the Queen in the House of Peers;—no more Sees actually voided at that time to make room¹ for others, though many in a fair way to it; of which more hereafter. Hooper of Gloucester, commanded to attend the Lords of the Council on the twenty-second of August, and committed prisoner not long after, was outed of his bishoprick immediately on the ending of the Parliament; in which all consecrations were declared to be void and null which had been made according to the ordinal of King Edward the Sixth². Into whose place succeeded James Brooks³, Doctor in Divinity, sometimes Fellow of Corpus Christi and Master of Baliol College in Oxon; employed not long after as a delegate from the Pope of Rome in the proceedings against the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he condemned to the stake. To Taylor (of whose death we have spoken before)⁴ succeeded Dr John White in the See of Lincoln;—first Schoolmaster and after Warden of the College near Winchester, to the Episcopal See whereof we shall find him translated anno 1556. The church of Rochester had been void ever since the removal of Dr Scory⁵ to the See of Chichester; not suffered to return to his former bishopric, though despoiled of the later: but it was now thought good to fill it, and Maurice Griffin, who for some years had been the Archdeacon, is consecrated Bishop of it on the first of April⁶. One suffrage more was gained by the repealing of an Act of Parliament made in the last session of King Edward, for dissolving the Bishopric of Durham⁷; till which time Doctor Cuthbert Tunstall, though restored to his liberty, and possibly to a good part also of his church's patrimony, had neither suffrage as a Peer in the House of Parliament, nor could act any thing as a Bishop in his own jurisdiction. And with these consecrations and creations I conclude this year.

¹ The editions read *Rome*; but it seems unnecessary to follow them in the text.

² Mar. Sess. ii. c. 2.

³ Godwin de Præsulibus, 552.

⁴ Godw. p. 301; sup. p. 98. As was there remarked, the vacancy of Lincoln was caused, not by the death of Taylor, but by his deprivation.

⁵ May, 1552. Edd. 1, 2, read "Story," as if confounding the name of the Protestant Bishop with that of the Romanist civilian, who is repeatedly mentioned.

⁶ Godwin, 538. Brooks and White were consecrated on the same day.

⁷ 1 Mar. Sess. i. c. 3. See Vol. i. p. 290.

ANNO REGNI MAR. 2.

ANNO DOM. 1554, 1555.

1. **T**HE next begins with the arrival of the Prince of Spain, The Queen's Marriage. wafted to England with a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail of ships, twenty of which were English, purposely sent to be his convoy, in regard of the wars not then expired betwixt the French and the Spaniards'. Landing at Southampton on the 19th of July (on which day of the month in the year foregoing the Queen had been solemnly proclaimed in London) he went to Winchester with his whole retinue on the 24th, where he was received by the Queen with a gallant train of lords and ladies. Solemnly married the next day, being the festival of St James, (the supposed tutelary saint of the Spanish nation) by the Bishop of Winchester; at what time the Queen had passed the eight and thirtieth year of her age, and the Prince was but newly entered on his twenty-seventh. As soon as the marriage rites were celebrated, Higueroa, the Emperor's Ambassador, presented to the King a donation of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which the Emperor his father had resigned unto him. Which presently was signified, and the titles of the King and Queen proclaimed by sound of trumpet in this following style—"Philip and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, Ireland, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Millain, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Ausperge², Flanders, and Tirroll, &c." At the proclaiming of which style, (which was performed in French, Latin, and English) the King and Queen shewed themselves hand in hand, with two swords borne before them, for the greater state, or in regard of their distinct capacities in the public government³. From Winchester they removed to Basing, and so to Windsor, where Philip on the 5th of August was installed Knight of the Garter, into the fellowship whereof he had been chosen the year before⁴. From thence

¹ Godwin, Ann. 179.² i. e. Hapsburg.³ Fox, vi. 555; Stow, 625.⁴ Stow, 625.

AN. REG. 2, the court removed to Richmond by land, and so by water to
 1554. Suffolk Place in the Borough of Southwark, and on the 12th
 of the same month made a magnificent passage through the
 principal streets of the City of London, with all the pomps
 accustomed at a coronation. The triumphs of which enter-
 tainment had continued longer, if the court had not put on
 mourning for the death of the old Duke of Norfolk, who left
 this life at Framlingham Castle in the month of September,
 to the great sorrow of the Queen, who entirely loved him¹.

2. I hilip, thus gloriously received, endeavoured to shew
 his grandeur, to make the English sensible of the benefits
 which they were to partake of by this marriage, and to in-
 gratiate himself with the nobility and people in all generous
 ways. To which end he caused great quantity of bullion to
 be brought into England, loaded in twenty carts, carrying
 amongst them twenty-seven chests, each chest containing a
 yard and some inches in length, conducted to the Tower on the
 second of October by certain Spaniards and Englishmen of
 his Majesty's guard². And on the 29th of January³ then
 next following, ninety-nine horses and two carts, laden with
 treasures of gold and silver brought out of Spain, was con-
 veyed through the city to the Tower of London under the
 conduct of Sir Thomas Gresham, the Queen's merchant, and
 others. He prevailed also with the Queen for discharge of
 such prisoners as stood committed in the Tower, either for
 matter of religion, or on the account of Wyat's rebellion, or
 for engaging in the practice of the Duke of Northumberland.
 And, being gratified therein according unto his desire, the
 Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, and certain others of the
 council were sent unto the Tower on the 18th of January, to
 see the same put in execution; which was accordingly per-
 formed, to the great joy of the prisoners, amongst which were
 the Archbishop of York⁴, ten Knights, and many other persons
 of name and quality⁵. But nothing did him greater honour

¹ Stow, 625.

² Stow, 625.—“It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little
 bundles about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick; and in
 every cart were six of those bundles. *What it was indeed, God know-
 eth: for it is to us uncertain.*” Fox vi. 560.

³ Stow, 626, says the twelfth of February.

⁴ Holgate.

⁵ Machyn, 80; Fox, vi. 586.

40 amongst the English than the great pains he took for pro-
 210 curing the enlargement of the Earl of Devonshire and the Princess Elizabeth, committed formerly on a suspicion of having had a hand in Wyatt's rebellion, though Wyatt honestly disavowed it at the time of his death¹. It was about the feast of Easter that the Earl was brought unto the court, where having obtained the leave to travel for which before he had petitioned in vain, he passed the seas, crossed France, and came into Italy; but he found the air of Italy was as much too hot for him as that of England was too cold, dying at Padua in the year 1556—the eleventh and last Earl of Devonshire of that noble family². About ten days after his enlargement followed that of the Princess Elizabeth, whose coming to the court, her entertainment with the Queen, and what else followed thereupon, we shall see hereafter³.

AN. REG. 2,
1554.

3. But we have run ourselves too far upon these occasions, and therefore must look back again on that which followed more immediately on the King's reception; the celebrating of whose marriage opened a fair way for the Cardinal's coming, so long expected by the Queen and delayed by the Emperor: by whom retarded for a while when he was in Italy, and openly detained at Dilling, a town in Germany⁴, as he was upon his way towards England. From thence he writes his letters of expostulation, representing to the Emperor the great scandal which must needs be given to the Church's enemies, in detaining a Cardinal Legate, commissioned by his Holiness for the peace of Christendom and the regaining of a kingdom⁵. Which notwithstanding, there he stayed till the articles of

Arrival of
Cardinal
Pole.

¹ Fox, vi. 549.

² Holinshed, iv. 79.—This Earl held his peerage under a patent granted by Queen Mary in 1553; the earlier titles of the family having been lost through the attainder of his father. (Sup. i. 19.) The earldom was created with remainder to "his heirs male for ever;" and in 1831 it was decided by the House of Lords that this description included the surviving branch of the Courtenay family, as being descended from common ancestors, although the last of these had lived two hundred years before the date of the title. Thus the Earldom of 1553 was adjudged to William, Viscount Courtenay, who, though only the second bearer of the title, was the ninth who was entitled to it, and the twentieth in hereditary succession from the first Earl of his family. Lodge's Genealogy of the Peerage.

³ Eliz. Introd.

⁴ Dillingen on the Danube, in Bavaria.

⁵ Sarpì, 385.

AN. REG. 2, 1554. the marriage were agreed on by the Queen's Commissioners, and is then suffered to advance as far as Brussels, upon condition that he should not pass over into England till the consummation of the marriage¹. The interim he spends in managing a treaty of peace betwixt the Emperor and the French; which sorted² to no other effect but only to the setting forth of his dexterity in all public businesses³. And now, the marriage being past, the Emperor is desired to give him leave to come for England; and Pole is called upon by letters from the King and Queen to make haste unto them, that they might have his presence and assistance in the following parliament; and in the mean time that they might advise upon such particulars as were to be agreed on for the honour and advantage of the see apostolic. Upon the Emperor's dismissal he repairs to Calais, but was detained by cross winds till the 24th of November⁴; at which time we shall find the parliament sitting, and much of the business dispatched to his hand in which he was to have been advised with.

Changes
among the
Bishops.

4. The business then to be dispatched was of no small moment,—no less than the restoring of the Popes to the supremacy of which they had been dispossessed in the time of King Henry. For smoothing the way to which great work, it was thought necessary to fill up all episcopal sees which either death or deprivation had of late made vacant. Holgate, Archbishop of York, had been committed to the Tower on the 4th of October, anno 1553, from whence released upon Philip's intercession on the 18th of January: marriage and heresy are his crimes, for which deprived during the time of his imprisonment⁵. Doctor Nicholas Heath succeeded him in

¹ The Emperor and Gardiner apprehended great difficulties as to the reconciliation with Rome, unless the church-lands which had fallen into lay hands might be retained by the possessors: and the Cardinal was detained at Brussels for some time on account of negotiations with the Pope on this subject.—Lingard, vii. 176.

² Qu. "served?"

³ In a letter from Dean Wotton, dated Melun, Dec. 23, 1553, it is said—"I understand that Cardinal Pole had put [the French King and others] in a good hope that the said marriage [of Mary with Philip] should take none effect."—Tytler, Edw. and Mary, ii. 274. As Mr Tytler observes,—if this be true, we cannot wonder at the Emperor's behaviour to Pole.

⁴ Godwin, 181. (See p. 135).

⁵ Stow, 626.—The commission for expelling Holgate, Farrar, Bird,

the see of York¹; and leaves the bishoprick of Worcester to Doctor Richard Pates, who had been nominated by King Henry the Eighth, anno 1534²; and, having spent the intervening twenty years in the court of Rome, returned a true servant to the Pope, every way fitted and instructed to advance that See. Goodrick of Ely left his life on the 10th of April³, leaving that bishoprick to Doctor Thomas Thurlby, Bishop of Norwich, (one that knew how to stand his ground in the strongest tempest); and Doctor John Hopton, heretofore Chaplain and Comptroller of Queen Mary's household, when but Princess only, is made Bishop of Norwich⁴. Barlow of Wells, having abandoned that dignity which he could not hold, had for his successor Doctor Gilbert Bourn⁵, Archdeacon of London, and brother of Sir John Bourn, principal Secretary of Estate—sufficiently recompensed by this preferment for the great danger which he had incurred the year before, when the dagger was thrown at him as he preached in St Paul's church-yard⁶. Harley of Hereford is succeeded by Purefew (otherwise called Wharton) of St Asaph; who had so miserably wasted the patrimony of the Church in the time of King Edward that it was hardly worth the keeping⁷. For the same sins of Pro-

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1554.

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and Bush, is printed by Burnet, II. ii. 359; that against Taylor, Hooper, and Harley, *ib.* p. 360. There was a difference between the cases—the first four, as regular clergy, being charged with violation of engagements by which the others, as seculars, had not been bound. Collier, vi. 65. On Holgate, see Harmer (Wharton) 125.

¹ The Congé d'élire is dated Feb. 19, 1554-5. Godw. de Præsul. 710.

² Sup. i. 65, whence it will be seen that there is a misstatement here.

³ May 10. Godw. de Præs. 272; Strype, in Burnet, III. ii. 535.

⁴ The Congé d'élire is dated Sept. 4, 1554. Godw. 441.

⁵ The Congé d'élire is dated March 3, 1553-4. *Ib.* 388.

⁶ Sup. p. 92. (As to Bourne's Archdeaconry, see i. 85).

⁷ "Hospitalis episcopi gloriam affectans, tantam aluit familiam, ut cum quotidianis sumptibus reditus non suffecerint, necesse habuerit fundos episcopales in longissimum tempus, (quod nimirum adhuc non est elapsum), elocare; id quod episcopatum antea satis tenuem nunc reddidit pauperrimum."—Godwin, 642. "Cum [sedem Assavensem], prædiis episcopalibus divenditis, nequissimo spoliasset sacrilegio, in rei tam præclare gestæ præmium ad Herefordensem episcopatum a Maria regina provehitur."—*Ibid.* 494. But Richardson remarks, in a

AN. REG. 2, 1554. testantism and marriage, old Bush of Bristow and Bird of Chester¹ (the two first Bishops of those Sees) were deprived also: the first succeeded to by Holiman, once a monk of Reading²; the last by Cotes³, sometimes Fellow of Magdalen and afterwards Master of Baliol College in Oxon. Finally, in the place of Doctor Richard Sampson, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who left this life on the 25th of September, Doctor Radolph Bayne, who had been Hebrew Reader in Paris in the time of King Francis, was consecrated Bishop of that church⁴; a man of better parts but of a more inflexible temper than his predecessor.

A parliament.

5. And now the parliament begins, opened upon the 11th of November, and closed on the 16th of January then next following. It had been offered to consideration in the former session, that all acts made against the Pope in the reign of King Henry might be declared null and void, for the better encouragement of the Cardinal to come amongst us. But the Queen had neither eloquence enough to persuade, nor power enough to awe the parliament to that concession. Nothing more hindered the design than general fear that, if the Popes were once restored to their former power, the Church might challenge restitution of her former possessions; do but secure them from that fear, then Pope and Cardinals might come and welcome⁵. And to secure them from that fear, they had not only the promise of the King and Queen, but some assurance underhand from the Cardinal Legate, who knew right well that the church-lands had been so chopped and changed by the two last Kings as not to be restored without the manifest ruin of many of the nobility and most of the

note on the passage—"Post rerum omnium disquisitionem, totum hoc de alienationibus a cl. viro Br. Willis penitus negatur."

¹ The epithet "old" would be more fitly applied to Bird than to Bush; for the age of the latter was at this time 64, while Bird is described as "ferme octogenarius" at the time of his death, two years later. After his deprivation he recanted, and became a suffragan under Bonner.—Godwin, *De Præsul.* 564, 776. Comp. the notes in Strype's *Crammer*, ed. *Ecel. Hist. Soc.* i. 135-7.

² Consecrated, Nov. 18, 1554. *Godw. de Præsul.* 564.

³ The editions wrongly call this bishop *Coles*. He was consecrated April 1, 1554, and died in the end of the following year.—*Godwin*, 776.

⁴ Nov. 18, 1554.—*Godwin*, 325. ⁵ *Fox*, vi. 579; *Sarpi*, 385.

gentry who were invested in the same. Secured on both sides, AN. REG. 2,
1554. they proceed according to the King's desires, and pass a general Act for the repealing of all statutes which had been made against the power and jurisdiction of the Popes of Rome¹. But first they are to be intreated to it by the Legate himself; for the opening a way to whose reception, they prepared a bill by which he was to be discharged of the attaindure which had passed upon him in the year 1539, restored in blood, and rendered capable of enjoying all those rights and privileges which formerly he stood possessed of in this kingdom². For the passing of which bill into Act, the King and Queen vouchsafed their presence, as soon as it was fitted and prepared for them, not staying till the end of the session as at other times, because the business might not suffer such a long delay.

6. It was upon the 24th of November that the Cardinal The kingdom
reconciled to
Rome. came first to London, and had his lodgings in or near the court, till Lambeth-house could be made ready to receive him. Having reposed himself for a day or two, the Lords and Commons are required to attend their Majesties at the court, where the Cardinal, in a very grave and eloquent speech, first, gave them thanks for being restored unto his country; in recompense whereof he told them that he was come to restore them to the country and court of heaven, from which, by their departing from the Church, they had been estranged. He therefore earnestly exhorts them to acknowledge their errors, and cheerfully to receive that benefit which Christ was ready by his Vicar to extend unto them. His speech is said to have been long and artificial³, but it concluded to this purpose—that he had the keys to open them a way into the Church, which they had shut against themselves by making so many laws to the dishonour and reproach of the see apostolic; on the revoking of which laws, they should find him ready to make use of his keys, in opening the doors of the Church unto them⁴. It was concluded hereupon by both houses of parliament, that a petition should be made in the name of the

¹ 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 8.

² 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. (Private Act, 1.) The Act passed on Nov. 21—the day of the Cardinal's landing at Dover: and the royal assent was given on the 22nd.—Fox, vi. 567.

³ Sarpì, 386.

⁴ Ibid.: Fox, vi. 568-571; Godw. Ann. 182.

AN. REG. 2, kingdom, wherein should be declared how sorry they were 42
 1554. that they had withdrawn their obedience from the apostolic 212
 see, and consenting to the statutes made against it; promising
 to do their best endeavour hereafter that the said laws and
 statutes should be repealed; and beseeching the King and
 Queen to intercede for them with his Holiness, that they may
 be absolved from the crimes and censures, and be received as
 penitent children into the bosom of the Church¹.

7. These things being thus resolved upon, both houses
 are called again to the court on St Andrew's day; where,
 being assembled in the presence of the King and Queen, they
 were asked by the Lord Chancellor Gardiner, whether they
 were pleased that pardon should be demanded of the Legate,
 and whether they would return to the unity of the Church, and
 obedience of the Pope, supreme head thereof. To which when
 some cried yea, and the rest said nothing, their silence was
 taken for consent; and so the petition was presented to their
 Majesties in the name of the parliament. Which being
 publicly read, they arose, with a purpose to have moved the
 Cardinal in it; who, meeting their desires, declared his rea-
 diness in giving them that satisfaction which they would have
 craved. And, having caused the authority given him by the
 Pope to be publicly read, he shewed how acceptable the
 repentance of a sinner was in the sight of God, and that the
 very angels in heaven rejoiced at the conversion of this king-
 dom². Which said, they all kneeled upon their knees, and
 imploring the mercy of God, received absolution for themselves
 and the rest of the kingdom; which absolution was pronounced
 in these following words³:—

“OUR Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood
 hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities⁴,
 that he might purchase⁵ unto himself a glorious spouse, with-
 out spot or wrinkle; and whom the Father hath appointed

¹ Sarpi, 386; Stow, 625; Sanders, 257; Fox, vi. 571.—The letters
 patent of Philip and Mary, authorizing submission to Pole's legatine
 authority, are in Strype, *Ecl. Mem.* iii. 157.

² Sarpi, 386.

³ Fox, vi. 572; Wilkins, iv. 111, gives the Latin form, from the first
 edition of Fox, p. 1011.

⁴ “inquinamentis.”

⁵ “exhiberet,” [“present,” Eng. Bible, Ephes. v. 27.]

Head over all his Church,—He by his mercy absolve you. AN. REG. 2,
1554.
And we by apostolic authority, given unto us by the most holy Lord Pope Julius the third, his vicegerent here on earth, do absolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole realm and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censure, and pain¹, for that 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, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.”

8. Which words of his being seconded with a loud Amen by such as were present, he concluded the day's work with a solemn procession to the chapel, for rendering prayers² and thanks to Almighty God. And because this great work was wrought on St Andrew's day, the Cardinal procured a decree or canon to be made in the convocation of the Bishops and Clergy, that from thenceforth the feast of St Andrew should be kept in the Church of England for a *majus duplex*, as the rituals call it, and celebrated with as much solemnity as any other in the year³. It was thought fit also that the actions of the day should be communicated on the Sunday following, being the second of December, at St Paul's cross, in the hearing of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the rest of the city. According to which appointment, the Cardinal went from Lambeth by water, and, landing at St Paul's wharf, from thence proceeded to the church, with a cross, two pillars, and two pole-axes of silver borne before him. Received by the Lord Chancellor with a solemn procession, they tarried till the King came from Westminster; immediately upon whose coming the Lord Chancellor went into the pulpit, and preached upon those words of St Paul, Rom. xiii. *Fratres scientes quia hora est jam nos de somno surgere, &c.* In which sermon he declared what had been done on the Friday before, in the submission which was made to the Pope by the Lords and Commons in the name of themselves and the whole kingdom, and the absolution granted to them by the

¹ Edd. Heyl. “censures and pains.”

² Qu. “praise?”

³ Wilkins, iv. 121. Sanders, 259, represents Pole as ordering this by his own authority.

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Cardinal in the name of the Pope¹. Which done, and prayers being made for the whole estate of the Catholic Church, the company was for that time dismissed. And on the Thursday after, being the feast of St Nicholas day, the Bishops and Clergy, then assembled in their convocation, presented themselves before the Cardinal at Lambeth, and, kneeling reverently on their knees, they obtained pardon for all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies: from which a formal absolution was pronounced also, that so all sorts of people might partake of the Pope's benediction, and thereby testify their obedience and submission to him. The news whereof being speedily posted over to the Pope, he caused not only many solemn processions to be made in Rome and most parts of Italy, but proclaimed a jubilee to be held on the 24th of December then next coming. For the anticipating of which solemnity he alleged this reason—that it became him to imitate the father of the prodigal child; and, having received his lost son, not only to express a domestical joy, but to invite all others to partake thereof².

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9. During this parliament was held a convocation also, as before was intimated, Bonner continuing president of it, and Henry Cole, Archdeacon of Ely, admitted to the office of Prolocutor. They knew well how the cards were played, and that the Cardinal was to be entreated not to insist on the restoring of church-lands,—rather to confirm the lords and gentry in their present possessions. And to that end, a petition is prepared to be presented in the name of the convocation to both their Majesties, that they would please to intercede with the Cardinal in it. Which petition being not easy to be met withal, and never printed heretofore, is here subjoined, according to the tenor and effect thereof in the Latin tongue³.

“WE the Bishops and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, assembled in convocation during the sitting of this par-

¹ Stow, 626; Fox, vi. 577.

² Sarpi, 386; Sleidan, 491. Lat.

³ The Latin is in Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. App. No. 21; Wilkins iv. 101; and is recited in the “Act restoring the Papal Supremacy,” 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 8.

liament, according to the ancient custom, with all due reverence and humility do make known to your Majesties, that, though we are appointed to take upon us the care and charge of all those churches in which we are placed as Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Parsons, or Vicars, as also of the souls therein committed to us, together with all goods, rights and privileges, thereunto belonging, according to the true intent and meaning¹ of the canons made in that behalf; and that in this respect we are bound to use all lawful means for the recovery of those goods, rights, privileges, and jurisdictions which have been lost in the late desperate and pernicious schism, and to regain the same unto the Church, as in her first and right estate; yet notwithstanding, having took mature deliberation of the whole matter amongst ourselves, we cannot but ingenuously confess, that we know well how difficult a thing, if not impossible, it is, to recover the said goods unto their churches, in regard of the manifold unavoidable contracts, sales, and alienations, which have been made about the same²; and that if any such thing should be attempted, it would not only redound to the disturbance of the public peace, but be a means that the unity of the Catholic Church, which by the goodness of your Majesties had been so happily begun, could not obtain its desired effect³, without very great difficulty. Wherefore, preferring the public good and quiet of the kingdom before our own private commodities, and the salvation of so many souls, redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, before any earthly things whatsoever, and not seeking our own, but the things of Jesus Christ,—we do most earnestly and most humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would graciously vouchsafe⁴ to intercede in our behalf with the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legate *a latere* from his Holiness, our most serene Lord Pope Julius the Third, as well to your most excellent Majesties as to the whole realm of England, that he would please to settle and confirm the said goods of the Church, either in whole or in part, as he thinks most fit, on the present occu-

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¹ “dispositione.”

² “propter multiplices et pæne inextricabiles super his habitos contractus et dispositiones.”

³ “summ progressum et finem.”

⁴ “hæc nomine nostro insinuari et,” omitted in the translation.

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pants thereof, according to the powers and faculties committed to him by the said most serene Lord the Pope; thereby preferring the public good before the private, the peace and tranquillity of the realm before suits and troubles, and the salvation of souls before earthly treasures. And for our parts, we do both now and for all times coming give consent to all and every thing which by the said Lord Legate shall in this case be finally ordained and concluded on; humbly beseeching your Majesties, that you would graciously vouchsafe to persuade the said Lord Cardinal in our behalf, not to shew himself in the premises too strict and difficult. And we do further humbly beseech your Majesties, that you would please, according to your wonted goodness, to take such course that our ecclesiastical rights, liberties, and jurisdictions, which have been taken from us by the iniquity of the former times, and without which we are not able to discharge our common duties, either in the exercise of the pastoral office or the cure of souls committed to our trust and care, may be again restored unto us, and be perpetually preserved inviolable both to us and our Churches; and that all laws which have been made to the prejudice of this our jurisdiction, and other ecclesiastical liberties, or otherwise have proved to the hindrance of it¹, may be repealed, to the honour of God, as also to the temporal and spiritual profit, not only of your said most excellent Majesties², but of all the realm; giving ourselves assured hope, that your most excellent Majesties, according to your singular piety to Almighty God [and] for so many and great benefits received from him, will not be wanting to the necessities of the kingdom, and the occasions of the Churches having cure of souls, but that you would consider and provide as need shall be, for the peace thereof³.”

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10. Which petition, being thus drawn up, was humbly offered to the Legate, in the name of the whole convocation,

¹ “quæ hanc nostram jurisdictionem et libertatem ecclesiasticam tollunt, seu quovis modo impediunt.”

² Edd. 1, 2.—“Majesty.”

³ “necessitatibus et incommodis hujus sui regni ecclesiarum, maxime curam animarum habentium, nunquam defuturas esse, sed prout opus fuerit, consulturas atque provisuras.” The translation is as if the comma were after *regni*, (as in Gibson) instead of after *ecclesiarum*.

by the Lord Chancellor, (who was present at the making of AN. REG. 2,
1554. it) the Prolocutor, and six others of the lower house. And it may very well be thought to be welcome to him, in regard it gave him some good colour for not touching on so harsh a string as the restoring of church-lands. Concerning which he was not ignorant that a message had been sent to the Pope in the name of the parliament, to desire a confirmation of the sale of the lands belonging to abbeys, chantries, &c., or otherwise to let him know that nothing could be granted in his behalf¹. And it is probable that they received some fair promises to that effect², in regard that on the new-year's day then next following the Act for restoring the Pope's supremacy was passed in both houses of parliament, and could not but be entertained for one of the most welcome new-year's gifts which ever had been given to a Pope of Rome. What the Pope did in retribution, we are told by Sleidan; in whom we find that he confirmed all those Bishops in their several sees which were of Catholic persuasions, and had been consecrated in the time of the schism, as also that he established such new bishopricks which were erected in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and made good all such marriages as otherwise might be subject unto dispute. He adds a confirmation also, (which I somewhat doubt) of the abbey-lands, and telleth that all this was ratified by the bull of Pope Paul the Fourth³. He dispensed

¹ Fox, vi. 579. A bull of Julius III., dated June 28, 1554, empowering Pole to settle all questions as to alienated church-property, is printed by Wilkins, iv. 102; comp. Burnet iii. Introd. 34-8; Lingard, vii. 176; Sup. Vol. i. pp. xi.-xii.

² It is not to be supposed that Heylyn would have spoken so uncertainly if he had seen the Act 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 8; for in it are recited both the petition of the clergy, (as already mentioned) and the Legate's dispensation, which was the instrument by which the assurance of church-lands to the laity, the confirmation of clergymen in their benefices, &c. were conveyed. The Act is printed in full by Gibson, 37 seqq.

³ Perhaps the reference should be to *Sanders*, p. 260. "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. [Bullarium Roman. Rom. 1745, vi. 319.] In reality, the bull did not relate to this country. Pole, however, applied to Rome; and, when

AN. REG. 2, also, by the hand of the Cardinal, with irregularity in several
 1554-5. persons, confirmed the ordination and institution of Clergymen in their callings and benefices, legitimated the children of forbidden marriages, and ratified the processes and sentences in matters ecclesiastical¹. Which general favours notwithstanding, every Bishop in particular, (except only the Bishop of Landaff²), most humbly sought and obtained pardon of the Pope for their former error, not thinking themselves to be sufficiently secured by any general dispensation, how large soever. And so the whole matter being transacted to the content of all parties (the poor Protestants excepted only), on Friday the twenty-fifth of January, being the feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul, there was a general and solemn procession throughout London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the Catholic Church. Wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) were ninety crosses, one hundred sixty Priests and Clerks, each of them attired in his cope; and after them eight Bishops in their *pontificalibus*, followed by Bonner, carrying the popish pix under a canopy, and attended by the Lord Mayor and companies in their several liveries. Which solemn procession being ended, they all returned into the church of St Paul, where the King and Cardinal, together with all the rest, heard mass; and the next day the parliament and convocation were dissolved³.

Embassy to Rome.

II. Nothing now rested but the sending of a solemn parliament assembled, he was able to produce another instrument, specially exempting England from the effects of any such revocation." —Dodd, ii. 115. The instrument in question is printed in the same volume, Appendix, p. cxx.; comp. Lingard, vii. 180. Sir W. Petre obtained from the Pope a special confirmation of the church-lands of which he was possessor.—(Sup. i. 36): Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 270.

¹ For the Cardinal's letters of dispensation, see Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 160-1 and Append. 21-2; Wilkins, iv. 112; compare Ranke, Hist. of Popes, tr. by Mrs Austin, i. 317, referring to Pallavicino, xiii. 9, 411. Sanders (248, 261) regrets the facility with which dispensation was granted to married clerks, and such as were willing to conform were admitted to exercise their functions, without any inquiry as to the source whence they had derived their orders.

² Antony Kitchen, "qui," says Sanders, p. 260, "illud negligentia potius quam malitia prætermittens, solus postea sub Elizabetha, Dei ut interpretamur iudicio, in schisma relapsus est."

³ Fox, vi. 588.

embassy, in the name of the King and kingdom, to the court of Rome, for testifying their submission to his Holiness and receiving his apostolical benediction. To which employment were designed Sir Anthony Brown, who on the second of September had been created Viscount Montacute¹, in regard of his descent from Sir John Nevil, whom King Edward the Fourth advanced unto the title of Marquess Montacute², as being the second son of Richard Nevil Earl of Salisbury, and Alice his wife, daughter and heir of Thomas Montacute, the last and most renowned Earl of Salisbury of that name and family. With whom was joined in commission, as another Ambassador extraordinary, Dr Thomas Thurlby, Bishop of Ely, together with Sir Edward Karm, appointed to reside as ordinary in the papal court³. On the eighteenth day of February they began their journey, but found so great an alteration when they came to Rome, that Pope Julius was not only dead, but that Marcellus, who succeeded him, was deceased also⁴; so that the honour and felicity of this address from the King of England devolved on Cardinal Caraffa, (no great friend of Pole's), who took unto himself the name of Paul the Fourth; on the first day of whose papacy it chanced that the three Embassadors came first to Rome. It was in the first consistory also after his inauguration, that the Embassadors were brought before him; where, prostrating themselves at the Pope's feet, they in the name of the kingdom acknowledged the faults committed, relating them all in particular, (for so the Pope was pleased to have it), confessing that they had been ungrateful for so many benefits received from the Church, and humbly craving pardon for it. The pardon was not only granted, and the Embassadors lovingly embraced, but, as an overplus, the Pope was pleased to honour their Majesties with the title of Kings of Ireland. Which title he conferred upon them by the authority which

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¹ Dugdale, Baronage, ii. 396. He was grandson of the Lady Lucy, daughter and one of the coheiresses of John, Marquess of Montacute. —Ibid.

² Sup. i. 288; Dugdale, Baronage, i. 307-8.

³ Stow, 626; Sarpi, 386.

⁴ Julius died March 5, 1554-5. Marcellus was elected on the 9th of April, and died on the 30th. —Nicolas, Chronology, 206.

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the Popes pretend to have from God in erecting and subverting kingdoms. He knew right well that Ireland had been erected into a kingdom by King Henry the Eighth¹, and that both Edward the Sixth and the Queen now reigning had always used the title of Kings of Ireland in the style imperial; but he conceived himself not bound to take notice of it, or to relinquish any privilege which had been exercised in that kind by his predecessors. And thereupon he found out this temperament,—that is to say, to dissemble his knowledge of that which had been done by Henry, and of himself to erect the island into a kingdom; that so the world might be induced to believe, that the Queen rather used that title as indulged by the Pope, than as assumed by her father. And this he did according to a secret mystery of government in the Church of Rome, in giving that which they could not take from the possessor; as on the other side some Kings, to avoid contentions, have received of them their own proper goods, as gifts; and others have dissembled the knowledge of the gift, and the pretence of the giver².

12. These things being thus dispatched in public, the Pope had many private discourses with the Embassadors, in which he found fault that the church-goods were not wholly restored—saying that by no means it was to be tolerated, and that it was necessary to render all, even to a farthing. He added, that the things which belong to God could never be applied to human uses, and that he who withholdeth the least part of them was in continual state of damnation; that if he had power to grant them, he would do it most readily, for the fatherly affection which he bare unto them, and for the experience which he had of their filial obedience; but that his authority was not so large as to profane things dedicated to Almighty God; and therefore he would have the people of England be assured, that these church-lands would be an anathema, or an accursed thing, which by the just re-

¹ Sup. i. 44.

² Sarpi, 391-2. The bull was treated as of some importance, inasmuch as “The natives of Ireland had maintained that the Kings of England originally held Ireland by the donation of Adrian IV., and had lost it by their defection from the communion of Rome.”—Lingard, vii. 186.

venge of God would keep the kingdom in perpetual infelicity¹. AN. REG. 2,
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 And of this he charged the Embassadors to write immediately, not speaking it once or twice only, but repeating it upon all occasions. He also told them that the Peter-pence ought to be paid as soon as might be, and that according to the custom he would send a collector for that purpose,—
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 letting them know that himself had exercised that charge in England, for three years together, and that he was much edified by seeing the forwardness of the people in that contribution. The discourse upon which particular he closed with this, that they could not hope that St Peter would open to them the gates of heaven, as long as they usurped his goods on earth². To all which talk the Embassadors could not choose but give a hearing, and knew that they should get no more at their coming home.

13. At their departure out of England, they left the Queen in an opinion of her being with child, and doubted not but that they should congratulate her safe delivery when they came to render an account of their employment; but it proved the contrary. The Queen about three months after her marriage began to find strong hopes, not only that she had conceived, but also that she was far gone with child. Notice whereof was sent by letters³ to Bonner from the Lords of The Queen supposed to be with child.

¹ Sarpi, 392. Phillips, (*L. of Pole*, ii. 143), and Lingard, (vii. 186), deny the truth of Fra Paolo's statements on this subject—founding their contradiction on Pole's letters. But Mackintosh (ii. 522) observes that "Pallavicino, who wrote from the archives of the court of Rome, for the purpose of discrediting Fra Paolo, confirms [his story] by a remarkable and otherwise inexplicable silence. . . . He passes over in silence the remonstrances of the pontiff against the detention of ecclesiastical property in England, which so acute and vigilant an antagonist would certainly have contradicted if he durst.—Pallav. xiii. c. 12. In c. 13 there is almost a positive admission of the veracity of Fra Paolo." "It is not difficult," Sir James remarks, "to understand the expedients by which the ingenious and refined sophists of Rome might reconcile the private language of the Pope with his public acts. Whoever, indeed, is thoroughly imbued with the important distinction between an immoral and an illegal act, will own that this dangerously applied reasoning is not in itself without some colour."—Comp. G. Ridley's Review of Phillips, 276-7.

² Sarpi, 393.

³ Dated Nov. 27. 1554.—See Fox, vi. 567; Wilkins, iv. 169.

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the Council, by which he was required to cause *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches of his diocese, with continual prayers to be made for the Queen's safe delivery. And for example to the rest, these commands were executed first on the 28th of November, Dr Chadsey, one of the Prebends of Paul's, preaching at the cross in the presence of the Bishop of London and nine other Bishops, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen attending in their scarlet robes, and many of the principal citizens in their several liveries. Which opinion gathering greater strength with the Queen and belief with the people, it was enacted by the Lords and Commons, then sitting in parliament, "That if it should happen to the Queen otherwise than well in the time of her travail, that then the King should have the politic government, order, and administration of this realm, during the tender years of her Majesty's issue, together with the rule, order, education and government of the said issue. Which charge as he was pleased to undergo at their humble suit, so they were altogether as forward to confer it on him; not doubting but that during the time of such government he would by all ways and means study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal both public and private of this realm, and dominions thereunto belonging, according to the trust reposed in him, with no less good-will and affection than if his Highness had been naturally born amongst us¹." Set forms of prayers were also made for her safe delivery, and one particularly by Weston, the Prolocutor of the first Convocation; in which it was prayed, "That she might in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that she forgetting the trouble, might with joy laud and praise²," &c. Great preparations were also made of all things necessary against the time of her delivery, which was supposed would fall out about Whitsuntide, in the month of June, even to the procuring of midwives, nurses, rockers, and the cradle too. And so far the hopes thereof were entertained, that on a sudden rumour of her being delivered the bells were rung and bonfires made in most parts of London. The like solemnities were used at

¹ 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 10.

² Fox, vi. 582; Wilkins, iv. 116. The prayers used on this occasion are sometimes to be found inserted in MS. in the missals of the time.

Antwerp, by discharging all the ordnance in the English ships; for which the mariners were gratified by the Queen Regent with one hundred pistols. In which, as all of them seemed to have a spice of madness in them, so none was altogether so wild as the curate of St Ann's near Aldersgate, who took upon him after the end of the procession to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a Prince it was, the like whereof had never been seen¹.

14. But so it happened, that notwithstanding all these triumphs, it proved in fine that the Queen neither was with child at the present, nor had any hopes of being so for the time to come. By some it was conceived that this report was raised upon policy only, to hold her up in the affection of her husband and the love of her subjects; by others, that she had been troubled with a timpany, which not only made her belly swell, but by the windiness of the disease possessed her with a fancy of her being quick². And some again have left in writing, that, having had the misfortune of a false conception, which bred in her a fleshy and informed substance, by the physicians called a *Mola*, the continual increase thereof³, and the agitation it made in her, occasioned her to believe what she most desired, and to report what she believed⁴. But this informed lump being taken from her, with no small difficulty, did not only turn her supposed joy to shame and sorrow, but made much game amongst some of the Zuinglian gospellers, (for I cannot think, that any true English Protestant could make sport thereat); who were so far from desiring that the Queen should have any issue to succeed in the throne, that they prayed God by shortening her days to deprive her of it. Insomuch that one Rose, the minister to a private congregation in Bow church-yard, did use to pray, "that God would either turn her heart from idolatry, or else shorten her days⁵."

Excesses of
extreme re-
formers.

¹ Fox, vii. 125-6. Letters for the purpose of announcing to foreign princes the birth of a "fil—," (with a blank for the termination, according as the sex should prove to be,) were prepared, and are preserved in the State Paper Office.—Tytler, Edw. and Mary ii. 469.

² Fox, vii. 126.

³ Edd. "whereof."

⁴ Godwin, 183.

⁵ There is no ground for saying that Rose "did use to pray" to this purpose in his London congregation under Mary; nor does

AN. REG. 2, 1553. On which occasion, and some others of the like ill nature, an Act was made in the said Parliament for punishing of traitterous words against the Queen; in which it was enacted, That the said prayers, and all others of the like mischievous quality, should be interpreted to be high treason against the Queen¹. The like exorbitances I find too frequent in this Queen's reign; to which some men were so transported by a furious zeal, that a gun was shot at one Doctor Pendleton, as he preached at St Paul's Cross on Sunday the 10th of June, anno 1554, the pellet whereof went very near him; but the gunner was not to be heard of². Which occasioned the Queen to publish a Proclamation within few days after, prohibiting the shooting of³ hand-guns and the bearing of weapons⁴. Before which time, that is to say, on the 8th of April, some of them had caused a cat to be hanged upon a gallows near the Cross in Cheapside,

1554.

Dr Lingard's statement (vii. 191), that he "openly prayed" so on new year's eve, 1554-5, when he was apprehended, appear to be more correct, although it is countenanced by an anonymous letter of the time, Epp. Tigr. 499, where it is said that Rose "pro conversione reginæ oravit ita, ut vel cito eam Deus converteret, vel illius jugum a cervicibus piorum tolleret." The letter-writer (who evidently considered it a great hardship that any one should interfere with such innocent intercessions) would seem to have heard some confused and inaccurate account of the affair. Fox relates (viii. 534) that when Rose had been apprehended with his congregation, while celebrating the holy communion on new year's eve, he was examined before Gardiner; that one of the Bishop's servants charged him with having *once* prayed in the manner described, at Sir J. Robster's house, near Norwich, *in the reign of Edward*; and that he declared this to be a misrepresentation of his words:—"My Lord, I made no such prayer, but next after the King I prayed for her after this sort, saying, 'Ye shall pray for my Lady Mary's grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with His Spirit, that she graciously may perceive the mysteries contained within His holy laws, and so render unto Him her heart, purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her sovereign Lord the King, to the good ensample of the inferior subjects.' And this, my Lord, is already answered in mine own handwriting to the Council." For an account of Rose, see Strype, Crammer ii. 374-6, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.; Maitland on the Reformation, 434-6. Crammer recommended him for an Irish archbishoprick in 1552.

¹ 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 9 This act (Stat. of the Realm, iv. 254) speaks of the words ascribed in the text to Rose as used by "divers naughty, seditious, malicious and heretical persons"... "in conventicles in divers and sundry profane places within the city of London."

² Stow, 624.

³ Edl. 1, 2. "in."

⁴ June 22, *ibid.*

with her head shorn, the likeness of a vestment cast upon her, and her two fore-feet tied together, holding between them a piece of paper in the form of a wafer. Which, tending so apparently to the disgrace of the religion then by law established, was shewed¹ the same day, being Sunday, at St Paul's Cross, by the said Doctor Pendleton; which possibly might be the sole reason of the mischief so desperately intended to him.

15. Such were the madnesses of those people; but the orthodox and sober Protestant[s] shall be brought to a reckoning, and forced to pay dearly for the follies of those men, which it was not in their powers to hinder. The governors of the Church exasperated by these provocations, and the Queen charging Wyatt's rebellion on the Protestant party, she² both agreed on the reviving of some ancient statutes made in the time of King Richard the Second, King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Fifth, for the severe punishment of obstinate heretics, even to death itself. Which Act³ being passed, the three great Bishops of the time were not alike minded for putting it in execution. The Lord Cardinal was clearly of opinion, that they should rest themselves contented with the restitution of their own religion; that the said three statutes should be held forth for a terror only, but that no open persecution should be raised upon them;—following therein, as he affirmed, the counsel sent unto the Queen by Charles the Emperor, at her first coming to the Crown; by whom she was advised to create no trouble unto any man for matter of conscience, but to be warned unto the contrary by his example, who, by endeavouring to compel others to his own religion, had tired and spent himself in vain, and purchased nothing by it but his own dishonour⁴. But the Lord Chancellor Gardiner could not like of this; to whom it seemed to be all one never to have revived

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1555.

Persecution
of protes-
tants.

¹ This does not mean merely that the matter was stated in the sermon at St Paul's Cross, but that the cat itself was exhibited by the preacher, acting under order of the Bishop. Stow, 623. The gibbet in Cheapside was one of a number set up in different parts of the city for the execution of Wyatt's followers, which were allowed to remain from Feb. 13 to June 4, when they were removed on the occasion of Philip's arrival. Fox, vi-548.

² Perhaps "she" ought to be omitted, or "they" to be substituted.

³ 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 6.

⁴ See Sleidan, b. xxv. p. 591, (transl.) for the Emperor's moderate advice.

AN. REG. 2, the said three statutes as not to see them put in execution.
 1553.

That some blood should be drawn in case of refractoriness and an incorrigible non-conformity, he conceived most necessary. But he would have the axe laid only to the root of the tree,—the principal supporters of the heretics to be taken away, whether they were of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or the lay-nobility; and some of the more pragmatICAL preachers to be cut off also; the rest of the people to be spared, as they who merely did depend on the power of the other. Let but the shepherds be once smitten, and the whole flock will presently be scattered, without further trouble.

16. “Well then,” said Bonner to himself, “I see the 48
 honour of this work is reserved for me, who neither fear the 218
 Emperor’s frowns nor the people’s curses.” Which having said, (as if he had been pumping for a resolution) he took his times so¹ to make it known unto the other two, that he perceived they were as willing as himself to have the Catholic religion entertained in all parts of the kingdom, though neither of them seemed desirous to act any thing in it, or take the envy on himself; that he was well enough pleased with that reservedness, hoping they did not mean it for a precedent unto him or others who had a mind to shew their zeal and forwardness in the Catholic cause. “Have I not seen,” saith he, “that the heretics themselves have broke the ice, in putting one of their own number—(I think they called him by the name of Servetus)—to a cruel death²? Could it be thought no crime in them to take that more severe course against one of their brethren, for holding any contrary doctrine from that which they had publicly agreed amongst them? And can they be so silly, or so partial rather, as to reckon it for a crime in us, if we proceed against them with the like severity, and punish them by the most extreme rigour of their own example? I plainly see, that neither you, my Lord Cardinal, nor you, my Lord Chancellor, have any answer to return to my present argument,—which is sufficient to encourage me to proceed upon it. I cannot act canonically against any of them but such as live within the compass of my jurisdiction, in which I shall desire no help nor countenance from either of you. But as for such as live in the diocese of Canterbury, or that of Winchester, or otherwise

¹ “So” omitted in Edd. 1, 2.

² October, 1553.

not within my reach, in what place soever, let them be sent for AN. REG. 2,
1555. up by order from the Lords of the Council, committed to the Tower, the Fleet, or any other prison within my diocese. And when I have them in my clutches, let God do so and more to Bonner, if they scape his fingers¹.”

17. The persecution thus resolved on, home goes the bloody executioner, armed with as much power as the law could give him, and backed by the authority of so great a King, taking some other of the Bishops to him, convents before him certain of the preachers of King Edward's time, who formerly had been committed to several prisons; of whom it was demanded, whether they would stand to their former doctrines, or accept the Queen's pardon and recant? To which it was generally and stoutly answered, That they would stand unto their doctrines. Hereupon followed that inquisition for blood which raged in London and more or less was exercised in most parts of the kingdom. The first that led the way was Mr John Rogers, a right learned man, and a great companion of that Tyndal by whom the Bible was translated into English in the time of King Henry²: after whose martyrdom, not daring to return into his own country, he retired to Wittemberge in the Dukedom of Saxony, where he remained till King Edward's coming to the Crown, and was by Bishop Ridley preferred to the Lecture of St Paul's, and made one of the Prebendaries³. Nothing the better liked of for his patron's sake, he was convented and condemned, and publicly burnt in Smithfield on the

¹ On the speech which our author puts into the mouth of Bonner, see Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation*, 463-4. Of Fuller's assertion that the Bishop "stood not on distinction of dioceses," Dr Maitland observes:—"I believe this to be absolutely and entirely untrue....I suspect it would be impossible to name a case in which Bonner martyred, or examined, or meddled with, anybody whatsoever, except on the ground that the prisoner was under his jurisdiction" (409). "I believe that he never dealt with any alleged heretic who was not brought before him in his official character, as Bishop of London, in due course of law, by the warrant of some magistrate, or other person acting directly under a commission from the Government." (414. *Comp.* 518, 520). The Essay from which these words are quoted, contains a detailed examination of the charges of cruelty commonly advanced against Bonner, and appears to vindicate him successfully from them, while the learned author does not pretend to "set him up as a model of wisdom, piety, and virtue" (574).

² *Sup.* i. 42.

³ *Edd.* 1, 2. "Prebends."

AS. REG. 2, 4th of February¹. On the 9th day of which month another fire was kindled at Gloucester for the burning of Mr John Hooper, the late Bishop thereof, of whom sufficient hath been spoke in another place²; condemned amongst the rest at London, but appointed to be burnt in Gloucester, as the place in which he most had sinned by sowing the seeds of false doctrine amongst the people³. The news whereof being brought unto him, he rejoiced exceedingly, in regard of that excellent opportunity which was thereby offered for giving testimony by his death to the truth of that doctrine which had so oft sounded in their ears, and now should be confirmed by the sight of their eyes. The warrant for whose burning was in these words following, as I find it in the famous library of Sir Robert Cotton⁴.

Burning of
Hooper.

“WHEREAS John Hooper, who of late was called Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, is by due order of the laws ecclesiastical condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false⁵, detestable heretic, and committed to our secular power to be burned, according to the wholesome and good laws of our realm in that case provided; forasmuch as in those cities and the⁶ dioceses thereof he hath in times past preached and taught most pestilent heresies and doctrine to our subjects there:—We have therefore given order, that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused⁷ mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said city of Gloucester, for the example and terror of others, such as he hath there seduced and mis-taught, and because he hath done most harm there. And will that you, calling [un]to you some of reputation, dwelling in the⁸ shire, such as you think best, shall repair unto our⁹ said city, and be at the said execution, assisting our Mayor and Sheriffs of the same city in this behalf. And forasmuch [also] as the said Hooper is, as heretics¹⁰ [be], a vain-glorious person, and delighted in his tongue, to persuade such

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¹ Fox, vi. 591—612.

² Sup. i. 139, seqq.

³ For Hooper, see Fox, vi. 636—676.

⁴ Cleop. E. v. 330. The text of this document, (which the editor has not met with elsewhere in print) has been corrected by the MS.

⁵ Edd. “false and.”

⁶ Edd. 1, 2, omit “the.”

⁷ Edd. “refuseth.”

⁸ “Edd. “that.”

⁹ Edd. “your.”

¹⁰ Edd. “as other heretics.”

as he hath seduced to persist in the miserable opinions that he hath sown amongst them, our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place there[of], suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly and in silence, for eschewing of further infection and such inconvenience¹ as may otherwise ensue in this part. Whereof fail ye not, as ye tender our pleasure, &c.”

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18. The like course was also taken with Bishop Farrar; but that I do not find him restrained from speaking his mind unto the people, as the other was. A man of an implausible nature, which rendered him the less agreeable to either side; cast into prison by the Protestant, and brought out to his death and martyrdom by the Popish party². Being found in prison at the death of King Edward, he might have fared as well as any of his rank and order, who had no hand in the interposing for Queen Jane, if he had governed himself with that discretion, and given such fair and moderate answers, as any man in his condition might have honestly done³. But, being called before Bishop Gardiner, he behaved himself so proudly, and gave such offence, that he was sent back again to prison and after condemned for an obstinate heretic. But for the sentence of his condemnation he was sent into his own diocese, there to receive it at the hand of Morgan, who had supplanted and succeeded him in the See of St David's. Which cruel wretch, having already took possession, could conceive no way safer for his future establishment than by imbruing his hands in the blood of this learned prelate, and to make sure with him for ever claiming a restitution or coming in by a remitter⁴ to his former estate; in reference whereunto he passed sentence on him, caused him to be delivered to the civil magistrate, not⁵ desisting till he had brought him to the stake on the third of March—more glad to see him mounting unto heaven in a fiery

Burning of
Farrar and
others.

¹ Edd. “inconveniences.”

² Fuller, vii. 1—23. Sup. i. 253.

³ Godwin, Ann. 136.

⁴ “A restitution of one that hath two titles to lands or tenements, and is seized of them by his latter title, unto his title that is more ancient, in case where the latter is defective.” (Johnson, from Cowell.)

⁵ Edd. 1, 2. “nor.”

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chariot than once Elisha was on the like translation of the prophet Elijah¹. I shall say nothing in this place of the death and martyrdom of Dr Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley in the county of Hartford², and there also burned, February 9. Or of John Cardmaker, Chancellor of the Church of Wells, who suffered the like death in London on the last of May³. Or of Laurence Sanders, an excellent preacher, martyred at Coventry, where he had spent the greatest part of his ministry; who suffered in the same month also, but three weeks sooner than the other⁴. Or of John Bradford, a right holy man and diligent preacher, condemned by Bonner, and brought unto the stake in Smithfield on the first of July⁵; though he had deserved better of that bloody butcher, (but that no courtesy can oblige a cruel and ungrateful person) in saving the life of Doctor Bourn his chaplain, as before was shewed⁶. Or, finally, of any of the rest of the noble army of the martyrs who fought the Lord's battles in those times; only I shall insist on three of the principal leaders, and take a short view of the rest in the general muster.

¹ For Farrar, see Fox, vii. 3, seqq.

² Hadleigh, in Suffolk. See Fox, vii. 676—703.

³ May 30. Fox, vii. 77, seqq.

⁴ Fox, vi. 612—636.

⁵ Fox, vii. 143—235.

⁶ Sup. p. 92. See Maitland, 455.

ANNO REGNI MAR. 3.

ANNO DOM. 1555, 1556.

1. **B** EING resolved to waive the writing of a martyrology, which is done already to my hand in the Acts and Monuments, I shall insist only upon three of the most eminent rank, that is to say, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, and Bishop Ridley—men of renown, never to be forgotten in the Church of England. Of whom there hath so much been said in the course of this History, that nothing need be added more than the course of their sufferings. Committed to the Tower by several warrants and at several times, they were at once discharged from the Tower of London on the 10th of April¹, anno 1554, removed from thence to Windsor, and at last to Oxon, where they were to combat for their lives. A combat not unlike to that of St Paul at Ephesus, where he is said to “fight with beasts after the manner of men² ;” the disputation being managed so tumultuously with shouts and outcries, and so disorderly, without rule or modesty³, as might make it no unproper parallel to St Paul’s encounter. The persons against whom they were to enter the lists were culled out of the ablest men of both Universities, commissioned to dispute, and authorized to sit as judges. And then what was to be expected by the three respondents, but that their opposites must have the better of the day, who could not be supposed to have so little care of their own reputation as to pass sentence on themselves? Out of the University of Oxon were selected Dr Weston, Prolocutor of the Convocation then in being, Dr Tresham,

Proceedings
against
Cranmer,
Ridley, and
Latimer.

¹ Fox, vi 439, who states that the order for their delivery was sent to the Tower on March 10th. Burnet says that the order was sent on the 8th of March, Pt. m. b. v. p. 226; and Machyn in his Diary, p. 57, records the removal from the Tower on that day. See Maitland, 431; also Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. Vol. ii. Pref. p. xi., where it is shewn that the removal of the Bishops took place before Easter, which fell on March 25th, according to Nicolas, Chronol. 67.

² 1 Cor. xv. 32.

³ Godwin, Ann. 177.

AN. REG. 3, Dr Cole, Dr Oylthorp¹, Dr Pie, Mr Harpsfield, and Mr
 1555. Fecknam; with whom were joined by the Lord Chancellor Gardiner, (who had the nomination of them) Dr Young, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr Glyn, Dr Seaton, Dr Watson, Dr Sedgewick, and Dr Atkinson, of the same University².

2. The questions upon which the disputants were to try their fortune related to the Sacrament of the blessed Eucharist, and were these that follow. 1. "Whether the natural body and blood of Christ be really in the Sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no? 2. Whether in the Sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain than the substance of the body and blood of Christ? 3. Whether [in] the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?" Which having been propounded in the convocation at Cambridge³, and there concluded in such manner as had been generally maintained in the schools at Rome, the Vice-Chancellor and the rest of the disputants which came from thence could have no power to determine otherwise in the points, when they should come to sit as judges. Nor is it to be thought but that as well the Cambridge as the Oxon disputants came well prepared, studied and versed in those arguments on which they intended to insist; having withal the helps of books and of personal conference, together with all other advantages which might flatter them with the hopes of an easy victory. But on the other side, the three defendants had but two days of preparation allotted to them,—debarred of all access unto one another, not suffered to enjoy the use of their own books and papers, and kept in such uncomfortable places as were but little different from the common dungeons. But out they must to try their fortune, there being no other

¹ Oglethorpe, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle.

² Fox, vi. 439. But the lists are incorrect. There were, in fact *three* sets of disputants—Holyman, Tresham, Marshall, Morwent, Smith, and others, of Oxford; Young, Glyn, Atkinson, Watson, Scot, Langdale, and Sedgewick, of Cambridge; with Weston, Oglethorpe, Seton, Chedsey, Cole, Geffrey, Pye, Feckenham, and J. Harpsfield, as representatives of the Convocation. Strype's *Cranmer*, 335, folio ed.

³ The questions were agreed on by the Convocation which was sitting in London, and were then sent down to Cambridge, where they were adopted by the Senate, as agreeable to Catholic doctrine. Strype's *Cranmer*, 334, folio. Fox, vi. 439-40.

choice left them but to fight or yield; and, which made most to the advantage of the other side, they were to try their fortune single, each of them destinated to a several day, so that they could not contribute to the assistance of one another, if their occasions had required it. Cranmer begins on the 16th of April, Ridley succeeds upon the next, and Latimer brings up the arrear on the morrow after; each man an army in himself, and to encounter with an army, as the cause was managed.

51 3. At the first meeting, when the questions were to be
221 propounded and disputed on, Weston, by reason of his place, entertains the auditory with a short oration, wherein he was to lay before them the cause of their assembling at that place and time. But such was his ill luck as to stumble at that very threshold, and to conclude against himself in the very first opening of the disputation, which he is said to have begun in these following words—*Convenistis hodie, fratres, profligaturi detestandam illam Haresin de veritate corporis Christi in Sacramento, &c.*—That is to say, “Ye are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound that detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the Sacrament¹,” &c. Which gross mistake occasioned no small shame in some, but more laughter in many. It was observed of him also, that during the whole time of the disputation he had always a cup of wine or some other strong liquor standing by him, and that, having once the pot in his hand when an argument was urged by one of the disputants which he very well liked of, he cried aloud to him, *Urge hoc, urge hoc, nam hoc facit pro nobis*². Which being applied by some of the spectators to his pot of drink, occasioned more sport and merriment than his first mistake. But let them laugh that win, as the proverb hath it; and Weston is resolved to win the race, whosoever runs best. The tumult and disorder of this disputation hath been touched before, and may be seen at large, with all the arguments and answers of either side, in the Acts and Mon.³ Suffice it in this place to know, that, having severally made good their appointed days, they were all called together on Friday the 20th of that month, Weston then sitting with the rest in the nature of judges. By whom

¹ Fox, vi. 444.

² Fox, vi. 511.

³ Fox, vi. 444, seqq. Comp. Cranmer, ed. Jenkyns, iv. ; ed. Park Soc. i. 301, seqq.

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they were demanded, whether they would subscribe or not? which when they had severally refused to do, their sentence was pronounced by the prolocutor in the name of the rest; in which they were declared to be no members of the Church, and that therefore they, their patrons and followers, were condemned as heretics. In the reading whereof they were again severally asked whether they would turn or not; to which they severally answered, "Read on in God's name," for they were resolved not to turn¹. And so the sentence being pronounced, they were returned again to their several prisons, there to expect what execution would ensue upon it.

4. And execution there was none to ensue upon it, till the end of the Session of Parliament then next following, because till then there was no law in force for putting heretics to death as in former times. During which interval they exercised themselves in their private studies, or in some godly meditations, writing consolatory letters unto such of their friends as were reduced by the iniquity of the times to the like extremity; amongst which as they understood their dear brother Mr John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, to have been marked out for the slaughter, so that intelligence revived in Bishop Ridley's thoughts the remembrance of that controversy which had been between them concerning the episcopal habit in the time of King Edward. There is no question to be made but that they had forgotten and forgiven that quarrel long before; yet Ridley did not think he had done enough, if he left not to the world some testimony of their mutual charity, as well as their consent in doctrine, such as might witness to the world, that they maintained "the spirit of unity in the bond of peace." Concerning which he writes to him in this manner following, viz. — "But now my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your books, which I have but superficially seen, that we throughly agree, and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in times past in certain by-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I must confess) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own spirit²;—now I say be assured, that even with my

¹ Fox, vi. 534

² "sense and judgment." Fox.

whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, as I am persuaded, and by the grace of God shall abide in us for evermore¹. And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour,² with all possible force and power, exalting high things against the knowledge of God: let us join hands together in Christ, and³ if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons; and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of [our] dissolution, by the³ which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with Him, in eternal glory⁴."

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5. Comforted with reciprocal letters of this holy nature, they both prepared themselves for death, in which Hooper had the honour to lead the way, as being more in Bonner's eye when the Act passed for reviving the Statutes before mentioned in the case of Heresy⁵. But Hooper having led the way, and many other godly and religious men following the same track which he had made, it came at last unto the turn of these reverend Prelates to pass through the same red sea to the Land of Promise. In order whereunto, a commission is directed from the Pope to Dr James Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, by which he is authorized, as subdelegate to his Holiness, to proceed in the cause of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury⁶. The like commission is directed to Dr Martin and Dr Story, to attend the business as delegated thereunto by the King and Queen; before whom convened in St Mary's Church on the 12th of September, he did his reverence to the two Doctors, as Commissioners for the King and Queen, but could not be persuaded to shew any respect to the Bishop of Gloucester, because commissioned by the Pope. He had before abjured the

Trial of
Cranmer.

¹ "And, as I am persuaded, shall by the grace of God abide," &c. Fox.

² Edd. 1, 2, "as." Ed. 3 omits the word altogether.

³ Edd. Heyl. "that."

⁴ Fox, vi. 642.

⁵ Hooper had probably incurred the especial enmity of Bonner by the part which he took in his deprivation under Edward. Sup. i. 162; Fox, vi. 645. See, however, Maitland, 443, seqq.

⁶ The proceedings in the matter of Cranmer are in Fox, Vol. viii., and in the editions of the Archbishop's Remains.

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Pope's supremacy in the time of King Henry, and would not now submit unto it in the reign of Queen Mary, desiring the Bishop not to interpret it an affront to his person, to whom otherwise he should gladly pay all due regards, had he appeared in any other capacity than the Pope's Commissioner. Not being able to remove him from that resolution, they propounded to him certain articles concerning his having been twice married, his denial of the Pope's supremacy, his judgment in the point of the blessed Sacrament, his having been declared an heretic by the late Proloentor and the rest of the Commissioners there assembled. To all which articles he so answered as to deny nothing of the charge in matter of fact, but only to stand upon his justification in point of doctrine. The whole proceeding being summed up, he is cited to appear before the Pope within eighty days¹; to which he said that he was most willing so to do, if the King and Queen would please to send him. And so he was returned to the prison from whence he came, and there kept safe enough from making any journey to Rome, remaining in safe custody till he was brought out to suffer death; of which more hereafter.

Trial and
martyrdom
of Ridley
and Latimer.

6. On the twenty-eighth of the same month comes out another commission² from the Cardinal Legate, directed to John White, Bishop of Lincoln, James Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, and John Holyman, Bishop of Bristow, or any two of them; enabling them to proceed to the degradation of the other two Bishops, if they retracted not those doctrines for holding which they had been formerly declared to be heretics. But they courageously adhering to their first opinions, and otherwise expressing as little reverence to the substitutes of the Cardinal Legate as Cranmer had done to the commissioners of the Pope, the sentence was pronounced upon them to this effect: that is to say, "That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions and heresies, contrary to the word of

¹ "Not so. But the citation to Rome took place on Saturday, Sept. 7, 1555, before the commencement of this process. See Cranmer's Letter to the Queen, subjoined to the second edition of Cranmer's answer to Gardiner, p. 420." [Cranm. Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 447.] Wordsw. Ecl. Biog. iii. 243. Dr Wordsworth in the same note exposes other mistakes of Fox, &c., which Heylyn has not followed.

² Fox, vii. 513.

God and the received faith of the Church;—as first, In denying the true and natural body of Christ and his natural blood to be in the Sacrament of the altar; 2. In affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration; and 3. In denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead;—and by no means could be reduced from the same: that therefore they, the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, did adjudge and condemn them, the said N. Ridley and H. Latimer, as heretics, both by word and deed to be degraded from the degree of a Bishop, from priesthood, and all other ecclesiastical orders; declaring them moreover to be no members of the Church, and therefore to be committed to the secular power, to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws¹.” According to which sentence they were both degraded on the fifteenth of October, and brought unto the stake in the town-ditch over against Baliol College on the morrow after; where with great constancy and courage they endured that death to which they had been pre-condemned before they were heard². Cranmer was prisoner at that time in the north-gate of the city, called Bocardo, from the top whereof he beheld that most doleful spectacle; and, casting himself upon his knees, he humbly beseeched the Lord to endue them with a sufficient strength of faith and hope; which he also desired for himself, whensoever he should act his part on that bloody theatre³.

7. But he must stay the Pope's leisure before he was to be brought on the stage again. The Queen had been acquainted with such discourses as had passed betwixt the Pope and her Embassadors, when they were at Rome; and she appeared desirous to have gratified him in his demands. But the King's absence—who set sail for Calais on the fourth of September, and the next morning took his journey to the Emperor's Court, which was then at Brussels⁴,—rendered the matter not so feasible as it might have been if he had continued in the kingdom. For, having called a Parliament to begin on the

A parliament.

¹ Fox, vii. 540.

² Fox, vii. 550.

³ Godwin, 186. I have not observed this circumstance in the text of Fox, but in his engraving of the martyrdom, Craumer appears on the top of a tower, with the prayer issuing from his mouth.

⁴ Stow, 527.

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twenty-first of October, she caused many of the Lords to be dealt withal touching the passing of an Act for the restoring of all such lands as had belonged unto the Church and were devolved upon the Crown, and from the Crown into the hands of private persons, by the fall of monasteries and other religious houses, or by any other ways or means whatsoever. But such a general averseness was found amongst them, that she was advised to desist from that unprofitable undertaking. Certain it is, that many who were cordially affected to the Queen's religion, were very much startled at the noise of this restitution, insomuch that some of them are said to have clapped their hands upon their swords, affirming, not without some oaths, that they would never part with their abbey-lands as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides. Which being signified to the Queen, it seemed good to her to let fall that suit for the present, and to give them good example for the time to come, by passing an Act¹ for releasing the Clergy from the payment of first-fruits and tenths, which had been formerly vested in the Crown in the reign of her father. Against which when it was objected by some of the Lords of the Council, that the state of her kingdoms and Crown Imperial could not be so honourably maintained as in former times, if such a considerable part of the revenue were dismembered from it—she is said to have returned this answer, That she preferred the salvation of her soul before ten such kingdoms². She procured another Act to be passed also, which very much redounded to the benefit of the two Universities, inhibiting all purveyors from taking up any provisions for the use of the Court within five miles of Oxon or Cambridge³; by means whereof those markets were more plentifully served with all sorts of provisions than in former times, and at more reasonable rates than otherwise they could have been without that restraint. In her first Parliament, the better to endear herself to the common subject, she had released a subsidy which was due unto her by an Act of Parliament made in the time of King Edward VI. And now, to make her some amends, they gave her a subsidy of four shillings in the pound for lands, and two shillings and eight-

¹ 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. c. 4.

² See below, iv. 2.

³ c. 15.

pence in the pound for goods¹. In the drawing up of which Act, an oath which had been formerly prescribed to all manner of persons, for giving in a just account of their estates, was omitted wholly; which made the subsidy sink beneath expectation. But the Queen came unto the Crown by the love of the people, and was to do nothing to the hazard of their affections, which she held it by.

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8. At the same time was held a Convocation also²; for summoning whereof a writ was issued in the name of the King and Queen to the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury, the See being then vacant by the attaindure of Archbishop Cranmer. Bonner presides in it as before; Boxhall, then Warden of Winchester, preacheth, (though not in the capacity) at the opening of it, and Doctor John Christopherson, Dean of Norwich, is chosen Prolocutor for the House of the Clergy. But the chief business done therein was the granting of a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid out of all their ecclesiastical promotions in three years then following. Nor was it without reason that they were induced to so large a grant. The Queen had actually restored unto them their first-fruits and tenths, though at that time the Crown was not in such a plentiful condition as to part with such an annual income. And she had promised also (as appears by the records of the Convocation) to render back unto the Church all such impropriations, tithes, and portion of tithes, as were still remaining in the Crown. For the disposing of which grant to the best advantage, the Cardinal Legate, at the Queen's desire, had conceived an instrument, which was then offered to the consideration of the Prolocutor and the rest of the Clergy. It was proposed also by the Bishop of Ely, that some certain learned men might be chosen out of the house, to review all the ancient Canons, to fit them to the present state of the Church, and, where they found anything defective in them, to supply that defect, by making such new Canons and Constitutions, as, being approved of by the Lords, should be made obligatory to the Clergy, and the rest of the kingdom. This was well moved, and served to entertain the time; but I find nothing in pursuance of it.

Proceedings
in Convoca-
tion.

9. But on the other side, the Prolocutor, bringing up the

¹ Stow, 627.

² Wilkins, iv. 120.

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bill of the subsidies in the end of October, propounds three points unto their lordships, which much conduced to the establishment and advantage of the prejudiced Clergy. The first was, That all such of the Clergy as, building on the common report that the tenths and first-fruits were to be released in the following Parliament, had made no composition for the same with her Majesty's officers, might be discharged from the penalty inflicted by the laws in that behalf¹. The second, That their lordships would be pleased to intercede with the Lord Cardinal Legate for settling and confirming them in their present benefices by some special Bull. The third, That by their lordships, means an Act may be obtained in the present Parliament, for the repealing of the statute by which the citizens of London, which refused to make payment of their tithes, were to be ordered at the discretion of the Lord Mayor of that city; and that from thenceforth all such censures as concerned tithes might be heard and determined by the Ordinary, as in other places. To all which propositions the bishops cheerfully consented, and so adjourned the Convocation from St. Paul's to Westminster, that they might have the better opportunity of consulting the Lord Cardinal in the business. Of whom it was no hard matter to obtain the second, and by his power to secure the Clergy in the first; but as for the removal of the cognizance of the London tithes from the Lord Mayor unto the bishops, there was nothing done, that statute still remaining as before it did, to the continual impoverishing and vexation of the city Clergy. Nothing else memorable in this Convocation but the coming in of the two new bishops which had never voted there before. Purefew, the Bishop of St Asaph, being translated unto Hereford in the former year, had made such havock of the patrimony of the Church of St Asaph², that it lay void above a twelvemonth before any became suitor for it. But being a bishoprick, though impoverished, and consequently a step to some richer preferment, it was desired and accepted by Mr Thomas Goldwel³, a right zealous Romanist, consecrated Bishop hereof in the beginning of October, anno 1555, not many days before

New Bishops.

¹ "Non obligarentur rependere duplum, etc., pro quo in fisco regio multi conqueruntur se conventos." Wilkins, iv. 120.

² Sup. p. 133.

³ Edd. "Goldnel."

the opening of the Parliament and Convocation. And, being AN. REG. 3,
1555. Bishop here, he procured many indulgences and other graces from the Pope then being, for all such persons of each sex as went on pilgrimage, or for health, to St Winifred's Well¹. The like havock had been made of the lands and patrimony of the Church of Bangor by Buckley², the present Bishop of it, preferred unto the See anno 1541, and continuing on it till this year; who, not content to alienate the lands and weaken the estate thereof, resolved to rob it of its bells, for fear perhaps of having any knell rung out at the Church's funeral. And, not content to sell the bells, which were five in number, he would needs satisfy himself with seeing them conveyed on ship-board, and had scarce given himself that satisfaction but he was presently struck blind, and so continued from that time to the day of his death. To whom succeeded Doctor William Glyn, a Cambridge man, but one of the disputants at Oxford, who received his episcopal consecration (if I guess aright) on the same day with Bishop Goldwel³.

10. And now it will be time to look back on Cranmer, whom we left under a citation to the Court of Rome, without which nothing could be done: for by an ancient privilege no judgment could be past upon the person of a Metropolitan before the Pope have taken cognizance of the cause; and eighty days had seemingly been given to Cranmer for making his appearance in the Court of Rome⁴. And though the Pope knew well enough as well the Archbishop's readiness to appear before him, if he were at liberty, as the impossibility of making any such appearance as the case then stood; yet at the end of the said eighty days he is pronounced by the Pope to be con-

Condemnation and martyrdom of Cranmer.

¹ Godw. de Præsul. 642.

² Rather Bulkeley. The story which follows is from Godwin De Præsulibus, 626, but the editor, Richardson, remarks: "In MS. Anstis hoc scriptum legi,—'Arthurus Bulkeley optime meruit de Episcopatu, et fuit præcipuus Benefactor Sedi et Ecclesie Bangorensi; sed nunquam fuit cecitate percussus, ut false narrat Godwinus: in tota Diocesi Bangor. sunt in nulla Eccl. quinque nolæ, nisi in Cathedrali Bang. dumtaxat, et nunquam ibi ante annum 1687.'" There is no note on Godwin's statement (p. 627) that Bp Rowlands, (1598—1618) "ecclesie sue campanile, quod Bulkeleyus expilaverat, quatuor nolis instruxit."

³ Edd. "Goldnel." Glyn was consecrated Sept. 3; Godw. de Præsul. 626. The date of Goldwel's consecration is not given.

⁴ Fox, viii. 68. See above, p. 160 n. 1.

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tumacious, and for his contumacy to be degraded, excommunicated, and finally delivered over to the secular magistrate¹ According unto which decree, a second commission is directed to Edmond Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thomas Thurlby, Bishop of Ely, to proceed to the degradation of the said Archbishop: in which commission it was said with most horrible falsehood, that all things had been indifferently² examined in the Court of Rome,—that is to say, as well the articles laid unto his charge as the answers which he made unto them, together with the allegations, witnesses, and defences, made or produced by the counsel on either side.—so that nothing had been wanting which was necessary to his just defence³. According to which supposition, the said two Bishops, being commanded to proceed against him, caused him to be degraded on the 14th of February, notwithstanding that he appealed from the Pope and them to a General Council, and caused the said appeal to be drawn and offered in due form of law⁴. During the interval between his degradation and the time of his death, great pains was taken by some learned men in the University to persuade him to a retractation of his former opinions; in which unhappy undertaking no man prevailed so far as a Spanish friar⁵, by whom it was suggested to him how acceptable it would be to the King and Queen, how pleasing to the Lords, who most dearly loved him, and how gainful to himself, in regard both of his soul and his temporal being; assuring him (or at least putting him in good hope) that he should not only have his life, but be restored again to his ancient dignity, and that there should be nothing in the realm which the Queen would not easily grant him, whether it pleased him to make choice of riches and honours, or otherwise [he] should desire the sweet retirements of a private life, without the charge and trouble of a public ministry; and all this to be compassed without putting himself to any more pains than the subscribing of his name to a piece of paper, which was made ready for his hand.

11. By these temptations, and many others of the like alluring and deceitful nature, he suffered himself to be prevailed

¹ The sentence is in Fox, viii. 69—71.

² Edd. "so indifferently."

³ Fox, viii. 71-2.

⁴ Ibid. 73-6.

⁵ Juan de Villa Garcia. Fox, viii. 80. He was Regius Professor of Divinity from 1556 to 1559. Le Neve, Fasti 471. See Brit. Magazine, xvi 433.

upon so far as to sign the writing, in which were briefly com-
 prehended the chief points of doctrine defended in the Church
 of Rome, and by him formerly condemned both in public and
 private¹. The obtaining whereof occasioned great joy amongst
 the Papists, and no less sorrow and astonishment in the hearts
 of those who cordially were affected to the Reformation. But
 all this could not save him from being made a sacrifice to
 revenge and avarice. The Queen had still a vindictive spirit
 against him, for the injury which she conceived had been done
 to her mother; and the Cardinal, who hitherto had enjoyed the
 profits of the See of Canterbury as an usufructuary, was alto-
 gether as solicitous for getting a right and title to them as the
 sole proprietary². No way to pacify the one and satisfy the
 56 desires of the other, but by bringing him (when he least looked
 226 for it) to the fatal stake. And to the fatal stake they brought
 him on the 21st of March, when he had for some time flattered
 himself in a conceit, like the King of Amalek, that “the bitter-
 ness of death was past³.” Finding the contrary, he first re-
 tracts his retraction, and after punisheth that hand which had
 subscribed it, by holding it forth into the flame, and suffering
 it to be consumed before the rest of his body had felt the fire⁴.
 The residue of his body being burnt to ashes, his heart was
 found entire and untouched in the midst of the cinders⁵; which

¹ Fox, viii. 81. See Brit. Mag. xvii. 6—16.

² “One of our learned Church-historians [Burnet] says, it was thought Pole himself hastened Cranmer’s execution, longing to be invested in that See. But so dishonourable a practice is foreign to the Cardinal’s character: and if we examine the matter farther, it will be found Pole could have no temptation to such extraordinary management: for the See of Canterbury was actually void upon Cranmer’s attainder, two years since. Besides, the present Pope, in his Bull of December last, had collated Pole to the archbishoprick of Canterbury. And in this instrument he declares he had solemnly excommunicated and deposed Cranmer. From hence it is evident that Cranmer’s life could be no hindrance to Pole’s advancement to the See of Canterbury.” Collier, vi. 139. Comp. Harmer (Wharton), Specimen of Errors, 145. Godwin states that Pole refused to receive the revenues of Canterbury, while Cranmer lived, except as a sequestrator. Ann. 137.

³ 1 Sam. xv. 32.

⁴ Fox, viii. 90.

⁵ This statement was probably taken from Godwin, De Presul, p. 144. “But,” says Collier, vi. 142, “the truth of this relation may be questioned; for Fox, who never omits anything for the advantage of those who suffered, says nothing of this wonderful circumstance.”

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possibly may serve as a witness for him, that his heart stood fast unto the truth, though with his hand he had subscribed some popish errors : which, whether it were done out of human frailty, on the hope of life, or out of a desire to gain the more time for finishing his book against Bishop Gardiner, which he alleged for himself in a letter to one of his friends¹,—certain it is that it had too much in it of a sinful compliance, so much as might have blasted both his fame and memory to all times succeeding, if he had not taken off the scandal and expiated the offence in so brave a manner. And thus he died, leaving an excellent example to all posterity, as well of man's infirmity in so strange a fall, as of God's infinite grace and mercy, by which he was enabled to recover his former standing.

Persecution
of the Pro-
testants.

12. These goodly cedars of the forest being thus cut down, it was not to be hoped that any favour could be shown to the shrubs and underwoods, which were grubbed up and felled without any distinction, as well the young sapling as the decayed and withered tree ; but more in some parts than in others, according to the sharpness of the tools and the edge of the woodman. The waste so great in no place as in Bonner's Walk, who seemed to be resolved, that whatsoever could not serve for timber (toward the building or re-edifying of the papal palace) should be marked for fuel. No fewer than two hundred are reported to have been burnt within three years² by this cruel and

¹ Collier (vi. 133) observes that the letter, which is addressed to a lawyer (Fox, viii. 98. Cranm. ed. Jenkyns, i. 536; ed. Park. Soc. ii. 455), does not bear out this conjecture, of which Fox is the author. "The Archbishop acquaints the lawyer, whom he desired to draw up his appeal from the Pope, that the principal reason of his applying to this expedient [i. e. the appeal to a General Council] was to lengthen his life a little, till he had finished his answer to the book above mentioned : but here is not a syllable of his recantation in the letter, which was not made till his appeal was overruled, till he was degraded in form, and put into the hands of the secular magistrate." In a letter written from prison to Peter Martyr, (which was discovered at Zurich by the Rev. S. A. Pears, in the course of researches for the Parker Society), he says "Hodie nihil magis animum angit meum, quam quod hactenus M. A., [i. e. to Gardiner, who had written under the name of Marcus Antonius Constantius] nihil est responsum ; ad eujus astutias, præstigias, et insanias jamdudum non defuisset responsum, nisi mihi defuissent et libri et libertas." Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 457.

² That this is an exaggeration, see Maitland on the Reformation, 493-9.

unmerciful tyrant, without discrimination of sex or age; his fury reaching from John Fetty¹, a lad of eight years old, by him scourged to death, even to Hugh Laverock², a cripple sixty-eight years old, whom he caused to be burned. The most eminent of all which number was Mr John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester³, who, though of Gardiner's diocese, was condemned by Bonner,—Gardiner being well enough contented to find out the game, and leave it to be followed by that bloody hunter. His rage not slackened by the interposing of Alphonso, a Spanish friar, inveighing sharply, in a sermon before the King, against the savage and unprofitable cruelty of the English Bishops⁴; but, as it seems, he measured all the rest by that London tyrant, though in most other places they were far more moderate⁵. He that came nearest to him was Dr John

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¹ Fox, viii. 510. The boy went to Bonner's house, and, being questioned by a chaplain as to his business, told him that he came to see his father, and pointed to the prison as the place where the father was. "Why," quoth the priest, "thy father is a heretic." The boy replied, "My father is no heretic; for you have Balaam's mark." The chaplain then carried him into the house,—“whether to the Bishop or not, I know not,” says Fox; and he was cruelly whipped “amongst them.” Bonner is described as ashamed and grieved for what had been done, and released the father in consequence; “but within fourteen days after, the child died; whether through this cruel scourging, or any other infirmity,” says Fox, “I know not.” It will be seen that this story does not justify Heylyn's representation of the case, which was probably taken from Fuller, iv. 136, without reference to the original authority. (This note is left as it was written before the editor had seen the more complete exposure of Fuller's statement, in Maitland, 414—420.)

² Edd. “Lavecork.” The story is in Fox, viii. 140. See Maitland, 420.

³ Fox, vii. 605—714. See Maitland, 410.

⁴ Fox, vi. 704. But this sermon appears to have been preached merely as a matter of policy, for the benefit of Philip's reputation—the English people being inclined to refer the persecution to the Spaniards. The friar, Alphonso a Castro, was at this very time preparing a new edition of a work in which he very strongly maintains the propriety of inflicting death on heretics—“De Justa Hæreticorum Punitio,” ed. 2. Lugd. Bat. 1556.—See Brit. Mag. xvii. 488; Massingberd's Hist. of the English Reformation, 1st ed. 399.

⁵ It ought to be stated, in justice to Bonner, that he was more than once admonished by the Council [Burnet, ii. ii. 400. iii. 506,] to go on with the prosecution of persons charged with heresy;—which seems to imply a slackness on his part. Fox treats the monitions of the Council

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Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, who is recorded to have burnt no less than ten in one fire at Lewis, and seventeen others at several times in sundry places¹. But still the nearer London, the more the heat; insomuch that Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Thornton, the Suffragan of Dover, are said to have poured out blood like water; as was also done by Griffin of Rochester, and Downing, Chancellor of Norwich, (though somewhat further off from the scene of cruelty), in their several dioceses. Which character I find of Bishop Bayne, of Coventry and Lichfield; the gentle birth and breeding of Mrs Joyce Lewis² not being too high for him to reach at, nor the poor condition of Joan Waste³, a blind woman in Darby, too low for him to stoop to; whom he condemned unto the fire, as he did many faithful ministers and others of the masculine sex.

13. But on the other side, in all the province of York I find none brought unto the stake but George Marsh⁴ of Chester, condemned thereto by Bishop Cotes⁵; and not much more to have been done in the four Welsh dioceses; in which, beside the burning of Bishop Farrar at Carmarthen by Bishop Morgan, and of Rawlins White⁶ at Cardiff by Bishop Kitching, no extraordinary cruelty seems to have been acted. In the dioceses of Exeter, Wells, Peterborough, and Lincoln (though this last the greatest in the kingdom) I find mention but of one apiece; of two in that of Ely, and of no more than three

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as a trick of Bonner's own contriving. (vii. 287; comp. viii. 451.) But on the whole question of "Bonner's cruelty," see Dr Maitland's Essay, which, (it need hardly be said), is not to be confounded with the fashion which has for some time prevailed, of endeavouring, with or without reason, to reverse all our old historical beliefs.

¹ Fox mentions Christopherson as a violent persecutor, viii. 430; but some of the burnings in the diocese of Chichester were before the appointment of this bishop. He was nominated at the time when the ten were burnt at Lewes, June 22, 1557 (Fox, viii. 332), but was not consecrated until the following November. Godw. 513.

² Fox, viii. 401. Fuller, iv. 191.

³ Fox, viii. 247.

⁴ Edd. "March." Fox, vii. 39—63.

⁵ Edd. "Cotes."

⁶ Fox, vii. 28—33. The old editions of Heylyn make this person into two—"Rawlins and White." The error is not in Fuller, who is the immediate authority in this section (iv. 180, seqq.); but our author has misled Collier into speaking of "two more" besides Bishop Farrar as burnt in Wales, vi. 153.

apiece at Bristol and Sarisbury. In those of Oxon, Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, I find none at all; which made those countries look like the land of Goshen, where there was nothing but fair weather when there was so much thunder and lightning in the rest of Ægypt. Nor were these storms and tempests in other places of a short continuance, but held on more or less till the death of the Queen, as appeareth by those five persons which were burnt at Canterbury on the 10th of November, 1558¹, being but one full week before the day of her own dissolution. The difference was, that these poor wretches were consumed by the rage of fire, whereas she was carried out of the world in a deluge of water; falling into a dropsy in the time of her supposed childing, of which she was never perfectly cured till she came to her grave. Nor were these all that suffered in the fury of this persecution. For besides those that suffered martyrdom in the sight of the world, many are thought to have been made away in prison; but many more, to the number of some scores or hundreds, supposed to have been killed by starving, stinks, and other barbarous usages in their several jails². To which if we should add a catalogue of all those who fled the kingdom, and put themselves into a voluntary exile, amounting to the number of 800 or thereabouts, I suppose it may be well concluded, that, though many persecutions have lasted longer, yet none since Dioclesian's time ever raged so terribly. So terribly it raged in one particular, that no persecution of the ten can afford a parallel. Katherine Gouches³, a poor widow of St Peter's Port, in the Isle of Guernsey, was noted to be much absent from the church, and her two daughters guilty of the same neglect. Upon this they were presented before Jaques Amy, then Dean of the island, who, finding in them that they held opinions contrary to those then allowed about the sacrament of the altar, pronounced them heretics, and condemned them to the fire. The poor women on the one side pleaded for themselves, that that doctrine had been taught them in the time of King Edward; but if the Queen was otherwise disposed, they were content to be of her religion. This was fair, but this would not serve; for by the Dean they were delivered to Eli'er Gosling⁴, the then

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¹ Fox, viii. 504.

² Fuller, iv. 199. See below, vi. 3.

³ In Fox the name is spelt "Cawches."

⁴ Hélier Gosselin. Fox.

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bailiff, and by him unto the fire, July the 8th, 1556. One of the daughters (Perotine Massey she was called) was at that time great with child; her husband, a minister, being in those dangerous times fled the island. In the middle of the flames and anguish of her torments, her belly brake in sunder, and her child, a goodly boy, fell down into the fire, but was presently snatched up by one W. House, one of the bystanders. Upon the noise of this strange accident, the cruel bailiff returned command, that the poor infant must be cast again into the flames; which was accordingly performed¹; and so that pretty babe was born a martyr, and added to the number of the holy Innocents. A cruelty not paralleled in any story, not heard of amongst the nations. But such was the pleasure of the magistrate, as once in the massacre of the younger Maximus, viz. That not any issue should be left of an heretic parent².

Intrigues of
Gardiner.

14. But to go back again to Cranmer,—it is to be observed, that, as his death opened the way for Pole to the See of Canterbury, so it was respited the longer out of a politic design to exclude him from it. That Gardiner loved him not hath been said before, and he knew well that Cardinal Caraffa (now Pope Paul the Fourth) loved him less than he. This put him first upon an hope that the Pope might be prevailed with to revoke the Cardinal (who had before been under a suspicion in the court of Rome of having somewhat of the Lutheran in him) and to bestow the Cardinal's cap, together with the Legantine power, upon himself, who doubted not of sitting in the chair of Canterbury if he gained the rest³. Upon which ground he is supposed to have hindered all proceedings against the three Oxon martyrs from the ending of the Parliament on the 26th of January till the 12th of September then next following, the Pope not sending out any commission in all that interval, without which Cranmer was not to be brought to a condemnation. But at last, not knowing how much these procrastinations might offend the King, and perhaps pressed unto it by Karn,

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¹ Fox, viii. 226—241. The truth of this story was denied by Harding. Fox replied to him, and was answered by Persons; on the strength of whose argument Dr Lingard considers himself entitled to disbelieve the tale. vii. 376.

² “*Canis pessimi ne catulum relinquendum.*” *Author*, [probably from some translation of Eusebius, *De Martyribus Palæstinæ.*]

³ Godwin, Ann. 137.

the Queen's Ambassador, he found himself under a necessity to dispatch the commission, though he proceeded not to the execution of any part of the sentence till more than ten weeks after the eighty days which had been given for his appearance in the court of Rome.

15. During which time death puts an end to Gardiner's projects, who left his life at Whitehall on the 12th of November¹. From whence conveyed by water to his house in Southwark, his body was first lapped in lead, kept for a season in the church of St Mary Over-rhe, and afterwards solemnly interred under a fair and goodly monument in his Cathedral². The custody of the Great Seal, together with the title of Lord Chancellor, was upon New-year's day conferred on Dr Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, a man of great prudence and moderation³; but the revenues of the bishoprick were appropriated to the use of the Cardinal Legate, who purposed to have held it in *commendam* with the See of Canterbury, to which he received consecration on the very next Sunday⁴ after Cranmer's death. But Dr John White, Bishop of Lincoln, having been born at Winchester⁵, and educated in that school, of which he was afterwards chief master, and finally warden of that College, ambitiously affected a translation thither. And so far he prevailed by his friends at court, that, on the promise of an annual pension of 1000*l.* to the use of the Cardinal, he was permitted to enjoy the title with the rest of the profits⁶. Which I have mentioned in this place, though this transaction was not made, nor his translation actually performed, till the year next following⁷. No other alteration made amongst the Bishops of this time, but that Voysie of Exon dies in some part of the year, 1555, and Dr James Turbervile succeeds him in the beginning of the year, 1556⁸. A man well-born and well-befriended, by means whereof he recovered some lands unto his See which had

¹ Godw. de Præsul. 236.

² Stow, 627.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The next *day*, March 22. Godw. de Præsul. 150.

⁵ Godw. de Præsul. 233. But the editor, Richardson, states, on the authority of New College Register, that he was a native of Farnham,—a place connected with the See of Winchester by the residence of the Bishop.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ July, 1556. Ibid.

⁸ Godwin, 417. But Richardson dates his consecration Sept. 3, 1555.

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been alienated from it by his predecessor; and amongst others, the rich and goodly manor of Crediton or Kirton¹, in the county of Devon, (in former time the episcopal seat of the Bishop of Exon,) though afterwards again dismembered from it in the time of Queen Elizabeth, by Bishop Cotton².

Conspiracies
of Dudley,
Feather-
stone, &c.

16. It is now time to take into consideration the affairs of State,—nothing the better cemented by the blood of so many martyrs, or jointed any whit the stronger by the secret animosities and emulations between the Lord Chancellor and the Cardinal Legate. Though Wyatt's party was so far suppressed as not to shew itself visibly in open action, yet such as formerly had declared for it or wished well unto it had many secret writings against the Queen, every day growing more and more in dislike of her Government, by reason of so many butcheries as were continually committed under her authority³. Upon which ground, as they had formerly instructed Elizabeth Crofts to act the spirit in the wall⁴, so afterwards they trained up one William Cunstable, alias Featherstone, to take upon himself the name of King Edward, whom he was said to have resembled both in age and personage. And this they did in imitation of the like practice used in the time of King Henry the Sixth by Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, who, when he had a mind to claim his title to the Crown, in regard of his descent by the house of Mortimer from Lionel of Antwerp Duke of Clarence, he caused one Jack Cade (a fellow altogether as obscure as this) to take upon himself the name of Mortimer, that he might see how well the people stood affected unto his pretensions by the discovery which might be made thereof on this false alarm. And though this Featherstone had been taken and publicly whipped for it in May last past⁵, and thereupon banished into the North, where he had been born, yet the confederates resolved to try their fortune with him in a second

¹ "Manors of Credinon of Kirton." Edd. 1, 2. "Manors of Credinon, or Kirton." Ed. 3.

² Bp. Godwin tells us that this was done "me canonico, sed concessioni assensum minime præbente." De Prasul. 417.

³ See Maitland's Essays on the Reformation, Nos. v—ix. The seditious writings of the exiles and others of the reformed party must, no doubt, as Dr Maitland suggests, have had a great share in provoking the severe measures of the government.

⁴ Sup. p. 125.

⁵ Stow, 626.

adventure. The design was to raise the people under colour of AN. REG. 3,
1555. King Edward's being alive, and at the same time to rob the Exchequer, wherein they knew by some intelligence or other that 50,000*l.* in good Spanish money had been lately lodged. Few persons of any quality appeared in it,—not thinking fit to shew themselves in any new practice against the Queen, till made prosperous by some good success. The chief whom I find mentioned to be privy to it were Henry Peckam, the son of that Sir Edmond Peckam who had been caterer of the household to King Henry VIII., one of the Throgmortons, and Sir Anthony Kingston. But the first part of the plot miscarried by the apprehending of Featherstone, who was arraigned and executed on the 13th of March; and the last part thereof discovered on the 28th by one of the company. On which discoveries, Sir Anthony Kingston, being sent for, died upon the way; the said Throgmorton, with one Udal, were executed at Tyburn on the 28th of April; one Stanton on the 29th of May; Rossey, Dedike, and Bedell, on the 8th of June; Peckam and Daniel, at the Tower-hill, on the 8th of July¹. Andrew Duchesne² makes the Lord Gray and one of the Howards to have a hand in this conspiracy; and possible³ enough it is that some of greater eminence than any of those before remembered might be of counsel in the practice, though they kept themselves out of sight as much as they could, till they found how it would succeed amongst the people.

17. In this unquiet condition we must leave England for a time, and look on the estate of the English churches on the other side of the sea. That many of the English Protestants had forsook the kingdom, to the number of eight hundred, as well students as others, hath been said before⁴; who, having put themselves into several cities, partly in Germany and partly among the Switzers and their confederates, kept up the face and form of an English Church in each of their several congregations. Their principal retiring places amongst the last were Arrow, Zurick, and Geneva; and in the first, the

Account of
the English
exiles.

¹ Stow, 629, on whose authority I have substituted the two names of Rossey and Dedike for the one, "Rosededike," which appears in the old editions.

² Hist. d'Angleterre, Paris, 1634, p. 1085.

³ Edd. "possibly." ⁴ p. 171.

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Troubles at
Frankfort.

cities of Embden, Stralsburge, and Franckfort. In Franckfort they enjoyed the greatest privileges, and therefore resorted thither in the greatest numbers; which made them the more apt unto schisms and factions¹. At their first coming to that place, which was on the 27th of June, anno 1554, by the power and favour of John Glauberge², one of the Senators of that city, they were permitted to have the use of one of their churches, which had before been granted to such French exiles as had repaired thither on the like occasion; yet so that the French were still to hold their right; the English to have the use of it one day, and the French another, and on the Lord's day so to divide the hours between them that the one might be no hinderance unto the other. It hath been said also that there was another condition imposed upon them, of being conform unto the French in doctrine and ceremonies³. Which condition, if it were imposed by the magistrates, not sought by themselves, must needs be very agreeable to the temper and complexion of their principal leaders; who, being for the most part of the Zuinglian Gospellers at their going hence, became the great promoters of the Puritan faction at their coming home. The names of Whittingham, Williams, Goodman, Wood, and Sutton, who appeared in the head of this congregation, declare sufficiently of what principles and strain they were, how willing they would be to lay aside the face of an English Church, and frame themselves to any Liturgy but their own.

18. On July the 14th they first obtained a grant of their Church, and on the 29th took possession of it. The interval they spent in altering and disfiguring the English Liturgy, of which they left nothing but the reading of the Psalms and

¹ The details which follow are from "A brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort," printed A. D. 1575, reprinted in the *Phenix*, Vol. ii., and lately (1846) as a volume of Petheram's "Puritan Discipline Tracts." The references apply to the last edition, which is paged after that of 1575. It is necessary to state that Heylyn's view of the affair is very different from that of the original author,—(probably Whittingham. See Petheram, v—ix). Comp. Fuller, iv. 203, seqq.

² Or Clauburg. Henry, *Leben Calvins*, iii. 419.

³ pp. 5, 6. The words "that they should not dissent from the Frenchmen in doctrine or ceremonies," were not intended to bind them to any particular form of service.

chapters. Those comfortable interlocutories between the Minister and the people were no longer used, as savouring, in their opinion, of some disorder in the course of the ministration; the Litany and the Surplice they cast aside, as having too much in them of the Church of Rome; the Confession they had altered so as they conceived most agreeable to their present condition; and for the hymns which intervened between the chapters and the Creed, they changed them for such Psalms in the English metre as had been made by Sternhold and Hopkins in the time of King Edward. The Psalm being done, the preacher goes into the pulpit, in which the minister prayed for the assistance of God's Spirit, and so proceeded to the Sermon. Which done, another prayer was made for all orders and estates of men, but more particularly for the welfare of the Church of England; composed in imitation of the prayer for the Church militant here on earth, but ending (as that did not) with the Paternoster. After which (most extremely out of order) followed the rehearsal of the Articles of the Christian Faith, another Psalm, and finally the dismissal of the people, with "The Peace of God¹." This was the form devised for that congregation; for the imposing whereof on all the rest of the English churches they did then use their best endeavours, and for obtruding which on the whole Church of England they raised such tumults and commotions in the following times. Growing in love with this fair babe of their own begetting, they write their letters, of the second of August², to such of the English as remained at Stralsburge and Zurick, inviting them to repair to Franckfort, and unite themselves unto that Church which had been there erected with the leave of the magistrate. But they had heard in both places of those alterations which had been made at Franckfort in the form of God's public service, and thereupon refused to accept of the invitation, though it seemed to promise them some advantages by the commodious situation of that city in respect of England, the great resort of strangers thither at the yearly marts, plenty of books, and other helps in the way of study which were not to be found in the other two cities. From Stralsburge modestly, from Zurick resolutely, but from both it was plainly signified, that they resolved to maintain

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1555.
1554.

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¹ Pp. 6-7.

² Pp. 8-13.

AN. REG. 3, the order of the Church of England. The like letter had been
 1555. writ to the English at Embden, of which congregation Doctor
 1554. Scory, the late Bishop of Chichester, was the superintendent ;
 and we may readily believe that they received the like repulse
 from his Church at Embden as they had from Gryndal, Sandys,
 and Haddon, or who had the constituting of the Church at
 Stralsburge ; or from Horn, Chambers, Parkhurst, and other
 of the students which remained at Zurick¹.

19. The noise of this new Church at Franckfort occasioned Knox, who after proved the great incendiary of the realm and Church of Scotland, to leave his sanctuary in Geneva, in hope to make a better market for himself in that congregation. He had not long before published a seditious pamphlet entitled “The First Blast of the Trumpet²,” in which he bitterly inveighed against the government of women, aiming there especially at the three Queen Mariés, that is to say, Mary Queen of England, Mary Queen of Scots, and Mary of Lorrain, Queen Regent of Scotland. By which seditious pamphlet, he had made not only his own country too hot for him, but could assure himself of no safety in France or England. To Geneva therefore he retires, and from thence removes to Franckfort³, as the fitter scene for his intendments, hoping to get as great a name in this new plantation as Calvin had gotten in the old. It was about the end of September that he came to Franckfort, where he took the charge of that Church upon him, Whittingham and the rest submitting unto his Apostleship. This gave a new dissatisfaction to the English at Stralsburge and Zurick, who knew the spirit of the man, and feared the dangerous consequents and effects thereof. Nor was the condition of affairs much bettered by the coming of Whitehead, (who afterwards refused the Archbishoprick of Canterbury⁴,) though far the more moderate of the two. New letters are reciprocated between Franckfort and Zurick ;—from Franckfort on the 15th of November, in open defiance as it were to the English Liturgy ; from Zurick on the 28th, in defence thereof, and of their constancy and resolution for adhering to it⁵. The breach growing every day more wide than other,

¹ Pp. 13, seqq.

² See Maitland on the Reformation, 126, seqq.

³ Troubles, 13. He had been invited to Frankfort as minister.

⁴ Eliz. ii. 1.

⁵ Pp. 1-2. The latter seems to mean the letter from *Strasburg*, p. 22.

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Gryndal and Chambers came from Stralsburge to atone the difference; by whom it was proposed unto them, That, the substance of the English Liturgy being retained, there might be a forbearance of some ceremonies and offices in it. But Knox and Whittingham were as much bent against the substance of the book, as against any of the circumstantials and extrinsicals which belonged unto it¹. So that, no good effect following on this interposition, the agents of the Church of Stralsburge return back to their brethren, who by their letters of the 13th of December, expostulate in vain about it².

AN. REG. 3,
1555-6.
1554.

20. In these distractions, some of the Franckfort schismatics desire that all divine offices might be executed according to the order of the Church of Geneva³; which Knox would by no means yield unto, thinking himself as able to make a rule for his own congregation as any Calvin of them all. But, that the mouths of those of Stralsburge and Zurick might be stopped for ever, he is content to make so much use of him as by the authority of his judgment to disgrace that Liturgy which those of Zurick did contend for. He knew well how he had bestirred himself in quarrelling the first Liturgy of King Edward the Sixth⁴, and nothing doubteth but that the second (though reviewed on his importunity) would give him as little satisfaction as the other did. To this intent, the order of the English Liturgy is drawn up in Latin, transmitted to him by Knox and Whittingham, by his infallible judgment to stand or fall⁵. The oracle returns this answer on the 31st of January, (*In Liturgia Anglicana, qualem mihi describitis, multas video tolerabiles ineptias*), That in the book of England, as by them described, he had observed many tolerable fooleries. Which last words being somewhat ambiguous, as all oracles are, he explicates himself by telling them, “That there wanted much of that purity which was to be desired in it⁶; that it contained many relics of the dregs of popery⁷; that, being there was no manifest impiety in it, it had been tolerated for a season, because at first it could not otherwise be admitted: but howsoever, though it

1554-5.

¹ Pp. 23-4.

² Pp. 24—7.

³ This order is reprinted in the second volume of the Phenix.

⁴ Sup. i. 166-7.

⁵ P. 23.

⁶ “Non est ea puritas quæ optanda foret.” *Author.*

⁷ “Fæcis papisticæ reliquias.” *Author.*

AN.REG.3,
1555.

was lawful to begin with such beggarly rudiments, yet it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ to endeavour further, and set forth something more refined from filth and rustiness¹." This, being sent for his determinate sentence unto Knox and Whittingham, was of such prevalency with all the rest of that party, that such who formerly did approve did afterwards as much dislike the English Liturgy²; and those who at the first had conceived only a dislike, grew afterwards into an open detestation of it. Those who before had been desirous that the order of Geneva should be entertained, had now drawn Knox and Whittingham unto them,—Mr John Fox (the author of the Acts and Monuments) contributing his approbation amongst the rest. But in the end, to give content to such as remained affected to the former Liturgy, it was agreed upon that a mixed form, consisting partly of the order of Geneva and partly of the book of England, should be digested, and received till the 1st of April³; consideration in the mean time to be had of some other course, which should be permanent and obliging for the time to come.

21. In this condition of affairs, Dr Richard Cox, the late Dean of Christ-Church and Westminster, first schoolmaster, and after Almoner, to King Edward the Sixth, putteth himself into Franckfort, March 13, accompanied with many English exiles, whom the cause of religion had necessitated to forsake their country. Being a man of great learning, of great authority in the Church, and one that had a principal hand in drawing up the Liturgy by law established, he could with no patience endure those innovations in it, or rather that rejection of it, which he found amongst them. He thereupon first begins to answer the minister, contrary to the order there agreed on, and

¹ Pp. 34—6. The whole passage is as follows: "In Anglicana Liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias. His duobus verbis exprimo, non fuisse eam puritatem quæ optanda fuerat; quæ tamen primo statim die corrigi non poterant vitia, quum nulla subesset manifesta impietas, ferenda ad tempus fuisse. Sic ergo a talibus rudimentis incipere licuit, ut doctos tamen probosque et graves Christi ministros ultra eniti, et aliquid limatius ac purius querere, consentaneum foret...Quid sibi velint, nescio, quos facis papisticæ reliquie tantopere delectant." Calv. Epp. p. 98, col. 1, where the date given is "15 Cal. Febr."

² P. 36.

³ "the last of April." P. 37.

the next Sunday after causeth one of his company to go into the pulpit and read the Litany. Against which doings of his Knox in a sermon the same day inveigheth most bitterly, affirming many things in the book of England not only to be imperfect, but superstitious¹. For the which he is not only rebuked by Cox, but forbidden to preach. Wherewith Whittingham being much offended, deals with some of the magistrates, from whom he procureth an order of the 22nd of March, requiring that the English should conform themselves to the rules of the French². Knox had not long before published a seditious pamphlet, entitled, "An Admonition to Christians," containing the substance of some sermons by him preached in England, in one of which he affirmed the Emperor to be "no less an enemy to Christ than the tyrant Nero³." For this and several other passages of the like dangerous nature he is accused by Cox for treason against the Emperor; the senate made acquainted with it, and Knox commanded thereupon to depart the city; who makes his farewell sermon on the 25th of March, and retires himself unto Geneva. Following his blow, Cox gets an order of the senate by the means of another of the Glawberges, by which Whittingham and the rest of his faction were commanded to receive the book of England. Against which order Whittingham for a time opposeth, encouraged therein by Goodman, who for the love of Knox (with whom afterwards he associated in all his practices) had left the grave society of those of Stralsburge to join himself unto the sectaries of Franckfort. But finding Cox to be too strong for them in the senate, both they and all the rest who refused conformity resolved to betake themselves to some other place, as they shortly did⁴.

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1555.

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22. Cox, thus made master of the field, begins to put the congregation into such order as might preserve the face and reputation of an English Church. He procures Whitehead to be chosen for the principal pastor, appoints two ministers for elders, and four deacons for assistants to him, recommends master Robert Horn (whom he had drawn from Zurick thither) to be Hebrew-reader, Mullings to read the Greek lecture,

¹ "Superstitious, unpure, and unperfect,—which he offered to prove before all men." P. 33.

² P. 43.

³ P. 44.

⁴ Pp. 46, seqq.

AN. REG. 3, 1555. Trahern the lecture in Divinity, and Chambers to be treasurer for the contributions which were sent in from time to time by many godly and well-affected persons, both Dutch and English, for the use of that Church¹. Having thus settled all things answerable to his own desires, he gives an account thereof to Calvin, subscribed by fourteen² of the chief men in that congregation, partly excusing themselves that they had proceeded so far without his consent, and partly rejoicing that they had drawn the greatest part of that Church to their own opinions. Calvin returns his answer on the last of May³, which puts his party there on another project, that is to say, to have the whole business referred to some arbitrators, equally chosen on both sides. But Cox was already in possession, great in esteem with the chief magistrates of the city, and would by no means yield to refer that point which had already been determined to his advantage. With these debates the time is taken up till the end of August, at what time Whittingham and the rest of the faction take their leave of Franckfort; Fox with some few others go to Basil, but the main body to Geneva, as their mother-city, where they make choice of Knox and Goodman for their constant preachers⁴; under which ministry they reject the whole frame and fabric of the Reformation made in England, conform⁵ themselves wholly to the fashions of the Church of Geneva, and therewith entertain also the Calvinian doctrines, to the discredit of the state of the Church of England in King Edward's time, the great grief of the martyrs and other godly men in the reign of Queen Mary, and to the raising of most unquenchable combustions in all parts of the Church under Queen Elizabeth.

23. It was not long after the settling of the Liturgy before Whitehead left the ministry of the English congregation, which Cox obtained for Mr Horn, whom he knew to be a man both of courage and constancy⁶. And, that being done, he left the congregation, and so withdraws himself to Stralsburge, there to enjoy the company of Peter Martyr, with whom he was intimately acquainted while he lived in Christ-Church. By

¹ P. 60. ² "24" in the "Troubles," p. 51.

³ Pp. 51—3. Calv. Epp. p. 98.

⁴ P. 59. ⁵ Edd. "conformed."

⁶ Whitehead resigned Jan. 6, 1555-6; Horn was inducted March 1, P. 62.

his departure, a new gap is opened to another dissension. AN. REG. 3,
1555-6.
Some words had passed at a supper, intended rather for increase of charity than the breach of friendship, betwixt Horn and Ashley;—Horn the chief pastor of the flock, and Ashley a gentleman of good note in the lay part of it. Some three days after, being the 16th of January¹, Ashley is cited to appear at the house of one of the elders, to answer for some words which he had spoken in contempt of the ministry. But from the elders he appeals to the congregation, amongst whom he prevails so far that they send a message by two of their company to the pastor and elders, requiring them to proceed no further in the cause. Horn, being backed by Chambers, the public treasurer, excepts against this message, as decreed at a private conventicle, not by the general suffrages of the congregation, and thereupon resolves to stand to that authority which formerly had been conferred on him and the rest of the elders by the rules of their discipline. Ashley and his adherents, on the other side, declare their former private meeting not to be a conventicle, protest against the pastor and elders, as an adverse party, and therefore not in a capacity to sit as judges in the present case, and set themselves upon the making of a book of discipline, for the curbing the exorbitant power (for such they thought it) of the pastor and elders. The pastor and elders thereupon forsake their offices, and on the 5th of February, being the next day of public meeting, take place amongst the rest as private persons. The congregation full, but the pulpit empty, which put the rest upon a humour of electing others to take the public charge upon them. The noise of these disorders awakes the magistrates, who command Horn and Chambers to forbear the congregation until further order, and, afterwards restoring them to their former authority by public edict, were contradicted in it by Ashley's party, who, having got some power into their hands, were resolved to keep it².

24. In the mean time a book of discipline had been drawn, and tendered to the congregation on the 14th of February³. According to the rules whereof the supreme power in all eccle-

¹ Heylyn here gives in the margin the date 1555-6; but it was really in 1556-7 that this new quarrel began, so that Horn had at the time been nearly a year in possession of his office. P. 62.

² P. 8.

³ Pp. 82-4.

AN. REG. 3,
1555-6.

1557.

siastical causes was put into the hands of the congregations, and the disposing of the public monies committed to the trust of certain officers, by the name of Deacons¹. This makes the breach wider than before—Horn and his party labouring to retain the old, the other to establish the new discipline of their own devising². The magistrates, not able to agree the difference, dispatch their letters unto Stralsburge of the 3rd of April, desiring Dr Cox and Dr Sandys, together with Robert Bertie, Esq. to undertake the closing of the present rupture³. To their arbitrement each party is content to submit the controversy, but differ in conclusion in the terms of their reference. Much talk and no small scandal groweth upon these divisions, not made the less by the pen-combats between Horn and Whitehead. In the end, a form of reconciliation is drawn up by some of the English, who more endeavoured the peace of the Church than the interest of either party⁴. But those who stood for the new discipline, being grown the stronger, refused to submit themselves to any establishment by which the power of the diffusive body of the congregation might be called in question. Whereupon Horn and Chambers depart to Stralsburge, from whence Chambers writ his letters to them of the 20th of June, and after of the 30th of June⁵, but to no effect. They had before proceeded to the election of some new ministers, March the 22nd. Against which though Horn and his opposed, yet they concluded it for the present on the 29th⁶; and now they mean to stand unto the conclusion, let Horn and Chambers go or tarry, as best pleased themselves. Such were the troubles and disorders in the Church of Franckfort,—occasioned first by a dislike of the public Liturgy, before which they preferred the nakedness and simplicity of the French and Genevian Churches, and afterwards continued by the opposition made by the general body of the congregation against such as were appointed to be pastors and rulers over them. Hence the beginning of the Puritan faction, against the rites and ceremonies of the Church; that of the Presbyterians, against

¹ P. 83. Chambers had hitherto had all the funds in his hands. For an account of him, see Strype's *Ecl. Mem.* iii. 142.

² Pp. 83, seqq.

³ P. 99. Mr Bertie has been mentioned already, p. 103, as husband of the Duchess of Suffolk.

⁴ P. 170.

⁵ Pp. 132—4. Edd. Heyl. read "July."

⁶ P. 98.

the Bishops, or episcopal government; and finally, that also of the Independents, against the superintendency of the pastors and elders. The terrible effects whereof will appear hereafter, if God shall give me means and opportunity to carry on the history of those disturbances which have been raised by the Puritans or Presbyterians against the orders of this Church and the peace of Christendom¹.

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1555-6.

Introduction
of predesti-
narian doc-
trines.

64
234 25. But sorrows seldom go alone. The aberrations from the government and form of² worship established in the Church of England drew on an alteration also in point of doctrine. Such of the English as had retired into Geneva employ themselves in setting out a new translation of the Bible in the English tongue³, 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. From this time the Calvinian doctrine of predestination began to be dispersed in English pamphlets, as the only necessary, orthodox, and saving truth. Knox publisheth a book, “Against an adversary of God’s predestination,” wherein it is declared, That “whatsoever the Ethnics and ignorant did attribute to fortune, by Christians is to be assigned to God’s heavenly providence; that we ought to judge nothing to come of fortune, but that all cometh by the determinate counsel of God; and finally, that it would be displeasing unto God, if we should esteem any thing to proceed from any other; and that we do not only behold him as the principal cause of all things, but also the author, appointing all things to the one or the other by his only counsel.” After comes out a book, first written in French and afterwards by some of them translated into English, which they called “A brief Declaration of the Table of Predestination,” in which it is put down for a principal aphorism, that, in like manner “as God hath appointed the end, it is necessary also, that God should appoint the causes leading to the same end;” but more particularly, that “by virtue of God’s will all things are done; yea, even those things which are evil and execrable.” In another book, entituled

¹ Heylyn’s “Aërius Redivivus, or History of the Presbyterians,” was published posthumously in 1670.

² Edd. “and.”

³ Troubles of Frankfort, 192.

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1555-6.

“Against a privy Papist,” it is maintained, more agreeably to Calvin’s doctrine, that “all evil springeth of God’s ordinance, and that God’s predestination was the cause of Adam’s fall, and of all wickednesses.” And in a fourth book, published by Robert Crowley¹, who afterwards was Rector of the church of St Giles’s near Cripplegate, entitled “The Confutation of Thirteen Articles,” &c. it is said expressly, “That Adam being so perfect a creature that there was in him no lust to sin, and yet so weak, that of himself he was not able to withstand the assault of the subtil serpent—that therefore there can be no remedy but that the only cause of his fall must needs be the predestination of God.” In which book it is also said, “That the most wicked persons that have been were of God appointed to be even as wicked as they were;” and finally, “that if God do predestinate man to do things rashly, and without any deliberation, he shall not deliberate at all, but run headlong upon it, be it good or evil.” By which defenders of the absolute decree of reprobation, as God is made to be the author of sin, either in plain terms or undeniable consequence; so from the same men, and the Genevian pamphlets by them dispersed, our English Calvinists have² borrowed all their grounds and principles on which they build the absolute and irrespective decree of predestination, contrary to the doctrine publicly maintained and taught in the time of King Edward³.

¹ “Sometime a bookseller, now Reader of St Antholine’s, Parson of St Peter the Poor, Prebend of St Paul’s, Vicar of St Giles without Cripplegate, and Dean of Hereford,” as he is described by Stow, in a paper published by Dr Wordsworth, *Ecl. Biog.* iii. 475. Crowley had, however, been educated at Oxford before he became a bookseller and printer. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* i. 542—6, where there is a long list of his publications. He advocated his theological views in verse as well as in prose, and was the first editor of *Piers Plowman’s Vision*, which he published with a controversial intention. Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, iii. 165. ed. 1840. This turbulent puritan died in 1588 (Stow, *Survey*, 313), and was succeeded in the parish of St Giles by a man of a very different stamp—Lancelot Andrewes. The work here quoted was answered by Campneys (*sup.* i. 153.) Compare for Campneys, Heyl. *Historia Quinquart.* pt. iii. p. 5; for Crowley, Strype, *Ecl. Mem.* ii. 139; Parker, 218—91.

² So *Aër. Red.*; “had,” edd. *Ecl. Restaur.*

³ The substance of this section, with the quotations, is taken from the *Historia Quinquarticularis*, iii. 5-8 (reprinted in Heylyn’s *Tracts*); and it is repeated in the *Aërius Redivivus*, 243. On the history of predestinarian doctrines, comp. *Cypr. Anglic.* 23, seqq.

ANNO REGNI MAR. 4,

ANNO DOM. 1556, 1557.

1. **I**T is now time that we set sail again for England, which we left flaming with the fire of persecution, and the whole body of the state not a little inflamed with a spirit of treason and sedition;—the last ill spirit well allayed by the execution of the chief conspirators; the other fire not quenched by the blood of the martyrs, which rather served as oil to nourish than as water to extinguish the outrageousness of it. But the Queen hoped to salve the matter on her part by some works of piety, as the restoring of such church-lands as were in the Crown for the endowment of some new convents of Monks and Friars. But first she thought it necessary to communicate her purpose unto some of the Council, and therefore calling to her the Lord Treasurer Paulet, Inglefield Master of the Wards, Rochester Comptroller of her household, and master Secretary Petre, who seemed to be most concerned in it by their several places, she is said to have spoken to them in these following words:—

The Queen's
design for
restoring
Church-pro-
perty.

65
235 2. “**Y**OU are here of our Council, and we have willed you to be called to 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 lands¹ and possessions or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same, with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord

¹ Edd. 1, 2. “Laws.”

AN. REG. 4.
1556.

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 imperial¹ cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid; yet notwithstanding” (and so she had affirmed before, when she was bent upon the restitution of the tenths and first fruits²) “I set more by the salvation of my soul than by ten such 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 do resort together 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 aforesaid possessions, accordingly as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same³.”

New foundation of Westminster Abbey.

3. Upon this opening of her mind, the Lords perceived it would be to no purpose to persuade the contrary, and therefore thought it requisite to direct some course wherein she might satisfy her desires to her own great honour, and yet not alienate too much at once of the public patrimony. The Abbey of Westminster had been founded in a convent of Benedictines, or Black Monks, by King Edward the Confessor; valued at the suppression by King Henry the Eighth at the yearly sum of 3977 pounds⁴, in good old rents, anno 1539. At what time having taken to himself the best and greatest part of the lands thereof, he founded with the rest a Collegiate Church, consisting of a Dean and secular Canons; Benson, the last Abbot, being made the first Dean of this new erection⁵. To Benson succeeded Dr Cox, and to him was substituted Dr Weston, in the first of this Queen. And, being preferred unto

¹ Edd. “the dignity thereof, and my crown imperial.”

² Sup. p. 162.

³ Fox, vii. 34, (who gives March 23, 1555 as the date).

⁴ According to Speed; but Dugdale's valuation is £3471. 9s. 2½d. Monast. Angl. i. 230.

⁵ Sup. i. 125.

the place by her special favour, 'twas conceived to be no hard matter to persuade him to make a surrendry of his church into the hands of the Queen, that so it might return to its former nature, and be erected into a convent of Benedictines, without any charge unto the Crown. And this they thought would be the easier brought to pass, because, by the preferment of Dr Owen Oglethorp to the See of Carlisle¹, the deanery of Windsor would be void; which was considered as a sufficient compensation, if bestowed on Weston, for his surrendry of the other. But they found a greater difficulty in it than was first imagined, Weston appearing very backward in conforming to the Queen's desires, partly out of a dislike which he had of the project (he being one that never liked the profession of Monckery), and partly out of an affection which he had to the place, seated so opportunely for the Court and all public businesses. But at last he yielded to that importunity² which he was not able to resist; and thereby gained so much displeasure from the Cardinal Legate, that before the end of the next year, anno 1557, he was outed of his deanery of Windsor, and all his other ecclesiastical promotions, upon an information of his being taken in the act of adultery³; which otherwise perhaps might have been pardoned or connived at in him, as in many others.

66 But willing or unwilling, he had first surrendered the church of
236 Westminster, which the Queen stocked with a new convent of Benedictines, consisting of an Abbot and fourteen monks; which, with their officers, were as many as the lands then left unto it could well maintain⁴. And for the first Abbot, she made choice of Dr John Fecknam, a learned, grave, and moderate man, whom she had formerly made Dean of St Paul's, in

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1556.

¹ He is said by Godwin to have been consecrated in 1556, but by Richardson on August 15, 1557. His predecessor, Aldrich, died March 5, 1555-6. De Præsul. 770.

² Edd. "opportunity."

³ Fox, viii. 637.

⁴ Stow, 628. Machyn, 119. Fuller, vi. 96. Dodd and Lingard state that the number of monks was twenty-eight—"all of them beneficed clergymen, who had quitted their livings." Perhaps the smaller number may have been appointed at first, and the rest added, or intended to be added, afterwards. "Feckenham was again appointed Abbot, but only for three years. For the Cardinal disapproved of the ancient custom of abbots for life; and had sent to Italy for two monks, who might establish in England the discipline observed in the more rigid communities abroad." Lingard, vii. 216.

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Restoration
of other Re-
ligious
Houses.

the place of Dr William May, and now made choice of Dr Henry Cole, Archdeacon of Ely, and Prolocutor of the Convocation, anno 1555, to succeed him in it.

4 It was upon the 21st of November that the new Abbot and his monks entered on the possession of their ancient convent, which they held not fully out three years, when it was once again dissolved by Act of Parliament; of which more hereafter. Which fate befel the rest of her foundations also; two of which cost her little more than this at Westminster. A convent of Observants (being a reformed order of Franciscan Friars) had been founded by King Henry the Seventh near the Manor of Greenwich, and was the first which felt the fury of King Henry the Eighth, by reason of some open opposition made by some of the Friars in favour of Queen Katherine, the mother of the Queen now reigning¹. Which moved her in a pious gratitude to re-edify that ruined house, and to restore as many as could be found of that order to their old habitations; making up their corporation with some new Observants, to a competent number². She gathered together also a new convent of Dominicans, or Black Friars, for whom she provided an house in Smithfield, in the City of London, fitting the same with all conveniences both for divine offices and other necessary uses. And having done this, she was at no more charges with either of them³; for both the Observants and Dominicans, being begging Friars, might be resembled not unfitly to a swarm of bees, which, being provided of an hive, are left to make their combs and raise themselves a livelihood by their natural industry.

5. But so she went not off in her other foundations, which were to be provided of some proportionable endowment out of the revenues of the Crown towards their support. At Sion, near Brentford, in the county of Middlesex, there had been anciently a house⁴ of religious women, nuns of the order of St Bridget,—dissolved, as were all the rest, by King Henry the Eighth; most of the old ones dead, and the younger mar-

¹ In 1534, Henry “suppressed at Canterbury, Greenwich, Richmond, and some other places, the Observant Friars, noted to be the most clamorous against him, and for them substituted the Augustine Friars.” Herbert, 178. Comp. Fuller, iii. 363, 433.

² Fuller, iii. 433.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. It was founded in 1414, and removed to Sion in 1432. Mon. Angl. vi. 540.

ried. Yet out of such of the old nuns as remained alive, and the addition of some others, who were willing to embrace that course of life, a competent number was made up for a new plantation; but seated as before at Sion, which the Queen repaired, and laid unto it a sufficient estate in lands for their future maintenance¹. Which house, being afterwards dissolved also by Queen Elizabeth, came first to the possession of Sir Thomas Perrot, who gave it to his wife, the Lady Dorothy, one of the daughters of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex; by whom, being after married to Henry Lord Percy, Earl of Northumberland, it was left for a retiring house to that noble family, who do still enjoy it. At Sheen, on the other side of the water, there had been anciently another religious house, not far from a mansion of the King's, to which they much resorted till the building of Richmond. This house she stocked with a new convent of Carthusians² (corruptly called the Charter-House Monks), which she endowed with a revenue great enough to maintain that order, which professed more abstemiousness in diet and sparingness of expense in all other things than any others which embraced a monastical life. And the next year, having closed up the west end of the quire or chancel of the church of St John's, near Smithfield, (which was all the Protector Somerset had left standing of it³), she restored the same to the Hospitalry of Knights of St John, to whom it formerly belonged,—assigning a liberal endowment to it for their more honourable subsistence. Over whom she placed Sir Thomas Tresham for the first Lord Prior,—a gentleman of an ancient family, and one that had deserved exceeding well of her in defence of her claim against Queen Jane⁴: who on the 30th of November, 1557, received the order of the Cross at Westminster, and took possession of his place; which having scarce warmed, he was taken from it by the stroke of death, and left it by the Queen to be disposed of to Sir Richard Shellie, the last Great Master of that Order in the realm of England⁵.

6. But this expiring with the rest, within two years after, there remained nothing of all Queen Mary's foundations but her new Hospital in the Savoy. An hospital had formerly been

¹ Fuller, iii. 483.

² Ibid. iii. 483.

³ Sup. i. 152.

⁴ Fuller, iii. 484. Sup. 32.

⁵ Ibid. iii. 489.

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founded in that house by her grandfather, King Henry the Seventh, for the relief of such pilgrims as either went on their devotions to the shrine of St Thomas Becket of Canterbury, or any other eminent shrine or saint in those parts of the kingdom¹. On a suggestion made to King Edward the Sixth, that it served only for a receptacle of vagrant persons, it was surrendered to him in the last year of his reign by the master and brethren of the same; out of the lands whereof he assigned the yearly rent of seven hundred marks for the maintenance of his new working-house of Bridewell, which he had given for ever to the Lord Mayor and City of London, (as hath been signified before in the life of that King)² together with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture which were found in this hospital. And though this grant bare date on the 26th of June, in the last year of his reign, anno 1553, yet the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entered not on the possession of it till the month of February now last past, anno 1555. But having took possession of it, and so much of the land of this hospital being settled on it, the hospital in the Savoy could not be restored to its first condition but by a new endowment from such other lands belonging to religious houses which were remaining in the Crown. But the Queen was so resolved upon it, that she might add some works of charity unto those of piety, or else in honour of her grandfather, whose foundation she restored at Greenwich also,—the hospital was again refounded on the third of November, and a convenient yearly rent allotted to the master and brethren for the entertainment of the poor, according to the tenor and effect of the first institution. Which prince-like act so wrought upon the maids of honour and other ladies of the Court, that, for the better attaining of the Queen's good grace, they furnished the same at their own costs with new beds, bedding, and other necessary furniture, in a very ample manner³. In which condition it continueth to this very day, the mastership of the hospital being looked on as a good preferment for any well deserving man about the Court; but for

¹ This statement as to the *object* of Henry VII.'s foundation appears to be erroneous. Stow, *Survey*, 491, Tanner, *Notit. Monast.* 327, and Maitland, *Hist. of London*, 1338, state that he endowed it as an hospital for a hundred poor persons.

² Sup. i. 275.

³ Fuller, iv. 248.

the most part given to some of their Majesties' chaplains, for the encouragement of learning and the reward of their service. AN. REG. 4,
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7. How far the Queen's example, seconded by the ladies about the court, countenanced by the King, and earnestly insisted on by the Pope then being, might have prevailed on the nobility and gentry for doing the like, either in restoring their church-lands, or assigning some part of them to the like foundations, it is hard to say; most probable it is that if the Queen had lived some few years longer, either for love to her, or for fear of gaining the King's displeasure, (who was now grown too great to be disputed with, if the point were questioned) or otherwise out of an unwillingness to incur the Pope's curse and the Church's censures, there might have been very much done that way, though not all at once. For so it was, that Philip having passed over to Calais in the month of September, anno 1555¹, and the next day departing to the Emperor's court, which was then at Brussels, there² he found his father in a resolution of resigning to him all his dominions and estates, except the empire, (or the bare title, rather, of it) which was to be surrendered to his brother Ferdinand: not that he had not a design to settle the imperial dignity on his successors in the realm of Spain, for the better attaining of the universal monarchy which he was said to have aspired to over all the West³, but that he had been crossed in it by Maximilian, the eldest son of his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded to his father in it, and left the same hereditary in a manner to the princes of the house of Austria of the German race. For Charles, grown weary of the world, broken with wars, and desirous to apply himself to divine meditations, resolved to discharge himself of all civil employments, and spend the remainder of his life in the Monastery of St Justus, situate among the mountains of Extremadura, a province of the realm of Castile. In pursuance whereof, having called before him the principal of the nobility and great men of his several kingdoms and estates, he made a resignation of all his hereditary dominions to King

Charles V.
resigns his
hereditary
dominions to
Philip.

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¹ Philip remained abroad a year and a half at this time. Speed, 854.

² Edd. "where."

³ Robertson, Hist. of Charles V., iii. 99, ed. Oxf. 1825.

O

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Philip his son, on the 25th of October, anno 1555¹, having then scarce attained to the fifty-fifth year of his life, to the great admiration of all the world. After which act, he found himself so abandoned by all his followers, that, sitting up late at night in conference with Seldius, his brother's Ambassador, he had not a servant within call to light the gentleman down stairs. Which being observed by the Emperor, he took the candle into his hands, and would needs in his own person perform that office; and having brought him to the top of the stairs, he said unto him, "Remember, Seldius, that thou hast known the Emperor Charles, whom thou hast seen in the head of so many armies, reduced to such a low estate as to perform the office of an ordinary servant to his brother's minister." Such was the greatness to which Philip had attained at the present time, when the Queen was most intent on these new foundations.

Acts of the
Irish Parlia-
ment.

8. As for the Pope, he had published a Bull in print at the same time also, in which he threatened excommunication to all manner of persons without exception as kept any churchlands unto themselves; as also to all princes, noblemen and magistrates, as did not forthwith put the same in execution². Which, though it did not much edify at the present in the realm of England, yet it found more obedience and conformity in that of Ireland; in which a Parliament being called toward the end of this year, (that is to say in the month of June, anno 1557,) there passed a Statute³ for repealing all Acts, Articles, and Provisions made against the See Apostolic, since the 20th year of King Henry the Eighth, and for abolishing of several ecclesiastical possessions conveyed to the laity, as also for the extinguishment of first-fruits and twentieth parts (no more than the yearly payment of the twentieth part having been laid by Act of Parliament on the Irish Clergy⁴): in the first and last clause whereof as they followed the example of the realm of England, so possibly they might have given a dangerous example to it in the other point, if, by the Queen's death following shortly

¹ On the strange discrepancies as to the dates of the Emperor's resignations, see Robertson, Charles V., iii. 36.

² The Bull "Injunctum nobis desuper," mentioned p. 141, note 3. Comp. Fox, vii. 35, where it is maintained that "in very deed the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country else."

³ 3 and 4 Phil. and Mar. c. 8. (Irel.)

⁴ c. 10.

after, as well King Philip as the Pope had not lost all their power and influence on the English nation; by means whereof there was no farther progress in the restitution of the abbey-lands, no more re-edifying of the old religious houses, and no intention for the founding of any new. Such as most cordially were affected to the interest of the Pope of Rome, and otherwise were very perfect at their *Ave Maria*, might love their *Pater noster* well, but their penny better.

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9. Thus have we seen how zealously the Queen proceeded in her way towards the re-establishing of the Papal greatness. Let us next look on the proceedings of the Cardinal Legate, not as a legate *à latere* from the Pope of Rome, but as *legatus natus*, a Metropolitan or Archbishop of the Church of England. As Cardinal Legate he had been never forward in the shedding of blood, declaring many ways his averseness from the severity which he saw divers of the English Bishops, but especially the Butcher of London, were so bent upon. And when he came to act as Metropolitan, he was very sparing in that kind, as far as his own person was concerned therein; though not to be excused from suffering the under officers of his diocese to be too prodigal of the blood of their Christian brethren. He had been formerly suspected for a favourer of the Lutheran doctrines, when he lived at Rome, and acted for the Pope as one of his Legates in the Council of Trent¹. Gardiner and Bonner, and the rest of the sons of thunder, who called for nothing less than fire (though not from heaven), were willing to give out that he brought the same affections into England also; and therefore somewhat must be done to keep up his authority and reputation both at home and abroad. To which end, he inserteth some particulars amongst the printed Articles of his Visitation, to witness for him to the world that he had as great a care for suppressing the growth of heresy as any Prelate in the kingdom, who would be thought more zealous, because more tyrannical²; of which sort are the 14th and 15th³

Proceedings
of the Cardinal
Arch-
bishop.

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¹ Sleidan, b. xxi. p. 490, Eng.; Speed, 352. His orthodoxy on the subject of Justification was questioned. Caraffa (now pope) had maintained opinions opposed to his in the early sessions of the Council of Trent. Ranke, Hist. of Popes, i. 204.

² Holinshed, iv. 141. Wilkins, iv. 169.

³ The old editions read "14, 15, and 17th;" which is certainly wrong, as appears from the subsequent mention of the seventeenth article.

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Articles which concerned the Clergy, that is to say, “ Whether any of them do teach or preach erroneous doctrine, contrary to the Catholic faith, and the unity of the Church ; and whether any of them do say the divine Service, or do minister the Sacraments, in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the Church ?” Of which sort also were the first of those touching the Laity, viz. “ Whether any manner of persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, do hold, maintain, or¹ affirm any heresies, errors, and erroneous opinions, contrary to the Laws Ecclesiastical, and the unity of the Catholic Church ?” Which general Article was after branched into such particulars as concerned the carnal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, the reverent esteem thereof, the despising of any of the Sacramentals, and the decrying of auricular confession by word or practice. And somewhat also of this sort was the 17th Article, by which it was inquired, “ Whether any of the Priests or Clergy, that had² been married under the pretence of lawful matrimony, and since reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privily resort to them ?” Nothing material or considerable in all the rest, but what hath been in use and practice by all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other ecclesiastical judges in the Church of England, since the first and best times of Queen Elizabeth ; all of them seeming to have took their pattern from this reverend prelate’s, and to have preceded themselves by the articles of his Visitation. In two points only he appeared to be somewhat singular, and therefore found no followers in the times succeeding ; the first whereof was, the registering of the names of the Godfathers and Godmothers, as well as of the child baptized³ ; which why it should be laid aside I can see

¹ Edd. Heyl. “and.”

² Edd. “having.”

³ The names of Godfathers and Godmothers are to be found in some registers of this period, as in that of Staplehurst, mentioned by Burn (Hist. of Parish Registers, p. 35), and in that of Barham, near Canterbury. Such entries are, however, rare : possibly because the order may have been disregarded ; or (more probably) because the registers now extant are commonly copies, made in the last years of Elizabeth, under a Canon which directed that the entries of the paper books from the beginning of the reign should be transcribed on parchment (A. D. 1597. Cardw. Synod. i. 160) ; and clergymen who were at the pains of copying earlier entries may have retained only so much of them as was agreeable to the

no reason, the rubric of the Church allowing none to perform that office before they have received the holy Communion. The second was, an inquiry whether the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates were diligent in teaching the midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the Canons of the Church; which seemed sufficiently necessary to be put in practice, as long as baptism was permitted to midwives or any other persons not in holy orders¹.

10. But though he seemed more favourable than any of the rest of the bishops towards those which were living, he was content to exercise the utmost of his power upon those that were dead; nor was he without hope, that, by the punishment and disgrace of those which were not sensible of either, he might be thought to manifest his greatest² zeal towards the maintenance of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, as if he had inflicted the like censures on them when they were alive. This prompts him to a visitation of the University of Cambridge³,—partly to rectify the Statutes of it, which in many points were thought to stand in need of a reformation; but principally to exercise some more than ordinary rigour on the dead bodies of Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius. Of these, the first, having been the public Reader in Divinity, in the time of King Edward, was solemnly interred in the Church of St Mary's⁴; the other, having been Hebrew Reader at the same time also, was buried in the Church of St Michael. In order to this visitation, he delegates one Ormanete, an Italian, honoured with the title of the Pope's Datary⁵, Doctor Cuthbert

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1556-7.

Visitation of
the University of Cam-
bridge.

practice of their own time. Mr Burn, in his very curious work, gives instances of the entry of sponsors from registers of the Reformed English Church.

¹ It was in 1604, after the Hampton-Court Conference, that the administration of Baptism in the English Church was restricted to "the minister of the parish, or some other lawful minister." Cardwell, *Conferences*, 145, 213.

² Ed. 3, "great." Perhaps "as great a zeal"—a conjecture the more likely because the work was written from *dictation*. Comp. p. 195, l. 32.

³ The proceedings are very fully related by Fox, viii. 258, seqq.

⁴ Sup. i. 208.

⁵ Ormanetto was Datary for *England* (Godw. de Præsul. 151). The definition of *Datarius* given by Du Cange is, "primus Cancellariæ Romanæ minister, prælatus semper, interdum cardinalis; sic dictus a literis expeditis quibus vulgo addit *Datum Romæ, etc.*" But, as it does not appear how such a functionary could act anywhere but at Rome,

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Scot, then newly consecrated Bishop of Chester, Doctor Watson, Master of St John's College and Lord Elect of Lincoln, and Doctor Christopherson, Master of Trinity College and Dean of Norwich, Lord Elect of Chichester, and Doctor Henry Cole, Provost of Eaton College and Dean of St Paul's. With these were joined as Commissioners, Doctor Andrew Pern, Master of Peterhouse and Vice-Chancellor, some Doctors of Divinity, Sir James Dier, then the Recorder of the town, and certain others, in the name of the King and Queen. It must be some great business doubtless, that must require so many hands, and exercise the wits of so many persons,—bishops, deans, doctors in divinity, canonists, common lawyers, knights, and gentlemen. But what the business was, and how little it required such preparations, we are next to see.

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11. The Cardinal's Commissioners came to Cambridge on the 9th of January, where they found the rest ready to receive them, and the next day they interdicted the two Churches above mentioned, for daring to entertain the dead bodies of such desperate heretics. I premit the eloquent speech made by Stoaks, the University Orator, the answer thereunto by Scot, then Bishop of Chester, the Latin sermon preached by Peacock against sects and heretics, together with the solemn mass with which this weighty business was to take beginning. Which preparations being past over, a petition is presented to the Cardinal's delegates, in the name of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of the University, for taking up the bodies of the said Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius, to the end that some legal proceedings might be had against them, to the terror of others, in regard of those many dangerous and heretical doctrines by them formerly taught. The petition being granted, and the dead bodies condemned to be taken out of their graves, a public citation is set up at St Mary's Church, the market-

we may perhaps understand the office of the Datary for England better by supposing Ormanetto to have been commissioned for the transaction of business like that of the *Dataria Romana*,—the department to which belong the issuing of dispensations, the conferring of such ecclesiastical dignities as are in the gift of the Pope, and similar acts of grace. (Walter, *Lehrb. d. Kirchenrechts*, Bonn, 1842, p. 295.) The office was probably extraordinary,—the affairs of the reconciliation rendering it expedient that a person should be sent into England with authority to settle matters which in the ordinary course must have been referred to Rome.

place, and the common schools, requiring the said Martin AN. REG. 4,
1556-7. Bucer and Paulus Fagius, or any other in their names or in their behalf, to appear before the Lords Commissioners on Monday the 15th of that month, to answer to such articles as then and there should be objected against them. But the dead bones not being able to come unless they were carried, and nobody daring to appear as their proctor or advocate, they might have been taken *pro confessis*, but that the court was willing to proceed by witnesses; and to that end they took the depositions of several persons touching the doctrine taught by the said two heretics; and then upon mature deliberation they condemned them of heresy, ordered them to be taken out of their graves, degraded from all holy Orders, and delivered to the secular magistrate. Of all this an account is given to the Cardinal Legate, who is desired to take some course that the ordinary writ (*de comburendo Heretico*) for the burning of heretics might be taken out, and sent unto the Mayor of Cambridge; without which nothing could be done in order to the execution of the rest of the sentence. The writ accordingly comes down, and Saturday the sixth day of February is appointed for the burning of the two dead bodies; which, being taken out of their graves and laid in their coffins on men's shoulders, are carried to the market-place, with a guard of men well armed and weaponed for fear of making an escape; chained unto several posts, as if still alive, the wood and fire put to them, and their bodies burned, together with as many of their books as could be gotten, which were cast into the same flames also.

12. And because one University should not mock the other, the like cruelty was also exercised upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford,—a godly, grave, and sober matron while she lived, and to the poor people there exceeding charitable. It was supposed that Oxon stood as much in need of a visitation as Cambridge did. A commission is therefore granted by the Cardinal Legate to Doctor James Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, Ormanete, the Pope's Datary, Cole and Wright, Doctors of the Civil Law, &c., to rectify such things as they found amiss in that University, or in any College of the same. It was given them also in charge amongst other things, that they should take the body of this good Visitation of
Oxford.

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woman out of her grave, into which she had been laid, anno 1552, and to consume the same with fire, not doubting but she was of the same religion which her husband had professed before. But when the Commissioners came to execute that part of their business, they could find no witness to depose any thing for certain touching her religion; such as were brought before them agreeing generally in this answer, That they did not understand her language, and therefore could not tell of what religion she was¹. It was therefore signified to the Cardinal, that for want of legal evidence against her they could not lawfully proceed in burning her body, as they had done the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, against whom there was evidence enough to be found in their writings, besides that which was given in from the mouths of witnesses. The Cardinal thereupon gives order to Doctor Marshal, Dean of Christ Church, to take up her body (which had been buried near to that of St Frideswide), and to lay it out of Christian burial; who very readily obeyed, took up the bones of that virtuous woman, and most profanely buried them in a common dunghill. But long they lay not in that place; for Queen Elizabeth, coming to the Crown within two years after, gave order that this body should be decently interred, as became the quality of her person and the reverence due unto her husband; as also that Bucer and Fagius should in the other University be publicly restored to their former honours. In obedience unto whose commands, the body of the one is taken out of the dunghill, and laid into the grave of St Frideswide,—their bones so intermingled with one another, that there could be no fear of offering the like inhumanity to them for the time to come². And, that the like honour might be done to Bucer and Fagius, a solemn commemoration of them was held at Cambridge; the sermon preached by Mr. James Pilkington, who not long after was preferred to the See of Durham; the panegyric made by Ackworth, Orator of that University, who spared no part of a good orator in setting forth their due praises and deserved commendations³.

¹ Fox, viii. 296.

² Fox, viii. 296-7.

³ The sermon and the panegyric are both given by Fox, viii. 287—295; and in the Appendix to Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, there is a full history of the Commemoration. The materials of the narrative were

13. But we must now look back again on the reign of Queen Mary; in which we find little more to do than the magnificent reception of Osep Napea, Ambassador from the great Duke of Muscovy, upon this occasion:—The English merchants, at the solicitation of Sebastian Cabot, had furnished out some ships for the discovery of a North-East passage towards the rich countries of Cathai and China; in which they made so good a progress, that they attained as far as the port of St Nicholas, one of the principal port-towns of the empire of Russia, and laid the first foundation of a wealthy trade with that mighty empire¹. For their encouragement therein, the privileges of the Easterlings, commonly called the Merchants of the Steelyard, (who before had managed all the trade of the North-East parts), were seized by King Edward the Sixth², and the way thereby laid open to the merchant-adventurers to increase their shipping with their wealth. For the continuance of which trade betwixt the nations, the emperor John Basiliwits sends his Ambassador above named, embarked in one of the English ships, under the conduct and government of Richard Chancellor, the most expert pilot of that age. But so it happened, that the rest of the ships being scattered by a strong tempest on the coast of Norway, the ship which carried the Ambassador was wrecked upon the coast of Scotland; the lading for the most part lost, amounting to twenty thousand pounds and upwards, besides many rich presents sent from the Russian Emperor to the King and Queen. The Ambassador with much ado was preserved from drowning, but the pilot³ lost, who, by labouring to preserve the life of the other, neglected the best opportunity to save his own. The news whereof being brought to the merchants of London, (who by this time were grown into a Company of 140,) they procured letters from the King to the Regent of Scotland for the courteous entertainment of the said Ambassador, and the restoring of such goods as had collected under the superintendence of Grindal. *Comp. Zurich Letters*, ed. 2. p. 114.

¹ *Sup. i.* 292-3. *Milton's Prose Works*, 577-3, ed. 1834.

² *Sup. i.* 231.

³ *i. e.* Chancellor. The scene of this disaster was Pitsligo Bay, in Aberdeenshire. See "Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," presented by the Earl of Aberdeen to the Spalding Club, *Aberd.* 1843. p. 440.

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1556-7.

Arrival of
a Muscovite
Ambassador.

AN. REG. 4, escaped the wreck ; and, having furnished him with money and
 1556-7. all other necessaries, caused him to be conducted towards the
 court'.

14. Taking his leave of Scotland on the 14th of February, he is brought by easy journeys within twelve miles of London, —honourably entertained in all places as he passed along, and there received by fourscore of the Russian merchants in their chains of gold. Furnished with gold, velvet, silk, and all other things, he is by the whole company of the Russian merchants magnificently brought into London on the last of that month ; met on the way by the Lord Viscount Montacute, attended with a gallant train of three hundred horse, at the Queen's command, and received at Smithfield-bars by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet robes. Conducted to his lodgings in Fan-Church street, he was there presented in the Queen's name with a piece of cloth of tissue, two pieces of cloth of gold, one whereof was raised with crimson velvet, with many other pieces of the like rich making ; which very thankfully he received. Abiding at his lodging till the King's coming back from Flanders, which was not till the 21st of March, he was brought upon our Lady-day by water to the court at Westminster. Received at his landing by six Lords, he was by them brought into a chamber, where he found the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy Seal, Admiral, Bishop of Ely, and other Councillors ; who, having exchanged salutations with him, attended him to the King and Queen, sitting under a rich canopy or cloth of state in the great hall there. Having presented his letters of credence, expressed himself unto their Majesties in a short oration, which was interpreted to them both in English and Spanish, and presented them with two timber of sables, which with much diligence had been recovered out of the wreck, he was by them remitted to his lodging with the like solemnity. Attended shortly after by the Bishop of Ely and Mr Secretary Petre ; who, after much communication and several treaties, settled at last a friendly intercourse and commerce betwixt the nations ; the articles whereof, engrossed in parchment, were afterwards presented to him, ratified and confirmed by the Great Seal of England. On the 23rd of April he was brought again into the court, where, having seen

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¹ Stow, p. 629.

the pomps and orders of St George's feast, the service of the royal chapel, and the magnificent procession of the Knights of the Garter, he takes his leave of the King and Queen, is reconveyed unto his lodging, and on the 3rd of May embarks for Russia, accompanied with four good ships well fraught with merchandise most proper for the trade of that country to which they were bound. The costly presents sent by him from the King and Queen to the Russian Emperor, and those bestowed upon himself, I leave to be reported by him at his coming home, and the relation of John Stow in his *Annals of England*, fol. 630. Nor had I dwelt so long upon these particulars, but to set forth the ancient splendour and magnificence of the state of England, from which we have so miserably departed in these latter times.

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1557.

15. Worse entertainment found an agent from the French King at his coming hither, because he came on a worse errand, Stafford, an English gentleman of a noble family, having engaged himself in some of the former enterprises against this Queen, and finding no good fortune in them, retired with divers others to the court of France; from whence they endeavoured many times to create some dangers to this realm, by scattering and dispersing divers scandalous pamphlets and seditious papers, tending to the apparent defamation of the King and Queen. And having got some credit by these practices amongst the ministers of that King, he undertakes to seize upon some fortress or port town of England, and put the same into the hands of the French. In prosecution of which plot, accompanied with some English rebels, and divers French adventurers intermingled with them, he seizeth on the strong castle of Scarborough, in the county of York. From thence he published a most traitorous and seditious manifest, in which he traitorously affirmed the Queen neither to be the rightful Queen of this realm, nor to be worthy of the title, affirming that the King had brought into this realm the number of twelve thousand Spaniards, who had possessed themselves of twelve of the best holds in all the kingdom; upbraiding the Queen with her misgovernment, and taking to himself the title of Protector of the realm of England. But the Queen being secretly advertised of the whole design, by the diligence of Dr Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, who was then Ambassador in that court,

Attempt of
Stafford.

AN. REG. 4, order was taken with the Earl of Westmorland and other noble
 1557. men of those parts to watch the coasts, and have a care unto
 the safety of those Northern provinces. By whom he was so
 closely watched and so well attended, that, having put himself
 into that castle on the 24th, he was pulled out of it again on
 the last of April; from thence brought prisoner unto London,
 condemned of treason, executed on the Tower Hill, May 28,
 and on the morrow after three of his accomplices were hanged
 at Tyburn, cut down, and quartered¹.

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Preparations
 for War with
 France.

16. But, as it was an ill-wind which blows nobody good,
 so this French treason, so destructive to the chief conspirators,
 redounded to the great benefit and advantage of Philip. He
 had for three years borne the title of King of England, without
 reaping any profit and commodity by it. But being now en-
 gaged in war with King Henry III., though in pursuit rather
 of his father's quarrels than any new ones of his own, he
 takes this opportunity to move the Queen to declare herself
 against the French, and to assist him in his war against that
 King, for the good of her kingdoms. It was not possible for
 the Queen to separate her interest from that of her husband
 without hazarding some great unkindness, if not a manifest
 breach, between them. She therefore yields to his desire, and
 by her Proclamation of the 7th of June², chargeth that King
 in having an hand not only in the secret practices of the Duke
 of Northumberland, but also in the open rebellion of Wyat
 and his confederates. She also laid unto his charge, that
 Dudley, Ashton, and some other malcontents of England were
 entertained in the house of his Embassadors, where they con-
 trived many treasons and conspiracies against her and her
 kingdom; that, flying into France, they were not only enter-
 tained in the Court of that King, but relieved with pensions.
 Finally, that he had aided and encouraged Stafford with
 shipping, men, money, and munition, to invade her realm,—
 thereby if it were possible, to dispossess her of her Crown.
 She therefore gives notice to her subjects that they should
 forbear all traffic and commerce with the realm of France;
 from which she had received so many injuries as could admit
 no reparation but by open war². And that she might not

¹ Stow, 630. Speed, 359. Godwin, 192.

² Stow, 631. Godwin, 193.

seem to threaten what she never intended, she causeth an army to be raised, consisting of one thousand horse, four thousand foot, and two thousand pioncers, which she puts under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, and so dispatcheth them for Flanders, to which they came about the middle of July¹. King Philip had gone before on the sixth of that month, and all things here were followed with such care and diligence that the army stayed not long behind; but what they did, falls not within the compass of this present year.

17. All which remains to be remembered in this present year relates unto such changes and alterations as were made amongst the Governors of the Church and the Peers of the realm. It hath been signified before² that White of Lincoln had prevailed by his friends in Court to be translated unto Winchester, as the place of his nativity and education. To whom succeeded Dr Thomas Watson³, Master of St John's College in Cambridge and Dean of Durham, elected to the See of Lincoln before Christmas last, and acting by that name and in that capacity against the dead body of Martin Bucer. To Day of Chichester, who deceased on the second of August, in the beginning of this year, succeeded Dr John Christopherson⁴, a right learned man, Master of Trinity College in Cambridge and Dean of Norwich,—elected about the same time when the other was, and acting as he did against Bucer and Fagius; as also did Dr Cuthbert Scot, who at that time was actually invested in the See of Chester⁵, upon the death of Dr Cotes, the preceding Bishop. And finally, in the place of Aldrick, Bishop of Carlisle, who died on the fifth of March, 1555, Dr Owen Oglethorp, President of Magdalen College in Oxon and Dean of Windsor, receives consecration to that See in that first part of this year; but the particular day and time thereof I have nowhere found⁶. Within the compass of this year (that is to say, the fourth year of the reign of

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1557.

New Bishops
of the Year.

¹ Stow, 631.

² Sup. p. 173.

³ "Bulla provisionis data 9 Kal. April, 1556; consecratus, decimo quinto Augusti, 1557." Godwin, de Præsul. 301.

⁴ "Provisus bulla data non Maii, 1557; consecratus, 21 Nov." Godw. 513.

⁵ "Temporalia habuit restituta 29 Sept. 1556." Godw. 776.

⁶ Aug. 15, 1557. Godw. 770.

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1557.

this Queen) died two other Bishops, Salcot or Capon¹, Bishop of Salisbury, and Chambers², the first Bishop of Peterborough; to the first of which there was no successor actually consecrated or confirmed, for the reasons to be shewed anon, in the reign of this Queen³. But to the other succeeded Dr David Pool, Doctor of both laws, Dean of the Arches, Chancellor to the Bishop of Lichfield, and Archdeacon of Derby; elected before the end of this year, but not consecrated till the fifteenth of August in the beginning of the next⁴.

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Restoration
of the Ear-
ldom of
Northumber-
land.

18. Some alterations happened also amongst the Peers of the realm, in the creation of one, and the destruction of another. A rebellion had been raised in the North upon the first suppression of religious houses, anno 1536; in which Sir Thomas Percy, second son to Henry, the fifth Earl of Northumberland of that name and family, was thought to be a principal stickler, and for the same was publicly arraigned, condemned, and executed. By Eleanor his wife, one of the daughters and heirs of Sir Guiseard Harebottle, he was the father of Thomas and Henry, who hitherto had suffered under his attaindure: but now it pleased Queen Mary to reflect on their father's sufferings and the cause thereof; which moved her not only to restore them to their blood and honours, but also to so much of the lands of the Percies as were remaining in the Crown. In pursuance whereof she advanced Thomas, the elder brother, on the last of April, to the style, title, and degree of Earl of Northumberland,—the remainder to his brother Henry, in case the said Thomas should depart this life without issue male. By virtue of which entail the said Henry afterwards succeeded him in his lands and honours, notwithstanding that he⁵ was attainted, condemned, and executed for high treason in the time of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1572.

Execution of
Lord Stour-
ton.

19. Not many weeks before the restitution of which noble family, that of the Lord Sturton was in no small danger of a final destruction;—a family first advanced to the state of a

¹ Oct. 6, 1557. Godw. 353.

² Richardson dates the death of Chambers in the end of February 1555-6. Ibid. 558.

³ Mary, v. 8.

⁴ Godw. 558.

⁵ i. e. Thomas. See Dugdale, Baronage, i. 283-4.

Baron in the person of Sir John Sturton, created Lord Sturton AN. REG. 4,
1557. in the twenty-sixth of King Henry VI.¹, and now upon the point of expiring in the person of Charles Lord Sturton, condemned and executed with four of his servants on the sixth of March, for the murder of one Argal and his son, with whom he had been long at variance². It was his first hope that the murder might not be discovered, and for that cause had buried the dead bodies fifteen foot under ground; his second, that by reason of his zeal to the Popish religion, it might be no hard matter to procure a pardon. But the murder was too foul to be capable of any such favour, so that he was not only adjudged to die, but condemned to be hanged. It is reported of Marcus Antonius, that, having vanquished Artavasdes³, King of Armenia, he led him bound in chains to Rome, but, for his greater honour, and to distinguish him from the rest of the prisoners, in chains of gold⁴: and such an honour was vouchsafed to this noble murderer, in not being hanged, as his servants and accomplices were, in a halter of hemp, but in one of silk. And with this fact the family might have expired, if the Queen, having satisfied justice by his execution, had not consulted with her mercy for the restoring of his next heir both in blood and honour.

¹ Dugdale, ii. 229.

² Stow, 630. Godwin, Ann. 192. Comp. Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. c. xlviii. Machyn, 355. The name was *Hartgill*.

³ Edd. 1, 2, "Artanasdes."

⁴ "Artanasdem [Artavasden] Armeniæ Regem, fraude deceptum, catenis, sed, ne quid honori deesset, aureis vicit [aureis vinxit] Antonius." Vell. Patere. [ii. 82.] *Author*. [This quotation is omitted in ed. 3.]

AN. REG. 5,
1557.

ANNO REGNI MAR. 5,

ANNO DOM. 1557, 1558.

War in
France.

1. **WE** must begin this year with the success of those forces which were sent under the command of the Earl of Pembroke to the aid of Philip; who, having made up an army of thirty-five thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, besides the forces out of England, sat down before St Quintin, the chief town of Piccardy; called by the Romans Augusta Veromanduorum, and took this new name from St Quintin, the supposed tutelary saint and patron of it;—a town of principal importance to his future aims, as being one of the keys of France on that side of the kingdom, and opening a fair way even to Paris itself. For the raising of which siege, the French King sends a puissant army under the command of the Duke of Montmorancy, then Lord High Constable of France, accompanied with the flower of the French nobility. On the 10th day of August the battles join, in which the French were vanquished and their army routed: the Constable himself, the Prince of Mantua, the Dukes of Montpensier and Longuaville, with six others of the prime nobility, and many others of less note, being taken prisoners; the Duke of Anguien, the Viscount Turin, four persons of honourable rank, most of the foot captains, and of the common soldiers to the number of 2500, slain upon the place¹. The news whereof struck such a terror in King Henry II., that he was upon the point of forsaking Paris and retiring into Languedock, or some other remote part of his dominions; in the suddenness of which surprise he dispatched his couriers for recalling the Duke of Guise out of Italy, whom he had sent thither at the Pope's instigation with a right puissant army for the conquest of Naples. But Philip, knowing better how to enjoy than to use his victory, continued his siege before St Quintin, which he stormed on the 18th of that month, the

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¹ Stow, 631. The Escorial was built in memory of the victory of St Quentin. Robertson, Hist. Charles V., iii. 117.

Lord Henry Dudley, one of the younger sons of the Duke of Northumberland (who lost his life in the assault) together with Sir Edward Windsor, being the first that scaled the walls and advanced their victorious colours on the top thereof¹. After which gallant piece of service, the English, finding some neglect at the hands of Philip, humbly desire to be dismissed into their country; which for fear of some further inconvenience was indulged unto them. By which dismissal of the English (as Thuanus and others have observed) King Philip was not able with all his Spaniards to perform any action of importance in the rest of the war².

AN. REG. 5,
1557.

The English
lose Calais.

2. But the English shall pay dearly for this victory, which the Spaniard bought with no greater loss than the lives of fifty of his men. The English at that time were possessed of the town of Calais, with many other pieces and forts about, as Guisness, Hamne³, Ardres, &c., together with the whole territory called the County Oye; the town by Cæsar called Portus Iccius, situate on the mouth or entrance of the English Channel, opposite to Dover, one of the five principal havens in those parts of England, from which distant not above twenty-five miles:—a town much aimed at for that reason by King Edward the Third, who, after a siege of somewhat more than eleven months, became master of it anno 1347; by whom first made a colony of the English nation, and after one of the staple towns for the sale of wool. Kept with great care by his successors, who, as long as they had it in their possession, were said to carry the keys of France at their girdle; esteemed by Philip de Comines for the goodliest captainship in the world⁴; and therefore trusted unto none but persons of most eminent rank both for courage and honour. A town which for more than 200 years had been such an eye-sore to the French, and such a thorn in their sides, that Monsieur de Cordes, a nobleman who lived in the reign of King Lewis the Eleventh, was

¹ Stow, 631.

² “Eo factum plerique putant, ut post prosperos adè successus majoris molis negotium Philippus minime tentaverit, et dissolvi sensim exercitum passus sit.” Thuan. xix. 11. (tom. i. p. 660.)

³ Edd. 1, 2. “Fanim.” Ed. 3. “Hames.”

⁴ “La plus belle capitainerie du monde, à mon advis, au moins de la Chrétienté.” Mem. de Comines, l. iii. c. 4.

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1557.

wont to say that he could be content to lie seven years in hell, upon condition that this town were regained from the English¹. But the French shall have it now at an easier rate: the Queen had broke the peace with France, and sent a considerable body of forces to the aid of Philip, but took no care to fortify and make good this place; as if the same garrison which had kept it in a time of peace had been sufficient to maintain it also in a time of war.

3. For so it happened that Francis of Lorain, Duke of Guise, one of the best soldiers of that age, being called back with all his forces from the war of Italy, and not well pleased with the loss of that opportunity which seemed to have been offered to him for the conquest of Naples, resolved of doing somewhat answerable unto expectation, as well for his own honour as the good of his country. He had long fixed his eyes on Calais, and was informed by Senarpont, governor of Bulloign, and by consequence a near neighbour to it, that the town was neither so well fortified nor so strongly garrisoned but that it might be taken without any great difficulty. For confirmation whereof, Monsieur d' Strozzie, one of the Marshals of France, under the favour of a disguise, takes a view of the place, and hearteneth on the Duke with the feasibility of the undertaking. Philip, who either had intelligence of the French designs, or otherwise rationally supposing what was like to follow in the course of war, had often advised the Queen to have a care of that piece, and freely offered his assistance for defence thereof. But the English,—over-wisely jealous lest Philip had a practice on it, it lying commodiously for his adjoining Netherlands,—neglected both his advice and proffer. Nay, so extremely careless were the Council of England in looking to the preservation and defence of this place, that, when the Duke sate down before it, there was not above 500 soldiers, and but two hundred fighting men amongst the townsmen, although the whole number of inhabitants amounted

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¹ Holinshed. iii. 495.

drowsy English to bethink themselves of some relief to be sent to Calais; and they accordingly provided both ships and men to perform that service. But the winds were all the while so strong and so cross against them, that, before the English ships could get out of their havens, the French were masters of the town. Some greater difficulty found the Duke in the taking of the castle of Guisness, where the Lord Gray, a valiant and expert soldier, had the chief command. But at length the accessories followed the same fortune with the principal; both Guisness and Hamme and all the other pieces in the county of Oye being reduced under the power of the French within few days after¹.

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1557-8.

4. There now remained nothing to the crown of England of all its ancient rights in France, but the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, Sark and Aldernay, all lying on the coast of Normandy, of which Dukedom heretofore accounted members. Held by the English ever since the time of the Norman Conquest, they have been many times attempted by the French, but without success; never so much in danger of being lost as they were at this present. Some of the French had well observed, that the island of Sark (an island of six miles in compass) enjoyed the benefit of a safe and commodious haven, but without any to defend it but a few poor hermits whom the privacy and solitariness of the place had invited thither. The island round begirt with rocks, lying aloft above the sea, and having only one strait passage or ascent unto it, scarce capable of two abreast. Of this island the French easily possessed themselves, dislodged the hermits, fortify the upper part of the ascent with some pieces of ordnance, and settle a small garrison in it to defend the haven. But long they had not nested there, when by a gentleman of the Netherlands, one of the subjects of King Philip, it was thus regained:—The Flemish gentleman with a small bark came to anchor in the road, and, pretending the death of his merchant, besought the French that they might bury him in the chapel of that island, offering a present to them of such commodities as they had aboard. To this request the French were easily entreated, upon condition that they should not come to shore with any weapon, no not so much as a pen-knife. This leave obtained, the Flemings² rowed

Sark lost and
regained.

¹ Stow, 632. Godwin, Ann. 195-6.

² Edd. "Flemming."

AN. REG. 5,
1557-8. unto the shore with a coffin in their skiff, for that use purposely provided, and manned with swords and areubusses. Upon their landing, and a search so strict and narrow that it was impossible to hide a pen-knife, they were permitted to draw their coffin up the rocks,—some of the French rowing back unto the ship to fetch the present, where they were soon made fast enough and laid in hold. The Flemings in the mean time which were on the land had carried their coffin into the chapel, and, having taken thence their weapons, gave an alarm unto the French, who, taken thus upon the sudden, and seeing no hopes of succour from their fellows, yielded themselves, and abandoned the possession of that place¹. A stratagem to be equalled, if not preferred, unto any of the ancients, either Greeks or Romans, did not that fatal folly, reprehended once by Tacitus, still reign amongst us, that we extol the former days and contemn the present².

Prosecution
of hostilities.

1558.

5. The loss of this island gave a new alarm to the Council of England, who thereupon resolved to set out a right puissant navy, as well for the securing of the rest of the islands, as to make some impression on the main of France. It was not till the month of April that they entered into consultation about this business; and so exceeding tedious were they in their preparation, that the month of July was well spent before they were ready to weigh anchor. During which time the French had notice of their purpose, and, understanding that they had an aim on Brest in Bretaign, they took more care in fortifying it against the English than the English did for Calais against the French. It was about the middle of July that the Lord Admiral Clynton set sail for France, with a fleet of one hundred and forty ships, whereof thirty Flemish. Finding no hopes of doing any good on Brest, bends his course for Conquet, an open sea-town of that province; at this place he lands his men, takes and sacks the town, burns it together with the

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¹ Raleigh, *Hist. of the World*, b. iv. p. 170. ed. London, 1614. (The reference for this incident,—which is not related by the ordinary authorities for the history of the time,—was found by the help of Heylyn's "Relation of Two Journeys into France and the adjacent Islands," p. 296, ed. 1656.)

² "Quod [dum] vetera extollimus, venientium [recentium] incuriosi." [Tacit. Ann. ii. 33.] *Author.*

abbey, and, having wasted all the country round about, returned with safety to his ships. But the Flemish, somewhat more greedy on the spoil, and negligent in observing martial discipline, are valiantly encountered by a nobleman of that country, and sent back fewer by five hundred than they came on shore¹. This was the sum of what the English did this year in order to the recovery of the honour which they lost at Calais; and possibly they might think they had done enough in the spoil of Bretaign to satisfy for the loss of a town in Piccardy: whereas in truth the waste which they had made in Bretaign might be compared to the cutting off a man's hair, which will grow again; the loss of Calais, to the dismembering of an arm or leg, never to be again united to the rest of the body.

6. Either by reason of these wars, or that men were not then so prompt to suits in law, the lawyers found but little work in Westminster-hall, insomuch that at the King's Bench bar there attended but one man of law, called Foster, and but one Serjeant only, called Bouloise of the Common-Pleas²,—both having little more to do than to look about them, and the judges not much more to do than the lawyers had: but certainly that great leisure which the lawyers found for doing nothing proceeded rather from the noise of the wars, in which the voice of the law cannot easily be heard, than from the quietness and disposition of the times, in which the number both of suits and pleaders had been much increased; as may be gathered from the words of Heiwood, the old epigrammatist, and one much made of by the Queen, who, being told of the great number of lawyers, and that the number of them would impoverish the whole profession, made answer, “No, for that always the more spaniels there were in the field, the more was the game³.” Not so much elbow-room in the hall, though possibly not much more business for them, in the term next following, by reason of the Parliament, which began on the 20th of January, and held on till the 7th of March; in which I find no Act which concerned Religion, nor any thing which had relation to the Clergy, more than the confirmation of the grant of subsidies. It was a military time, and the Acts had something in them of that temper also; that is to say,—an Act proportioning what

A Parli-
ment.

¹ Stow, 633—4. Godwin, 198.

² Stow, 631.

³ Camden, Remains, 236, ed. 1657.

AN. REG. 5, number of horse, arms, and weapons every man should be
 1558. charged withal in his several station, cap. 2; an Act for the
 due taking and observing of musters, cap. 3; that accessaries
 in murder, and such as were found guilty of divers felonies,
 should not have their Clergy, cap. 4; for the quiet behaviour of
 such Frenchmen as had purchased the privilege of being deni-
 zens, cap. 6; and finally, for granting a subsidy and fifteen¹ by
 the temporality towards the defence of the realm, and carrying
 on the war against those of France. Nothing else memorable
 in this session, but that Feeknam, the new Abbot of West-
 minster, and Tresham, the new Prior of St John's of Jerusalem,
 took place amongst the lords in the House of Peers².

Proceedings
 in Convoca-
 tion.

7. At the Convocation then holden for the province of
 Canterbury, Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London, is chosen and
 admitted Prolocutor for the House of the Clergy. Which
 done, the Cardinal Archbishop offers it to the consideration of
 the Bishops and Clergy, that some course might be thought
 upon for the recovery of Calais, then lately taken by the French.
 Which whether it were done to spur on the Parliament, or to
 shew their good affections to the public service, is not much
 material, considering that I find nothing acted in pursuance of it.
 As little was there done in order to another of his propositions,
 touching the reviewing and accommodating of the Statutes
 of the new foundations, though a reference thereof was made to
 the Bishops of Lincoln, Chester, and Peterborough, together
 with the Deans of Canterbury, Worcester, and Winchester.
 Some desires also were agreed on to be presented to the Pre-
 late Cardinal in the name of the Clergy, as namely, "1. That
 request may be made to the Queen's Majesty, that no Parson,
 Vicar or Curate, be pressed by any captain to go to the wars.
 2. That where two benefices, being contiguous, are so small
 that they are not able to find a Priest, the Bishop of the
 Diocese may give them *in commendam* to some one man, to
 serve them *alternis vicibus*. 3. That the parishioners which
 have chapels of ease, and yet want priests to serve the cure,
 may be compelled to come to the parish Churches, until some
 curate may be gotten to serve the same. And 4. That every
 Bishop may be authorized by the Pope to give orders *extra
 tempora prescripta*, that is to say, as well at any other times as

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¹ i. e. fifteenth.

² Wilkins, iv. 155.

on the Sundays after the four Ember weeks¹." And finally, taking into consideration the great necessities of the State, and preparation of the enemies, they granted first unto the Queen a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years, beginning after the last payment of the former grant; and because the laity at that time had charged themselves with horse and armour for defence of the realm, the clergy also did the like, according to their several orders and abilities. For the imposing whereof upon the rest of the clergy they had no recourse at all unto the midwifery of an Act of Parliament, but acted the whole business in their own synodical way², without contradiction.

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1558.

8. But the main business of this year in reference to the concernments of holy Church related to the Cardinal Legate; against whom the Pope had borne an inveterate grudge, sharpened by the suggestions of Bishop Gardiner, as before was signified³. Being of himself a rigorous man, and one that was extremely wedded to his own opinion, he had so passionately espoused the quarrel of the French against the Spaniards, that he intended to divest Philip of the realm of Naples, and to confer it on the French⁴. For this cause Francis Duke of Guise with a puissant army is drawn into Italy for the subduing of that kingdom, but suddenly recalled again, upon the routing of the French before St Quintin, wherein the English forces had appeared so serviceable. Which gave the Pope so much displeasure, that he resolved to let his greatest enemies feel the dint of his spirit. But not daring, upon second thoughts, to fall foul with the Queen, he turned his fury against Pole, by whose persuasion it was thought that the Queen had broke her league with France, to take part with her husband. In which humour he deprives him of the legantine power, confers the same on Friar Peitow⁵, an Englishman by birth, but of good descent, whom he designs also to the See of Salisbury, then

The Pope transfers the Legatine power from Pole.

¹ Wilkins, iv. 156.

² Comp. i. cxvii.

³ Sup. p. 172.

⁴ Godw. Ann. 193. Sarpi, 403—6.

⁵ Peto was at this time eighty years of age (Lingard, vii. 134). He had made himself conspicuous by his violence in that opposition to Henry VIII.'s divorce which provoked the dissolution of the order of Observants, to which he belonged (sup. p. 190), going so far as to tell the king, in a sermon preached before him, that dogs should lick his blood like that of Ahab (Collier, iv. 243). The Pope created him a cardinal June 13, 1557. Godw. de Præsul. 797.

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1558.

vacant by the death of Capon. Karn, the Queen's agent with the Pope, advertiseth her Majesty of these secret practices, which the Queen concealing from the Cardinal endeavoureth by all fair and gentle means to mitigate the Pope's displeasure, and confirm the Cardinal in the place and power which he then enjoyed. But the Pope not a man to be easily altered. Pole in the mean time, understanding how things went at Rome, laid by the cross of his legation¹, and prudently abstaineth from the exercise of his Bulls and Faculties. Peitow, the new Cardinal Legate, puts himself on the way to England; when the Queen, taking to herself some part of her father's spirit, commands him at his utmost peril not to adventure to set foot upon English ground²; to which he readily inclined, as being more affected unto Cardinal Pole³ than desirous to show himself the servant of another man's passion. In the end, partly by the Queen's mediation, the intercession of Ormanete, the good successes of the French in the taking of Calais, but principally by the death of Peitow, in the April following, the rupture was made up again, and Pole confirmed in the possession of his former powers⁴.

Pole reinstated.

Orders and proceedings against the Reformed.

9. The fear of running the like hazard for the time to come made him appear more willing to connive at his under-

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¹ Sarpi, 405. "Soon afterwards, though he no longer styled himself *Legatus à latere*, Pole assumed the title of *legatus natus*, and kept it till his death." Lingard, vii. 234. Strype and Burnet wrongly complain that he was stripped of the latter title, which for centuries had been annexed to the see of Canterbury. *Ibid.*

² Strype shews (in Burnet, iii. ii. 537) that Peto was in England at the time; but "orders were issued, that every messenger from foreign parts should be arrested and searched. The bearer of the papal letters was arrested at Calais; his despatches were clandestinely forwarded to the Queen; and the letters of revocation were either secreted or destroyed. Thus it happened that Peto never received any official notice of his preferment, nor Pole of his recall." Lingard, vii. 234

³ He had formerly lived in his family. Lingard, *ibid.*

⁴ Sarpi, 405; Godwin, *Annals*, 193—4; De Præsul. 150. 354. The account of Peto's appointment given by Philips is, that the Pope declared an intention of recalling his legates from all the dominions of Philip,—from England among the rest; that the Queen represented the alarm which would thus be caused among her people, and the danger of injury to the Church; and thereupon the Pope declared that he would continue the legatine power in England, but, for the sake of his own dignity, would nominate a new person to hold it. *Life of Pole*, ii. 244.

officers, in shedding the blood of many godly and religious persons, than otherwise he would have been. Whereupon followed the burning of ten men in the Diocese of Canterbury, on the 15th of January, whereof two suffered at Ashford, two at Rie, and the other six in his own metropolitan city¹; and possibly the better to prepare the Pope towards the atonement, the Queen was moved to issue her commission of the month of February, directed to the Bishop of Ely, the Lords Windsor, North, and seventeen others, by which the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, were empowered "to inquire of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false tales, rumours, seditious or slanderous² words, &c.: as also seize into their hands all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they or any of them should be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere; willing them and every of them to search for the same in all places according to their discretion: and finally, to inquire after all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish-churches, and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise misuse themselves in any Church or hallowed place, &c." The party so offending to be proceeded against according to the ecclesiastical laws, or otherwise by fine or imprisonment, as to them seemed best³.

10. But the commissioners being many in number, persons of honour and employment for the most part of them, there was little or nothing done in pursuance of it, especially as to the searching after prohibited books; the number whereof increasing every day more and more, a proclamation was set forth on the 6th of June, to hinder the continual spreading of so great a mischief. Which proclamation was as followeth, viz. "Whereas divers books filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late been daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry

¹ Fox, viii. 300.

² So in Fox. "Seditious and clamorous words." Burnet.

³ Fox, viii. 301.

AN. REG. 5, parts thereof; whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also
 1558. encouragement given to disobey lawful princes and governors: the King and Queen's Majesties, for redress hereof, do by their present proclamation declare and publish to all their subjects, that whosoever shall after the proclamation hereof be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to any other persons, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall without further delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law¹." Which proclamation though it were very smart and quick, yet there was somewhat of more mercy in it than in another which came out in the very same month, at the burning of seven persons in Smithfield,—published both at Newgate, where they were imprisoned, and at the stake where they were to suffer; whereby it was straitly charged and commanded, "That no man should either pray for or speak to them, or once say, God help them²." A cruelty more odious than that of Domitian or any of the greatest tyrants of the elder time, in hindering all intercourse of speech upon some jealousy and distrusts of State between man and man.

11. Which proclamation notwithstanding, Bentham, the Minister of one of the London congregations, seeing the fire set to them, turning his eyes unto the people, cried and said, "We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say, God strengthen them;" and so boldly he said, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake strengthen them." With that all the people with one consent cried "Amen, Amen;" the noise whereof was so great, and the criers so many, that the officers knew not whom to seize on, or with whom they were to begin their accusation³. And though peradventure it may seem to have somewhat of a miracle in it, that the Protestants should have a congregation under Bonner's nose; yet so it was, that the godly people of that time were so little terrified with the continual thoughts of that bloody butcher, that they maintained their constant meetings for religious offices, even in London itself⁴; in one of which

A Protestant
 Congregation
 kept up in
 London.

¹ Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 459 (with very slight differences).

² Fox, viii. 479—559.

³ Fox, viii. 559.

⁴ See Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 471; Haweis, Sketches of the Reformation, 137.

congregations, that namely whereof Bentham was at this time minister, there assembled seldom under forty, many times 100, and sometimes 200, but more or less as it stood most with their conveniency and safety. The ministers of which successively were—Mr. Edward Scambler, after Bishop of Peterborough, Mr. Thomas F'oule, of whom I find nothing but the name, Mr. John Rough, a Scot by nation, convented and condemned by Bonner, and suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, December 20¹. After whom followed Mr. Augustine Bernher, a moderate and learned man²; and finally, Mr. Thomas Bentham before mentioned, who continued in that charge till the death of Queen Mary, and was by Queen Elizabeth preferred to the see of Lichfield, anno 1559³. By the encouragement and constant preaching of which pious men, the Protestant party did not only stand to their former principle, but were resolved to suffer whatsoever could be laid upon them, rather than forfeit a good conscience or betray the cause. They had not all the opportunity of such holy meetings, but they met frequently enough in smaller companies, to animate and comfort one another in those great extremities⁴.

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12. Nor sped the Queen much better in her proclamation of the sixth of June, concerning the suppression of prohibited books; but, notwithstanding all the care of her Inquisitors, many good books of true Christian consolation and good Protestant doctrine did either find some press in London, or were sent over to their brethren by such learned men as had retired themselves to their several sanctuaries, their places of retreat, which not improperly may be called their cities of refuge, which we have seen already: amongst which I find none but Embden in the Lutheran countries; the rigid professors of which Churches abominated nothing more than an English Protestant, because they concurred not with them in the monstrous doc-

The Lutherans unfriendly to the English refugees.

¹ Fox, viii. 443—450. Rough joined the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, while they held the castle of St. Andrew's, but left them after a time on account of their "godless course of life." Keith, i. 146, ed. Spottisw. Soc. Comp. Maitland on the Reformation, 559—64.

² He was a Swiss, and had been servant to Latimer, some of whose sermons were published by him. Latimer, ed. Park. Soc. i. pref. p. xvi.

³ Godwin de Præsul. 325. Edd. Heyl. "1539."

⁴ Fox, viii. 559.

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trine of ubiquity and their device of consubstantiation. Inso-
much that Peter Martyr telleth us of a friend of his in the
Dukedom of Saxony, that he was generally hated by the rest
of the countrymen, for being hospitable to some few of the
English nation who had been forced to abandon their native
soil¹. And it is further signified by Ph. Melanethon with no
small dislike, in an epistle of this year², that many of those
rigid Lutherans could find no other name but “the devil’s
martyrs” for such as suffered death in England in defence of
religion; so that they seemed to act the part of Diotrephes
in Saint John, not only “prating against us with malicious
words, and refusing to receive the brethren” in the day of their
trouble, but “forbidding” and condemning “them that would³.”
But John à Lasco and his company had been lately there,
where they spoke so reproachfully of Luther, the Augustan
Confession, the rites and ceremonies of their churches, as ren-
dered them incapable of any better entertainment than they
found amongst them⁴. And by the behaviour of these men,
coming then from England, the rigid Lutherans passed their
judgment on the Church itself, and consequently on all those
who suffered in defence thereof. For stopping the course of
which uncharitable censures, it was thought fit by some of
the divines in Embden that Archbishop Cranmer’s book about
the sacrament should be translated into Latin, and forthwith
published in print; which was done accordingly⁵. Some of

¹ “In summo eum esse odio, quod Anglos profugos hospitio susceperat [susceperit],” &c. P. Mart. Epist. [ad Calvin. Loci Comm. 1097.] *Author.*

² “Ubi vociferantur quidam, Martyres Anglicos esse Martyres Diaboli.” In epist. Octob. 8. *Author.* [“Mihî videtur recte hoc scribi, ne videamur fremitus littoris Baltici probare, ubi vociferantur quidam, martyres Anglicos esse martyres diaboli. Nolim hac contumelia afficere Spiritum Sanctum in Latimero, qui annum octogesimum egressus fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris quos novi.” Letter to Camerarius, Oct. 8, 1558. (Melaneth. &c. Epistolæ, Lond. 1642, col. 959.) Rogers on the XXXIX Articles, p. 86. ed. Lond. 1629, mentions “Westphalus and Marbachius,” as having applied the term “Devil’s martyrs” to those who suffered under Mary.]

³ Ep. iii. v. 10.

⁴ P. Martyr mentions in a letter to Calvin, that à Lasco had been very ill received in Denmark and Saxony, p. 1093.

⁵ Embden, 1557. Tanner, Bibliotheca, 207. See Cranmer, ed. Jenkyns, Vol. I. Pref. xcvi. Vol. II. 276. The translation is reprinted in the Parker Society’s edition of Cranmer, vol. I. Appendix.

the Lutherans had given out on the former ground, that the English had deservedly suffered the greatest hardships both at home and abroad, because they writ and spake less reverently of the blessed sacrament; and it was hoped that by the publishing of this book they would find the contrary. The like course taken also at Geneva by the English exiles, by publishing in the Latin tongue a discourse writ by Bishop Ridley on the selfsame argument, to the end it might appear unto all the world how much their brethren had been wronged in these odious calumnies¹.

¹ Ridley's "Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper," was translated by Whittingham, and published at Geneva, 1556. Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 631.

AN. REG. 6,
1558.

ANNO REGNI MAR. 6,

ANNO DOM. 1558¹.

Ravages of a
fever, and
other visita-
tions.

1. **B**UT in the midst of all these sorrows I see some hope of comfort coming by the death of Queen Mary, whose reign, polluted with the blood of so many martyrs, unfortunate by the frequent insurrections, and made inglorious by the loss of the town of Calais, was only commendable in the brevity or shortness of it. For now, to bring it to an end, a dangerous and contagious fever began to rage in most parts of the land, insomuch that, if the whole realm had been divided into four parts, three parts of the four would have been found infected with it. So furiously it raged in the month of August that no former plague or pestilence was thought to have destroyed a greater number, so that divers places were left void of justices and men of worth to govern the kingdom. At which time died also so many priests that a great number of parish-churches in divers places were unserved, and no curates could be gotten for money²; much corn was also lost in the field, for want of labourers and workmen to get it in: both which together seemed to threaten not only a spiritual but a temporal famine: though God so ordered it, that by the death of so many of the present clergy a door was opened for the preaching of sounder doctrine, with far less envy and displeasure from all sorts of people than it had been otherwise. Nor were the heats of the disease abated by the coldness of the winter, or the malignity of it mitigated by medicinal courses. It took away the physicians as well as the patients, two of the Queen's doctors dying of it not long before her³; and spared not more the prelate than it did the priest, insomuch that within less than the space of a twelvemonth almost the one half of the English bishops had made void their sees; which, with the death of so many of the priests in several places, did much facilitate the way to that Reformation which soon after followed.

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¹ Edd. 1, 2, add "1559."

² Stow, 634.

³ Ibid.

2. This terrible disease, together with the sad¹ effects AN. REG. 6,
1558. which followed on it, and the Queen's death, which came along with it, though not caused by it, may seem to have been prognosticated or foretold by a dreadful tempest of thunder, happening on the 11th of July, near the town of Nottingham; which tempest, as it came through two towns, beat down all the houses and churches; the bells were cast to the outside of the church-yard, and some sheets of lead four hundred foot into the field, writhen like a pair of gloves. The river of Trent running between which two towns, the water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile and cast against the trees; the trees plucked up by the roots, and from thence cast twelve-score paces; also a child was taken forth of a man's hand, and by the fury of it carried an hundred foot, two spear's length from the ground, and so fell down, broke its arm, and died. Five or six men thereabouts were slain, and neither flesh nor skin perished; at what time also there fell some hailstones that were fifteen inches about, &c.² But neither that terrible disease nor this terrible tempest, nor any other public sign of God's displeasure, abated any thing of the fury of the persecution, till he was pleased to put an end unto it by the death of the Queen. It was upon the 10th day of November that no fewer than five at once were burned at Canterbury,—the Cardinal and the Queen both lying on the bed of sickness, and both dying within seven days after. It had been prayed or prophesied by those five martyrs when they were at the stake, that they might be the last who should suffer death in that manner, or on that occasion³; and by God's mercy so it proved, they being the last which suffered death under the severity of this persecution.

3. Which persecution, and the carriage of the papists in it, is thus described by Bishop Jewel:—"You have" (saith he) "imprisoned your brethren, you have stript them naked, you have scourged them with rods, you have burnt their hands and arms with flaming torches, you have famished them, you have drowned them, summoned them being dead to appear before
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252 you out of their graves, you have ripped⁴ up their buried carcases, burnt them, and thrown them out upon the dunghill, you

Number of
the sufferers
in this reign.

¹ Edd. 1, 2, "said."

² Stow, C34.

³ Fox, viii. 504.

⁴ "digged." Jewel.

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1558.

took a poor babe falling from its mother's womb, and in most cruel and barbarous manner threw it into the fire¹." By all which several ways and means, the martyrs in all parts of the kingdom amounted to the number of two hundred seventy-seven persons of all sorts and sexes²; but more particularly there are said³ 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; the one springing out of his mother's womb as she was at the stake, and most unmercifully flung into the fire in the very birth⁴. Sixty-four more in those furious times were presented for their faith, whereof seven were whipped⁵, 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; the different conditions of whose reigns, with the former two, may seem to have somewhat in them of those appearances which were presented to Elijah in the Book of Kings, in the first Book and nineteenth Chapter⁶, wherein we find it written, "That a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and" finally "after the fire, a still small voice," in which the Lord spake unto his prophet. So in like manner it may be feared that God was neither in that great and terrible

¹ Against Harding, Art. xvii. 11. Vol. iii. 304, ed. Jelf; i. 723, ed. Park. Soc. The quotation is not verbally exact.

² The names of 277 are collected from Fox, by Dr Maitland, 576—82. Burnet gives 234 as the number of those burnt in this reign. "Lord Burleigh, in his treatise called *Execution of Justice in England*, writ in the year 1583, reckoneth the number together of those that died by imprisonments, torments, famine, and fire, to be near 400, and among that Lord's papers I find a paper making the burned to amount to the number of 290." Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 474. He prints the paper in his Appendix.

³ Speed, 352.

⁴ Sup. p. 127.

⁵ So Ed. 3, and Speed, 353. Edd. 1, 2, read "nipped." ⁶ vv. 11, 12.

wind which threw down so many monasteries and religious houses in the reign of King Henry; nor in that earthquake which did so often shake the very foundations of the state in the time of King Edward; nor in the fire in which so many godly and religious persons were consumed to ashes in the days of Queen Mary; but that he shewed himself in that "still small voice" which breathed so much comfort to the souls of his people, in the most gracious and fortunate government of a virgin Queen.

4. For now it pleased God to hearken to the cry of those his saints which lay under the altar, and called upon him for an end of those calamities to which their dear brethren were exposed. The Queen had inclined unto a dropsy ever since the time of her supposed being with child; which inclination appeared in her more and more, when her swelling fell from the right place to her lower parts, increasing irrecoverably in despite of physic, till at last it brought her to her death. But there are divers other causes which are supposed to have contributed their concurrence in it. Philip, upon the resignation of his father's kingdoms and estates, had many necessary occasions to be out of the kingdom, and yet she thought that he made more occasions than he needed to be absent from her. This brought her first into a fancy that he cared not for her, which drew her by degrees into a fixed and settled melancholy,—confirmed, if not increased, by a secret whisper that Philip entertained some wandering loves when he was in Flanders¹. Her glasses could not so much flatter as not to tell her that she had her father's features with her mother's complexion; and she was well enough able to inform herself that the severity of her humour had no great charms in it; so that on the point she wanted many of those natural and acquired attractions which might have served to invite or reward affection. Fixed on this melancholy pin², the death of Charles the Emperor, which happened on the 21st of September, comes

AN. REG. 6,
1558.
—
The Queen's
sickness and
death.

¹ "Penelope languens reditum sui Ulixis exspectat; ille vero Antverpiæ pro fausto adepto ducatu orgia Bacclii celebrat....Horrenda referuntur de illius choreis, nocturnis ludicris, virginumque raptu, quibus nunc se Antverpiæ totum dedit." Sampson to Bullinger, Epp. Tigur. 115; Orig. Letters, 175.

² See above, i. 213, note 1.

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1558.

to help it forward; a prince upon whose countenance and support she had much depended, both when she was in disgrace with her father, and out of favour with her brother. But that which came nearest to her heart was the loss of Calais,—first lost for want of giving credit to the intelligence which had been sent her by her husband; and secondly by the loss of that opportunity which might have been taken to regain it. Monsieur d' Termes, who was made governor of the town, had drained it of the greatest part of the garrison, to join with some other forces for the taking of some towns in Flanders; but in a battle fought near Graveling, on the 13th of July, he lost not only his own liberty, but more than five thousand of his men; the fortune of the day falling so heavily on the soldiers of Calais that few of them escaped with life. So that if the Queen's navy, which had done great service in the fight, had shewed itself before the town, and Count Egmond, who commanded the Flemings, had sate down with his victorious army to the landward of it, it might have been recovered in as few days as it had been lost¹.

5. This opportunity being neglected, she gave herself some hopes of a restitution upon an agreement then in treaty between France and Spain. But when all other matters were accorded between those crowns, and that nothing else was wanting to compose all differences but the restoring of this town, the French were absolutely resolved to hold it, and the Spaniards could in honour make no peace without it. So the whole treaty, and the deceitful hopes which she built upon it, came at last to nothing. And, though she had somewhat eased herself not long before, by attainting the Lord Wentworth and certain others for their cowardly quitting of the place which they could not hold²; yet that served only like a cup of strong waters for the present qualm, without removing the just cause of the present distemper. And it increased so plainly in her, that when some of her visitants, not knowing the cause of her discom-

¹ Stow, 653.

² July 2. Stow, 634. Wentworth was tried by his peers, and acquitted in the beginning of the next reign, April 22, 1559 (*ibid.* 639). Chamberlayne, Captain of the castle of Calais, and Hurlestone, Captain of Rysbank, were found guilty of high treason, Dec. 22, 1559 (*ib.* 640), but were not executed. Lingard, vii. 267.

forts, applied their several cordials to revive her spirits, she told them in plain terms that they were mistaken in the nature of her disease; and that, if she were to be dissected after her death, they would find Calais next her heart¹. Thus between jealousy, shame, and sorrow, taking the growth of her infirmity amongst the rest, she became past the help of physic. In which extremity she began to entertain some thoughts of putting her sister Elizabeth beside the crown, and settling the succession of it on her cousin the Queen of Scots; and she had done it, (at the least as much as in her was), if some of the council had not told her, That neither the Act of the Succession, nor the last will and testament of King Henry the Eighth, which was built upon it, could otherwise be repealed than by the general consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. So that, being altogether out of hope of having her will upon her sister, of recovering Calais, of enjoying the company of her husband, and reigning in the good affection of her injured subjects, she gave herself over to those sorrows which put an end to her life on the 17th of November, some few hours before day, when she had reigned five years and four months, wanting two days only. Her death accompanied within few hours after by that of the Lord Cardinal Legate²; ushered in by the decease of Purefew, alias Wharton, Bishop of Hereford³, and Holyman⁴ the new Bishop of Bristow, and Glyn⁵ of Bangor; and followed within two or three months after by Hopton Bishop of Norwich⁶, and Brooks of Gloucester⁷: as if it had been necessary in point of state that so great a Princess should not die without some of her Bishops going before, and some coming after⁸. Her funeral solemnized at Westminster with a mass of requiem, in

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1558.

¹ Speed, 856.

² Godwin de Præsul. 151. Machyn states that Pole outlived the Queen two days. 178, 563.

³ Sept. 22. Godw. 494.

⁴ Ibid. 564; but the precise date is not given.

⁵ May 21. Ibid. 626.

⁶ He was the Queen's chaplain in former times, and died before the end of the year,—of grief for her death, it is said. Ibid. 441.

⁷ Richardson, in Godwin, 552, states, on the authority of H. Wharton, that Brooks died before the Queen, on Sept. 7.

⁸ "There were nine who were of the death-guard of Queen Mary, as expiring either a little before her decease, or a little after." Fuller, iv. 278.

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1558.

Foundations
of this reign.

the wonted form, on the 13th of December then next following, and her body interred on the north side of the Chapel of King Henry the Seventh, her beloved grandfather¹.

6. I shall not trouble myself with giving any other character of this Queen than what may be gathered from her story; much less in descanting on that which is made by others, who have heaped upon her many gracious praiseworthy qualities, of which whether she were mistress or not, I dispute not now. She was indeed a great benefactress to the clergy, in releasing them of their tenths and first-fruits; but she lost nothing by the bargain. The clergy paid her back again in their bills of subsidies, which, growing into an annual payment for seven years together, and every subsidy amounting to a double tenth, conduced as visibly to the constant filling of the exchequer as the payment of the tenths and first-fruits had done before. That which went clearly out of her purse without retribution was the re-edifying and endowment of some few religious houses, mentioned in their proper place. She also built the public schools in the university of Oxon, for which commemorated in the list of their benefactors²: which, being decayed in tract of time, and of no beautiful structure when they were at the best, were taken down about the year 1612; in place whereof, but on a larger extent of ground, was raised that goodly and magnificent fabric which we now behold. And though she had no followers in her first foundations, yet by the last she gave encouragement to two worthy gentlemen to add two new colleges in Oxon to the former number. Sir Thomas Pope, one of the visitors of abbeys and other religious houses in the time of King Henry, had got into his hands a small college in Oxon, long before founded by the Bishop and Prior of Durham, to serve for a nursery of novices to that greater³ monastery. With some of the lands thereunto belonging, and some others of his own, he erected it into a new foundation, consisting of a president, twelve fellows, and as many scholars, and called it by the name of Trinity College⁴; a college sufficiently famous for the education of the learned and renowned

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¹ Stow, 635.

² For Mary's benefactions to Oxford, see Wood's *Hist. and Antiq.* ed. Gutch, iv. 118.

³ Ed. 3, "great."

⁴ Fuller, iv. 230.

Selden, who needs no other "Titles of Honour" than what may be gathered from his books, and the giving of eight thousand volumes of all sorts to the Oxford Library¹. Greater as to the number of fellows and scholars was the foundation of Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor of London, in the year 1553, being the first year of the Queen; who in the place where formerly stood an old house or hostel, commonly called Barnard's Inn, erected a new college by the name of St John Baptist's College, consisting of a president, fifty fellows and scholars, besides some officers and servants which belonged to the chapels;—the vacant places to be filled for the most part out of the Merchant Tailors' School in London, of which Company he had been free before his mayoralty. A college founded, as it seems, in a lucky hour,—affording to the Church in less than the space of eighty years no fewer than two Archbishops and four Bishops: that is to say, Dr William Laud, the most renowned Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom more elsewhere; Doctor Tobie Matthews, the most reverend Archbishop of York; Dr William Juxon, Bishop of London² and Lord Treasurer; Doctor John Buckeridge, Bishop of Elie; Dr Rowland Serchfield, Bishop of Bristol; Dr Boyl, Bishop of Cork in the realm of Ireland³. Had it not been for these foundations⁴, there had been nothing in this reign to have made it memorable, but only the calamities and misfortunes of it.

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1558.

¹ For the story of this bequest, see Ant. a Wood's Life, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. 95—8.

² See note at the end of the History.

³ Fuller, iv. 241. The name of the College was, no doubt, derived from the circumstance that the London Merchant Tailors' company was "the Guild of St John the Baptist." Stow, Survey, 189. For an account of Sir T. White's other benefactions, see Stow, Survey, 94.

⁴ The erection of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, into a College, by its second founder, Dr Kaye (latinized *Caius*), also belongs to this reign. Hecker, Epidemics of the Middle Ages, tr. by Babington, 304.

A F F A I R S
OF
CHURCH and STATE
IN
E N G L A N D,
During the Life, and first eight
years of the Reign
OF
Q U E E N E L I Z A B E T H.

Judges Chap. v. Ver. 7, 8.

7. *The Inhabitants of the Villages ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that I Deborah arose, that I arose a Mother in Israel.*
8. *They chose new gods; then was war in the gates; was there a shield or spear seen amongst forty thousand in Israel?*

Vell. Patere. *Hist. lib. 2.* [c. cxxvi.]

Revocata in Urbem fides, summota seditio e foro, e campo ambitio, discordia à curia; accessit Magistratibus Authoritas, Senatui Majestas, Judiciis gravitas; omnibus recte faciendi aut incussa voluntas, aut imposita necessitas.

Martial. *Epigr. lib. 1.* [De Spectaculis, 6.]

Hæc jam fæmineæ vidimus acta manu.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *H. Twyford, T. Dring, J. Place, and
W. Palmer. Anno 1660.*

THE
PARENTAGE, BIRTH, AND FIRST FORTUNES
OF THE
PRINCESS ELIZABETH,

THE SECOND DAUGHTER OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,
BEFORE HER COMING TO THE CROWN.

WITH A TRUE NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST LOVES OF
KING HENRY THE EIGHTH TO QUEEN ANNE BOLLEN,
THE REASONS OF HIS ALIENATING OF HIS
FIRST AFFECTIONS, AND THE TRUE CAUSES
OF HER WOFUL AND CALAMITOUS
DEATH.

1. **E**LIZABETH, the youngest daughter of King Henry ^{Birth of Elizabeth.} the Eighth, was born at Greenwich on the 7th of September, (being the eve of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary), 1533¹, begotten on the body of Queen Anne Bollen, the eldest² daughter of Thomas Bollen, Earl of Wiltshire, and of Elizabeth his wife, one of the daughters of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England. The family of the Bollens before this time neither great nor ancient, but highly raised in reputation by the marriage of the Lady Anne, and the subsequent birth of Queen Elizabeth; the first rise thereof coming out of the city, in the person of Sir Geoffrey Bollen, Lord Mayor of London, anno 1457; which Geoffrey, being son of one Geoffrey Bollen of Sulle in Norfolk, was father of Sir William Bollen, of Blickling in the said county, who took to wife the Lady Margaret, daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, brother and heir of James

¹ Hall, 305. A letter to Lord Cobham, in the Queen's name, announcing the birth (see i. 14, n. 1), is printed in the State Papers of Henry VIII. i. 407.

² It is commonly stated that Anne was the elder daughter (as by Nicolas, Synopsis of the Peerage, 696, and Lodge, Portraits, Vol. i.); but she was really the younger. See State Papers, i. 92; Lingard, vi. 112.

Introduc. Butler, Earl of Wiltshire¹. Of this marriage came Sir Thomas Bollen above mentioned,—employed in several embassies by King Henry the Eighth, to whom he was treasurer of the household, and by that name enrolled amongst the Knights of the Garter, anno 1523; advanced about two years after, (being the seventeenth of that King), to the style of title of Viscount Rochfort², and finally, in reference to his mother's extraction, created Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, 1529. But, dying³ without issue male surviving, the title of Ormond was restored to the next heir male of the Butlers in Ireland, and that of Wiltshire given by King Edward the Sixth to Sir William Paulet, being then Great Master of the household. And as for that of Viscount Rochfort, it lay dormant after his decease till the 6th of July, anno 1621, when conferred by King James on Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, the son of John and grandchild of Henry Cary, whom Queen Elizabeth in the first year of her reign made Lord Cary of Hunsdon⁴,—he being the son and heir of Sir William Cary, one of the esquires of the body to King Henry the Eighth, by the Lady Mary Bollen his wife, the youngest⁵ daughter, and one of the co-heirs, of the said Thomas Bollen, Viscount Rochfort and Earl of Wiltshire.

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Account of
Queen Anne
Boleyn.

2. Such being the estate of that family which became afterwards so fortunate in the production of this Princess to the realm of England, we must in the next place inquire more particularly into the life and story of Queen Anne, her mother. Who in her tender years attending on Mary the French Queen⁶

¹ Camden, Eliz. in Kennett, ii. 363; Speed, 783.

² Hall, 703.

³ Ann. 30 Hen. VIII. Dugdale, Baronage, ii. 306.

⁴ Eliz. i. 7.

⁵ See above, p. 233, n. 2.

⁶ Mary, sister of Henry VIII., married to Louis XII., October 9, 1514. Herbert, 21. Anne Boleyn was only seven years of age when she accompanied the Queen to France. Louis died within a few weeks after his marriage, and his widow returned to England early in 1515, leaving the child with Claude, queen of the new sovereign, Francis I. Camden, Eliz. 363. Herbert (46, 122) states that Anne returned from France in 1522; and it is certain that a daughter of Sir T. Boleyn was at that time sent back to England, in consequence of a plan for marrying her to a son of Sir Piers Butler. The editors of the State Papers suppose the elder sister, Mary, to be meant; Dr Lingard argues that this cannot have been the case, as Mary Boleyn was married some months before the time in question (vi. 111). But, if Anne were the person, why should we not suppose that she returned to France on the failure of the matrimonial

to the court of France, was by her father, after the return of Introduc.
the said Queen, placed in the retinue of the Duchess of Alanzone, the beloved sister of King Francis, where she not only learnt the language but made herself an exact mistress both of the gaieties and garb of the great French ladies¹. She carried such a stock of natural graces as rendered her superlatively the most admired beauty in the court of France; and returned thence with all those advantages which the civilities of France could add to an English beauty. For so it happened that her father, being sent with Sir Anthony Brown, anno 1527, to take the oath of the French King to a solemn league not long before concluded betwixt the crowns, resolved to bring back his daughter with him, to see what fortunes God would send her in the court of England. Where, being treasurer of the household, it was no hard matter for him to prefer her to Queen Katharine's service, on whom she waited in the nature of a maid of honour; which gave the King the opportunity of taking more than ordinary notice of her parts and person. Nor was it long before the excellency of her beauty, adorned with such a gracefulness of behaviour, appeared before his eyes with so many charms, that, not able to resist the assaults of love, he gave himself over to be governed by those affections which he found himself unable to master. But he found no such easy task of it as he had done before in bringing Mrs Elizabeth Blount² and others to be the subjects of his lusts; all his temptations being repelled by this virtuous lady, like arrows shot in vain at a rock of adamant. She was not to be told of the King's loose love to several ladies, and knew that nothing could be gained by yielding unto such desires but contempt and infamy, though for a while disguised and palliated by the plausible name and courtly title of a Prince's mistress. The humble and modest opposition of the Lady Gray to the inordinate affections of King Edward the Fourth advanced her to his bed as a lawful wife, which otherwise she had been possessed of by no better title than that of Jane Shore and his other concubines. By whose examples

scheme,—continuing with Queen Claude until the death of that princess in 1524, then passing into the household of the Duchess of Alençon, and finally coming to England at the time stated by Heylyn? Comp. Camden, 363; Twysden in Wordsw. Eccl. Biog. i. 496.

¹ Sup. p. 54.

² Sup. i. 11.

Introduc. Mistress Bollen is resolved to steer her courses, and not to yield him any further favours than what the honour of a lady and the modesty of a virgin might inoffensively permit to so great a King.

Beginning of movements towards the Divorce of Queen Katharine.

3. But so it chanced, that, before her coming back from the court of France, the King began to be touched in conscience about his marriage with the Queen, upon occasion of some doubts which had been cast in the way both by the ministers of the Emperor and the French King, as touching the legitimation of his daughter Mary¹. Which doubts, being started at a time when he stood on no good terms with the Emperor, and was upon the point of breaking with him, were² secretly fomented by such of the court as had advanced the party of Francis, and sought always to alienate him from the friendship of Charles. Amongst which none more forward than Cardinal Wolsie, who for almost twenty years together had governed his affairs with such power and prudence. The Emperor had disgusted the ambitious prelate, not only by crossing him in his suit for the Popedom, but by denying him the Archbishoprick of Toledo, of which he had once given him no small hopes³. And now the Cardinal is resolved to cry quits for both, thinking himself as much affronted in the failure of his expectations as if he had been disgracefully deprived of some present possession. No way more open to his ends than by working on that scruple of conscience which had been raised unto his hand; to the advance whereof the reservedness of the Queen's behaviour, and the inequality of her years, which rendered her the less agreeable to his conversation, gave no small advantage. In which conjuncture it was no hard matter to persuade him unto any way which might give satisfaction to his conscience or content to his fancy, especially if it came accompanied with such a change as promised him the hopes of a son and heir, or, at the least, of a more lawful and unquestioned issue. And then what fitter wife could be found out for him than Madam Rheene⁴, one of the daughters of King Lewis the Twelfth, and sister to the wife of the King then reigning? By which alliance he might be able to justify his separation from the bed of Katherine, not only against Charles her nephew, but against all Kings and

Intrigues of Cardinal Wolsiey.

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¹ Sup. p. 52-3.

² Edd. 1, 2, "was."

³ Sup. p. 54.

⁴ So the editions here; "Rhinee" in Introd. to Mary, § 6.

Emperors in the Christian world, taking the Pope into the Introduc. reckoning. A proposition so agreeable to the King's own thoughts, (who began to grow weary of his Queen), that he resolved to buy the amity of Francis at any rate; to which end he not only made a league with him against the Emperor, when the condition of the French was almost desperate, but remitted unto Francis a very vast debt, to the value of 500,000 crowns, partly accruing unto him by some former contracts, and partly for the payment of forfeiture incurred by Charles, with which the French had charged himself by the capitulations¹.

4. And so far matters went on smoothly to the Cardinal's wish, and possibly might have succeeded in all particulars, had not the plot miscarried by the return of Viscount Rochfort and the planting of Anne Bollen in the court; the admirable attractions of which young lady had drawn the King so fast unto her, that in short time he gave her an absolute sovereignty over all his thoughts. But so long he concealed his affections from her, that a great league and intercourse was contracted betwixt her and the young Lord Percy, the eldest son of Henry Lord Percy, the fifth Earl of Northumberland of that name and family; who, being brought up in the Cardinal's service, had many opportunities of confirming an acquaintance with her, when either his own pleasure or his Lord's affairs occasioned his waiting at the court. But these compliances on both sides neither were, nor probably could be, so closely carried as not to come unto the knowledge of the jealous King, impatient of a rival in his new affections, and yet resolved to carry the business in such a manner as to give no distaste to her whom he so much loved. The Cardinal is therefore dealt with to remove that obstacle², to which he readily condescended, not

¹ By the treaty of Madrid, 1526, Francis undertook to pay all that was due by the Emperor to the king of England. Godwin, 46. By the treaty of Cambray, he engaged himself to pay 950,000 crowns on this account, —400,000 of them being the forfeiture incurred by Charles for breach of his agreement to marry the Princess Mary (sup. p. 51). Henry remitted 550,000 crowns, and allowed five years for the payment of the remainder. Godwin, 66. But the date of the treaty of Cambray, 1529, is inconsistent with Heylyn's statement as to the motive of this liberality. Henry did not at that time wish to obtain the hand of Renée, but to secure the French influence with the Pope in the matter of his divorce. Robertson, Hist. of Charles V., ii. 26—7.

² Cavendish, Life of Wolsey, in Wordsw. Eccl. Biog. i. 497.

Introduct. looking further at the present into the design but that the King intended to appropriate the young lady to his private pleasures, as he had done many others in the times foregoing. A messenger is thereupon dispatched to the Earl of Northumberland, who, at coming to the court, is informed by the Cardinal how unadvisedly the Lord Percy had entered himself into the affections of Mrs Bollen, one of the daughters of Viscount Rochfort, not only without his father's privity, but against the express will of the King, who was resolved to dispose otherwise of her. And this he urged upon the strength of an old prerogative, both then and after exercised by the Kings of England, in not permitting any of the nobility to contract marriages and make alliances with one another but by their consents.

5. The old Earl, startled at the news, and fearing nothing more than the King's displeasure, calls for his son, and presently schools him in this manner¹:—"Son, (quoth he) even as thou art, and ever hast been, a proud, disdainful, and very unthrifty waster², so hast thou now declared thyself. Wherefore what joy, what pleasure, what comfort, or what solace can I conceive in thee? that thus without discretion hast abused thyself, having neither regard to me, thy natural father, nor to thy natural Sovereign Lord the King, to whom all honest and loyal subjects bear faithful obedience, nor yet to the prosperity of thy own estate; but hast so unadvisedly ensnared³ thyself to her, for whom thou hast purchased the King's high displeasure, 88
intolerable for any subject to sustain. And, but that the King 260
doth consider the lightness of thy head, and wilful quality of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me and all my posterity⁴ into utter ruin and destruction. But he, being my singular good Lord and favourable Prince, and my Lord Cardinal my very good friend, hath and doth clearly excuse me in thy lewdness, and doth rather lament thy folly than malign thee⁵, and hath advised an order to be taken for thee; to whom both I and you are more bound than we

¹ This speech is from Cavendish, who professes to have heard it. *Life of Wolsey*, ii. 63-4, ed. Singer; *Wordsw. Eccl. Biog.* i. 499.

² Edd. Heyl. "master."

³ "ensured," Cavend. ed. Singer. "assured," ed. Wordsw.

⁴ Edd. 1, 2. "prosperity."

⁵ "Doth rather lament thy lightness than malign me for the same." Cavend. ed. Wordsw.—"than malign the same," ed. Singer.

conceive of. I pray to God that this may be sufficient admo- Introd. nition to thee to use thyself more wisely hereafter. For assure thyself, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the last Earl of our house. For thy natural inclination, thou art wasteful¹ and prodigal, to consume all that thy progenitors have with so great travail gathered, and kept together with honour. But, having the King's Majesty my singular good Lord, I trust (I assure thee), so to order my succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but a little. For I do not intend, (I tell thee truly), to make thee heir; for (thanks be to God) I have more boys, that I trust will use themselves much better, and prove more like to be wise and honest men, of whom I will choose the most likely to succeed me."

6. So said the much offended father; and yet not thinking he had done enough for his own security, a marriage is presently concluded for him to the King's good liking, with the Lady Mary, one of the daughters of George Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. Mrs Anne Bollen in the mean time is removed by her father from the court, to her no small trouble; who, knowing nothing of the King's, had willingly admitted the Lord Percy into her affections. And, understanding by him what had past betwixt him and his father, she conceived such a mortal grudge against the Cardinal, (whom she looked on as the only cause of this separation), that she contributed her best assistance to his final ruin². It was about the time when the King's cause was to be agitated in the Legantine court, that he caused her to be sent for out of the country, to give her attendance on the Queen as in former times; impatient of a longer absence, and fearful of a second rival, if he should any longer conceal his purpose. Which having taken some fit time to disclose unto her, he found in her a virtue of such strength against all temptations, that he resolves, upon the sentencing of the divorce, which he little doubted, to take her to him as the last sole object of his wandering loves. A matter not to be concealed from so many espials as Wolsie had about the King; who thereupon slackeneth his former pace in the King's affairs, and secretly practiseth with the Pope to recall the commission whereby he was empowered, together

¹ Edd. Heyl. "masterful."

² Cavendish in Wordsw. i. 500.

Introduc. with Campegius, to determine in it. Anne Bollen, formerly offended at his too great haste in breaking the compliance betwixt her and Percy, is now as much displeas'd with him for his being too slow in sentencing the King's divorce¹; on which as she had built the hopes of her future greatness, so she wanted neither will nor opportunity to do him ill offices with the King, whom she exasperates against him upon all occasions. The King grows every day more open in his carriage towards her, takes her along with him in his progress, dines with her privately in her chamber, and causeth almost all addresses to be made by her in matters of the greatest moment².

The King's
proceedings.

7. Resolved to break through all impediments which stood betwixt him and the accomplishment of his desires, he first sends back Campegius, an alien born, presently caused Wolsie to be indicted and attainted in a *præmunire*, and not long after, by the counsel of Thomas Cromwel, (who formerly had been the Cardinal's solicitor in his Legantine court), involves the whole body of the clergy in the same crime with him³. By the persuasions of this man, he requires the clergy to acknowledge him Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, to make no new Canons and Constitutions, nor to execute any such when made, but by his consent. And having thus brought his own Clergy under his command, he was the less solicitous how his matters went in the Court of Rome; to which the Pope recalled his cause, which he either quickened or retarded, as rather stood with his own interest than the King's concerns. The King, being grown more confident in the equity and justice of his cause by the determinations of many of the Universities in France and Italy, better assured than formerly of his own Clergy at home, and wanting no encouragement from the French King to speed the business, advanced the Lady Anne Bollen—(for by this time her father for her sake was made Earl of Wiltshire)—to the title, style, and dignity of Marchioness of Pembroke, on the first of September, 1532, assigning her a pension of a thousand pounds per annum out of the Bishoprick of Durham⁴. And now, the time of the intended interview betwixt him and the French King drawing on apace, he takes her along with him unto Calais, where she

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¹ Cavendish in Wordsw. i. 559.

² Ibid. 557—9.

³ Sup. i. 38.

⁴ Stow, 560.

entertained both Kings at a curious mask¹. At what time, Introduct.
 having some communication about the King's intended marriage, the French encouraged him to proceed, assuring him that, if the matter should be questioned by the Pope or Emperor, (against whom this must make him sure to the party of France), to² assist him with his utmost power, what fortune soever should betide him in it. On which assurance from the French, the marriage is privately made up on the 14th of November³ then next following,—the sacred rites performed by Dr Rowland Lee, whom afterwards he preferred to the See of Lichfield, and made Lord President of Wales⁴. None present at the nuptials but Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, the father, mother, and brother of the new Queen, and possibly

His marriage
with Anne.

¹ Hall, 793.

² So all the Editions read.

³ Nov. 14 (St. Erkenwald's day), is given as the date by the majority of the old historians (including Sanders, p. 65). Godwin (73) and Stow (562), however, date the marriage on Jan. 25; and this is countenanced by a letter from Cranmer to Hawkyns, dated June 17, 1533, which states that the marriage took place "much about St Paul's day last." (Cranm. i. 31. ed. Jenkyns; ii. 246. ed. Park. Soc.) The letter was first noticed by Strype, on whose authority Burnet gives the later date in his *supplementary* volume (iii. 134. iii. ii. 542). On the inferences which Dr Lingard (vi. 188) eagerly draws from the date thus ascertained, Mr Hallam well observes: "I think a prurient curiosity about such obsolete scandal very unworthy of history." (Const. Hist. i. 61. Comp. Mackintosh, Hist. Eng. ii. 189.) After all, however, it is too much to suppose, as modern writers generally do, that we know the exact day of the marriage; for Cranmer only states that it was "much about" Jan. 25; and that such a date coming from him may be somewhat wide of the truth, appears from another letter (Jenkyns, i. 83; Park. Soc. ii. 274), in which he makes an error of a week as to the time of Elizabeth's birth.

⁴ 1534. "Hanc ob rem nomen ejus (apud nostros præcipue Wallos) celebre est, quod sub eo Præsede, et illius fortasse magna ex parte opera, Wallia in eandem corporis compagem cum Anglia coaluit, iisdem legibus gubernari cæpta, eorundemque jurium usquequaque facta particeps autoritate Parliamentaria; quo vix quidquam feliciter huic genti contigisse confitemur. Walliæ adhuc Præses decessit, anno 1545." Godwin de Præsul. 324. Dr Lingard says that Lee "was made bishop of Chester, and was translated to Lichfield and Coventry," vi. 189. But the Bishoprick of Chester was not erected until 1541; and any mention which is found of Chester in connexion with the name of this bishop, has its origin in the circumstance that the bishops of Lichfield were before popularly styled bishops of Chester. Godwin, 777; Collier, v. 83; Sup. i. 37, note 3.

Introduc. some other of the confidants of either side, whom it concerned to keep it secret at their utmost peril¹.

8. But long it could not be concealed. For, finding herself to be with child, she acquaints the King with it, who presently dispatcheth George Lord Rochfort, her only brother, to the court of France, as well to give the King advertisement of his secret marriage, as to desire him not to fail of performing his promises, if occasion were, and therewithal to crave his counsel and advice how it was to be published, since it could not long be kept unknown. It is not to be doubted, but that the French King was well pleased with the news of a marriage which must needs fasten England to the party of France, and that he would be forward enough to perform those promises which seemed so visibly² to conduce to his own preservation. And as for matter of advice, it appeared unnecessary, because the marriage would discover itself by the Queen's being with child, which could no longer be concealed. And being to be concealed no longer, on Easter Eve, the twelfth of April, she shewed herself openly as Queen³; all necessary officers and attendants are appointed for her; an order issueth from the parliament at that time sitting, that Katherine should no longer be called Queen, but Princess Dowager⁴. Cranmer, the new Archbishop, repairs to Dunstable, erects his consistory in the priory there, cites Katherine fifteen days together to appear before him, and, in default of her appearance, proceedeth judicially to the sentence, which he reduceth into writing in due form of law, and caused it to be openly published, (with the consent of his colleagues), on Friday the 23rd of May⁵. And on the Sunday sevennight, being then Whitsunday, the new Queen was solemnly crowned by the said

Her coronation.

¹ Herbert, 161. Archbishop Parker states that Cranmer officiated at the marriage. (De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. 492, ed. Drake.) Cranmer himself, in the letter referred to in the preceding note, informs us that this was a common report at the time, but that in truth he was not even present, and did not know what had taken place until a fortnight later.

² Edd. "visible." ³ Hall, 795. Stow, 562-3. ⁴ Sup. p. 61.

⁵ Sup. pp. 62—4. Weber (Akathol. Kirchen, 659-60) gives reasons for supposing that a sentence of divorce had been *privately* passed *before* the marriage. Burnet considers that Henry did not think it necessary to wait for a sentence, after the marriage with Katherine had been declared null by so many authorities. i. 225.

Archbishop; conducted by water from Greenwich to the Tower of London, May 29th, from thence through the chief streets of the City unto Westminster Hall, May 31st, and the next day from Westminster Hall to the Abbey Church, to receive the Crown; a solemn tilting before the Court-gate on the morrow after. All which was done with more magnificence and pomp than ever had been seen before on the like occasion; the particulars whereof, he that lists to see, may find them punctually set down in the Annals of John Stow, fol. 563, 564, &c.¹

Introduc.

9. And he may find there also the solemnities used at the christening of the Princess Elizabeth, born upon Sunday, the 7th day of September, and christened on the Wednesday following, with a pomp not much inferior to the coronation: her godfather being the Archbishop of Canterbury, her godmothers, the old Duchess of Norfolk and the old Marchioness of Dorset; by whom she was named Elizabeth, according to the name of the grandmothers on either side². Not long after Christmas then next following began the parliament, in which the King's marriage with the Lady Katherine was declared unlawful; her daughter the Lady Mary, to be illegitimate; the Crown to be entailed on the King's heirs males, to be begotten on the body of the present Queen, and, for default of such issue, on the Princess Elizabeth; an oath devised in maintenance of the said succession; and not long after, Moor and Fisher executed (as before was said) for the refusal of that oath³. The King's cause all this while depended in the Court of Rome,—not like to be determined for him, and yet the Pope not willing to declare against him, till by the solicitation of the Emperor, and for the vindication of the honour of the see apostolic, he seemed to be necessitated to some acts of rigour, which at last proved the total ruin of his power and party in the realm of England.

Baptism of Elizabeth.

Act of Succession, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22.

10. For the new Queen, considering that the Pope and she had such different interesses that they could not both subsist together, resolved upon that course which nature and self-preservation seemed to dictate to her. But, finding that the Pope's was too well entrenched to be dislodged upon a sudden, it was advised by Cromwel, (made Master of the Rolls on her

¹ Comp. Hall, 798. Holinshed, iii. 782—805.

² Stow, 569. Hall, 805-6. Herbert, 169.

³ Sup. p. 66.

Introduc- commendation), to begin with taking in the outworks first ;
 which being gained, it would be no hard matter to beat him
 out of his trenches. In order whereunto a visitation is begun
 in the month of October, 1535, in which a diligent enquiry was
 to be made in all abbeys, priories, and nunneries within the
 kingdom ; Cromwel himself, Dr Lee, and others, being named
 for Visitors¹. Who, governing themselves according to certain
 instructions of their own devising, dismissed all such religious
 persons as were under the age of twenty-four, or otherwise
 were willing to relinquish their several houses, shutting up such
 from going out as were not willing to accept the benefit of that
 permission : all such religious persons as departed thence, to
 be gratified by the Abbot or Prior with a Priest's gown, and
 forty shillings in money ; and all nuns to be put in a secular
 habit, and suffered to go where they would. They took order
 also, that no men should go into the houses of women, nor
 women into the houses of men, but only for the hearing of
 divine service ;—making thereby that course of life less pleas-
 ing unto either sex than it had been formerly. They also inven-
 toried, or else directly took away, the relics and chief jewels
 out of most of the said monasteries or religious houses,—pre-
 tending that they took them for the King's use, but possibly
 keeping them for their own. And having made a strict and
 odious inquisition into the lives of all the votaries of both sexes,
 they returned many of them guilty of exorbitant lusts, and much
 carnal uncleanness ; representing their offences in such multi-
 plying glasses as made them seem both greater in number, and
 more horrid in nature, than indeed they were. And in the
 February following was held a parliament, in which all monas-
 teries, priories, and other religious houses under the yearly value
 of 200*l*. were granted unto the King and his heirs for ever².

Suppression
 of the lesser
 monasteries.

11. The number of the houses then suppressed were said
 to be 376, their yearly rents then valued at the sum of thirty
 two thousand pounds and upwards, their moveable goods, as

¹ Herbert, 186. Burnet, i. 183, and Rec. 131 (folio).

² Stow, 572. Speed, 791. Herb. 191. "But those houses were generally much richer than they seemed to be : for the abbots, raising great fines out of them, held the leases still low, and by that means they were not obliged to entertain a great number in their house, and so enriched themselves and their brethren by the fines that were raised." Burnet, i. 390.

they were sold at Robin Hood's penny-worths, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds and more¹. The religious persons thus despoiled of their estates either betook themselves to some of the greater houses of their several orders², or went again into the world, and followed such secular businesses as were offered to them towards the getting of their livings. Much lamentation made in all parts of the country, for want of that relief and sustenance which the poor of all sorts received daily from their hospitality, and for want of that employment which they found continually in and about those houses, in their several trades; insomuch that it was commonly thought, that more than ten thousand persons, as well masters as servants, had lost their livelihoods by that act of suppression³. To the passing whereof the Bishops and the Mitred Abbots, which made the prevalent part of the House of Peers, contributed their votes and suffrages as the other did; whether it were out of pusillanimity, as not daring to appear in behalf of their brethren, or out of a weak hope that the rapacity of the Queen⁴ and her Ministers would proceed no farther, it is hard to say. Certain it is, that by their improvident assenting to the present grant they made a rod for their own backs, (as the saying is), with which they were sufficiently scourged within few years after, till they were all finally whipt out of the kingdom, though the new Queen, for whose sake Cromwel had contrived the plot, did not live to see it.

12. For such is the uncertainty of human affairs, that when she thought herself most safe and free from danger, she became most obnoxious to the ruin prepared for her. It had pleased God on the 8th of January to put an end unto the

Queen Anne begins to decline in favour.

1535-6.

¹ Herbert, 192.

² "The statute which vested these establishments in the King, left it to his discretion to found them anew. The monks of each community sought by presents and annuities to secure the protection of the minister and the visitors.....More than a hundred monasteries obtained a respite from immediate destruction; and of these the larger number was founded again by the King's letters patent, though each of them paid the price of that favour by the surrender of a valuable portion of its possessions." Lingard, vi. 233-4.

³ Stow, 572.

⁴ So the editions read; and it would seem that Heylyn intended to write so.

Introduc. calamities of the virtuous but unfortunate Queen into whose bed she had succeeded; the news whereof she entertained with such contentment, that she caused herself to be apparelled in lighter colours than was agreeable to the season or the sad occasion¹. Whereas if she had rightly understood her own condition, she could not but have known that the long life of Katherine was to be her best preservative against all changes, which the King's loose affections, or any other alterations in affairs of state, were otherwise like to draw upon her. But this contentment held not long; for in three weeks after she fell in travail, in which she miscarried of a son², to the extreme grief of the mother, and discontent of the father, who looked upon it as an argument of God's displeasure, as being as much offended at this second marriage as he was at the first. He then began to think of his ill fortune with both his wives,—both marriages subject to dispute, and the legitimization of his daughter Elizabeth as likely to be called in question in the time succeeding as that of Mary in the former. He must³, therefore, cast about for another wife, of whose marriage and his issue by her there could arise no controversy, or else must die without an heir of his own body, or leave the crown to be contended for by those, who, though they were of his own body, could not be his heirs. His eye had carried him to a gentlewoman in the Queen's attendance, of extraordinary beauty and superlative modesty; on the enjoying of whom he so fixed his thoughts, that he had quite obliterated all remembrance of his former loves. As resolute, but more private, in this pursuit than he was in the former; yet not so private but that the Queen—(so piercing are the eyes of love and jealousy)—had took notice of it, and signified her suspicions to him; of which more anon⁴.

¹ Hall notes, p. 318, that "Queen Anne wore yellow for the mourning;" and such was the custom of the French court, in which she had been brought up (Weber, 389). It would, no doubt, have shewn a better taste if she had worn the more sober colour used in England; but by far too much has been made of this little circumstance; indeed its character has been altogether misrepresented,—as, for instance, by Dr Lingard, who tells us that "out of respect for the Spanish princess, the King had ordered his servants to wear mourning on the day of her burial; but Anne dressed herself in robes of yellow silk," &c. vi. 237.

² Jan. 29. Stow, 572. Hall (318) dates the event in February.

³ Edd. "much."

⁴ P. 255.

13. In the mean time she was not wanting in all those honest arts of love, obsequiousness, and entertainment, which might endear her to the King; who now began to be as weary of her gaieties and joecular humour as formerly of the gravity and reservedness of Katherine. And causing many eyes to observe her actions, they brought him a return of some particulars which, he conceived, might give him a sufficient ground to proceed upon. The Lord Rochfort, her own brother, having some suit to obtain by her of the King, was found whispering to her on her bed when she was in it¹; which was interpreted for an act of some great dishonour done or intended to the King, as if she had permitted him some farther liberties than were consistent with the innocent familiarity between brothers and sisters. In the aggravating whereof with all odious circumstances, none was more forward than the Lady Rochfort herself,—whether out of any jealousy which she had of her husband, or whether out of some inveterate hatred which she had to the Queen, (according to the peccant humour of most sisters-in-law)—is not clearly known. It was observed also that Sir Henry Norris, Groom of the Stole unto the King, had entertained a very dear affection for her, not without giving himself some hopes of succeeding in the King's bed, (as Sir Thomas Scimour after did), if she chanced to survive him. And it appears that she had given him opportunity to make known his affections, and to acquaint her with his hopes, which she expressed by twitting him in a frolick humour with “looking after dead men's shoes.” Weston and Breerton, both gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, were observed also to be very diligent in their services and addresses to her, which were construed rather to proceed from love than duty, though no reciprocation could be found to proceed from her, but what was agreeable to that affability and general debonairness which she shewed to all men.

Introduct.
Grounds of
accusation
against her.

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She is com-
mitted to the
Tower.

14. Out of these premises, weak and imperfect though they were, the King resolves to come to a conclusion of his aims and wishes. A solemn tilting was maintained at Greenwich on the first of May², at which the King and Queen were

¹ Speed mentions this as a story which he had heard. 784.

² A commission to inquire into the Queen's conduct had been issued a week before this, Apr. 24. Mackintosh, i. 193.

Introduc. present, the Lord Rochfort and Sir Henry Norris being principal challengers. The Queen by chance let fall her handkerchief, which was taken up by one of her supposed favourites which stood underneath her window, whom the King perceived to wipe his face with it¹. This taken by the King to be done of purpose, and thereupon he leaves the Queen and all the rest to behold the sports, and goeth immediately in great haste to Westminster, to the no small amazement of all the company, but the Queen especially. Rochfort and Norris are committed to the Tower on the morrow after; to which unfortunate place the Queen herself, on the same day, was conducted by Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, Cromwel, then Master of the Rolls and principal Secretary, and Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower. Informed by them upon the way of the King's suspicions, she is said to have fallen upon her knees, and with dire imprecations to have disavowed the crime, (whatsoever it were), wherewith she was charged;— beseeching God so to regard her as the justness of her cause required. After which, William Breerton, Esquire, and Sir Francis Weston, of the King's Privy Chamber, together with Mark Smeton one of the King's musicians, were committed on the same occasion.

The case
against her.

15. These persons being thus committed, and the cause made known, the next care was to find sufficient evidence for their condemnation. It was objected that the Queen, growing out of hope of having any issue male by the King, had used the company of the Lord Rochfort, Norris, Breerton and Weston, and possibly of Smeton also; involving her at once in no smaller crimes than those of adultery and incest. For proof whereof, there was no want of any artifices, in sifting, canvassing, and entangling, not only the prisoners themselves, but all such witnesses of either sex as were thought fit to be examined by the King's commissioners²; from none of which they were able to get anything by all their arts which might give any

¹ Herbert states (194) that "Our histories mention not this passage," and that it rests on no better authority than that of Sanders (122). Dr Lingard (vi. 239) endeavours at once to secure the benefit of it, as against the Queen, and to avoid committing himself to a belief in it. Hall (319) and Stow merely say that the king "departed suddenly from the justs."

² See Mackintosh, ii. 193.

ground for their conviction; but that Mark Smeton had been wrought on to make some confession of himself to her dishonour, out of a vain hope to save his own life by the loss of hers¹. Concerning which, Cromwell thus writes unto the King, after the prisoners had been thoroughly examined in the Tower by the Lords of the Council:—"Many things" (saith he) "have been objected, but nothing confessed; only some circumstances have been acknowledged by Mark²." To which effect, and other the particulars before remembered, take here a letter written by Sir Edward Baynton to Sir William Fitzwilliams, being then Treasurer of the household, and not long after raised unto the style and title of Earl of Southampton³. Introduc.

"MR TREASURER,

Letter of Sir
Edward
Baynton.

"THIS shall be to advertise you, that here is much communication, that no man will confess anything against her at all, but Mark, of any actual thing. Wherefore in my foolish conceit it should much touch the King's honour if it should no further appear. And I cannot believe but that the other two be as far culpable as ever was he; and I think assuredly the one keepeth the others' counsel, as many conjectures in my mind causeth me to think, and especially of the communication that was last between the Queen, Mr. Norris, Mr. Amner, and me; as I would, if I might speak with Mr Secretary and you together, more plainly express my mind. If the case be that they have confessed (like witnesses) all things as they should do, then the matter is at a point. I have mused much at the manner of Mistress Margery, which hath used herself so strangely towards me of late, being her friend so much as I have been. But no doubt it cannot be chosen but she must be of counsel therewith: for there hath been great friendship between the Queen and her of late. I hear further, that the Queen standeth stiffly in her opinion, that she will die in it, which I think is in the trust that she hath of the other two. But if your business be such as you cannot come, I would gladly come and wait on you, if you think it requisite⁴."

¹ Speed, 734. Mackintosh, ii. 196, 200.

² Speed, 734.

³ October 13, 1536—on occasion of the birth of Prince Edward (sup. i. 16). Godwin, 91.

⁴ Heylyn seems to have been the first to print this letter from the

Introduct. 16. It appears also by a letter of Sir William Kingston's, that he had much communication with her when she was his prisoner, in which her language seemed to be broken and distressed betwixt tears and laughter¹, out of which nothing could be gathered, but that she exclaimed against Norris, as if he had accused her. It was further signified in that letter, that she named some others, who had obsequiously applied themselves to her love and service, acknowledging such passages, though not sufficient to condemn her, as shewed she had made use of the utmost liberty which could be honestly allowed her. Most true it is, (as far as any truth can be collected from common and credible reports) that Norris, being much favoured by the King, was offered pardon for his life, if he would confess the crimes which he was accused of. To which he made this generous answer, "That in his conscience he thought her guiltless of the crimes objected, but, whether she were or no, he could not accuse her of anything; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths than betray the innocent." So that upon the point there was no evidence against her, but the confession of Smeton, and the calumnies of the Lady Rochfort,—of which the one was fooled into that confession by the hope of life, which notwithstanding was not pardoned; and the other most deservedly lost her head within few years after for being accessory to the adulteries of Queen Katherine Howard². And yet upon this evidence she was arraigned in the great hall of the Tower of London on the 15th of May, and pronounced guilty by her Peers, of which her own father (which I cannot but behold as an act of the highest tyranny) was compelled to be one³. The Lord Roch-

Trial and
execution of
Queen Anne.

Cottonian Collection. It has since been much mutilated by fire. A copy of it in its present state is given in Ellis's *Original Letters*, First Series, ii. 61. For an account of Sir Edward Bayntun, who was Vice-chamberlain to the Queen, see *Wordsw. Eecl. Biog.* ii. 490.

¹ Herbert, 194. See *Letters of Kingstone*, in Ellis, First Ser. ii. 53, seqq.

² Speed. 792.

³ That this is untrue is shown by Burnet, (i. 363), who discovered the error after having followed our author in the body of his work. He informs us that he has not been able to trace Heylyn's statement to any earlier source, with the exception of Sanders (122),—who in all probability invented it.

fort and the rest of the prisoners were found guilty also, and suffered death on the 17th day of the same month, all of them standing stoutly to the Queen's and their own integrity¹; as it was thought that Smeton would also have done, but that he still flattered himself with the hopes of life, till the loss of his head disabled him from making the retractation. The like death suffered by the Queen on the second day after;—some few permitted to be present, rather as witnesses than spectators of her final end. And it was so ordered by the advice of Sir William Kingston, who signified in his letters to one of the council, that he conceived it best that a reasonable number only should be present at the execution, because he found by some discourse which he had had with her, that she would declare herself to be a good woman for all men but for the King, at the hour of death. Which declaration she made good, going with great cheerfulness to the scaffold, praying most heartily for the King, and standing constantly on her innocence to the very last².

17. So died this great and gallant lady,—one of the most remarkable mockeries and disports of fortune which these last ages have produced: raised from the quality of a private lady to the bed of a King, crowned on the throne, and executed on the scaffold; the fabric of her power and glories being six years at the least in building, but cast down in an instant; the splendour and magnificence of her coronation seeming to have no other end but to make her the more glorious sacrifice at the next alteration of the King's affections. But her death was not the only mark which the King did aim at; if she had only lost her head, though with the loss of her honour, it would have been no bar to her daughter Elizabeth from succeeding her father in the throne: and he must have his bed left free from all such pretensions, the better to draw on the following marriage. It was thought necessary, therefore, that she should be separated from his bed by some other means than the axe or sword, and to be legally divorced from her in a court of judicature, when the sentence of death might seem to have deprived her of all means, as well as of all manner of

Sentence of divorce against Anne, and illegitimizing of Elizabeth.

¹ Stow, 573. Rochford was tried on the same day with his sister; the rest on the 12th. Mackintosh, ii. 193.

² May 19. Hall, 319. Stow, 573. Godw. 81. Herb. 195.

Introduc- desire, to dispute the point. Upon which ground Norris is
 practised with to confess the adultery, and the Lord Percy
 (now Earl of Northumberland),—who was known to have made
 love unto her in her former times,—to acknowledge a contract.
 But as Norris gallantly denied the one, so the Lord Percy
 could not be induced (though much laboured to it) to confess
 the other. For proof whereof we have this letter of his own
 handwriting, directed to Secretary Cromwell in these following
 words.

“MR SECRETARY,

“THIS shall be to signify unto you, that I perceive by Sir
 Raynald Carnaby, that there is supposed to be a pre-contract
 between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not only ex-
 amined upon my oath before the Archbishops of Canterbury
 and York, but also received the blessed sacrament upon the
 same before the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the King’s
 Highness’ Council, learned in the spiritual law; assuring you,
 Mr Secretary, by the said oath and blessed Body which afore
 I received, and hereafter mean to receive, that the same may
 be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract or promise
 of marriage betwixt her and me. At Newington Green, the
 13th of May, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of our
 Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth.

Yours assured,

H. NORTHUMBERLAND¹.”

18. But notwithstanding these denials, and that neither
 the adultery was confessed nor the contract proved, some other
 ground was found out to dissolve the marriage; though what
 it was doth not appear upon record. All which occurs in
 reference to it is a solemn instrument² under the seal of Arch-
 bishop Cranmer, by which the marriage is declared, (on good
 and valuable reasons), to be null and void, no reason being
 expressed particularly for the ground thereof³. Which sen-

¹ Herbert, 195.

² Wilkins, iii. 303. For the letter written by Cranmer on the dis-
 grace of Anne, see his Works, ed Park. Soc. ii. 323.

³ Dr Lingard (vi. 247) supposes the reason to have been the King’s
 previous cohabitation with Mary Boleyn—of which there is no better

tence was pronounced at Lambeth, on the 17th of May, in the presence of Sir Thomas Audley¹, Lord Chancellor, Charles Duke of Suffolk, John Earl of Oxon, Robert Earl of Sussex, William Lord Sandys, Lord Chancellor of his Majesty's household, Thomas Cromwel, Master of the Rolls and principal Secretary, then newly put into the office of Vicar-General, Sir William Fitzwilliams, Treasurer, and Sir William Paulet, Controller of the King's household, Thomas Bedil, Archdeacon of Cornwall, and John Trigunwel, Doctor of the Laws,—all being of the Privy Council. Besides which, there were present also John Oliver, Dean of King's College² in Oxon, Richard Guent, Archdeacon of London and Dean of the Arches, Edmond Bonner, Archdeacon of Leicester, Richard Leighton, Archdeacon of Buckingham, and Thomas Lee, Doctor of the Laws; as also Dr Richard Sampson, Dean of the Chapel-Royal, who appeared as Proctor for the King, together with Doctor Nicholas Wotton and Doctor John Barbour, appointed Proctors for the Queen. By the authority of which great appearance, more than for any thing contained particularly in the act or instrument, the said sentence of divorce was approved by the Prelates and Clergy assembled in their Convocation on the ninth of June³, and being so confirmed by them, it received the like approbation by Act of Parliament⁴ within few days after; in which Act there also passed a clause, which declared the Lady Elizabeth, (the only issue of this marriage), to be illegitimate. What else concerns this unfortunate lady, together with some proof of divers things before delivered, cannot be more pathetically expressed than by herself, bemoaning her misfortunes to the King, in this following letter.

evidence than some passages in the writings of Cardinal Pole—declamatory in style, and composed under violent irritation—and the assertions of notoriously unscrupulous Romanists such as Sanders. Against this see Mackintosh (whose zeal for Anne is equal to Dr Lingard's malignity), ii. 201. Soames, Hist. Ref. ii. 137. Weber, Akathol. Kirchen, 668—670.

¹ Edd. 1, 3 "Hadly," Ed. 2. "Hadley."

² i. e. Christ-Church.

³ "Instrumentum hoc fuit sigillatum 10 die Julii, et 23 ejusdem mensis ab utraque domo convocationis subscriptum." Wilkins, iii. 304.

⁴ 23 Hen. VIII. c. 7. See Strype's Crammer, ed Eccl. Hist. Soc. i. 101.

Introduct.

"SIR,

Letter of
Queen Anne
written from
the Tower.

"YOUR Grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour), by such an one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message, than I rightly conceived your meaning: and if, (as you say), confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your commands. But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded. And to speak a truth, never Prince had never² wife more loyal in all duty, and³ in all true affection than you have ever found in Anne Bollen. With which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace's pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time [so far] forget myself in my exaltation or received Queenship, but that I looked always for such an alteration as now I find; the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration whereof, I knew, was fit and sufficient⁴ to draw that fancy to some other subject.

"You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found⁵ me worthy of such honour, good your Grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of my enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant Princess, your daughter. Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea let me receive an open trial, for my truth⁶

¹ For the genuineness of this letter (which has been questioned), see Mackintosh, ii. 194, 366-7; Ellis, 1st Series, ii. 53. Heylyn took it from the *Scrinia Sacra* (sup. i. 9). The copy in Herbert, 194, agrees more closely with that given by Mackintosh from the MS.

² This word ought to be omitted.

³ Edd. Heyl. "or."

⁴ "for the ground, &c....the least alteration was fit and sufficient, I know." M.

⁵ Edd. Heyl. "find."

⁶ Edd. Heyl. "truths."

shall fear no open shames; then shall you see either my innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me¹, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and my offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am; whose name I could some [good] while since have pointed to, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, might bring you the enjoying of a² desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict³ account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose [just] judgment I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, my innocency shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

“My last and only request shall be, that my self may [only] bear the burthen of your Grace’s displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen who, as I understand, are [likewise] in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Bollen hath been pleasing in your ears, [then] let me obtain this last request, and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have you in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

Your most loyal and [ever] faithful wife,
ANNE BOLLEN.”

“From my doleful prison in the Tower,
May the 6th, 1536.”

19. I had not dwelt so long upon the story of this Queen, but that there is so much which depends upon it in reference to the honour, birth, and title of the Princess Elizabeth; whose

¹ “me” not in M.

² “your.” M.

³ “strait.” M.

Introd. reign of forty-four years, accompanied with so many signal blessings both at home and abroad, is used by some for a strong argument of her mother's innocence. For further proof whereof they behold the King's precipitate and hasty marriage, casting himself into the bed of a third, before the sword was dried from the blood of his second wife. But of these miseries and calamities which befel her mother, the Princess was too young (as not being fully three years old) to take any notice. And when she came unto the years of understanding, she had been much sweetened and repaired by her Father's goodness: by whose last will she was assured of her turn in the succession to the Crown, if her brother and sister died without lawful issue; allowed the same yearly maintenance, and allotted the same portion in marriage, with the Princess Mary¹. But nothing more declares his good affection to her, than the great care he took of her education: committed to the government and tuition of Roger Ascham², a right learned man, she attained unto the knowledge of the Greek and Latin; and by the help of other schoolmasters, of the modern languages. Insomuch that she very well understood the Greek, and was able readily to express herself in the Latin tongue; as appears by an oration which she made at her entertainment in Cambridge³, and the smart answer which she gave extempore to a Polish Ambassador⁴, of which we may hear more in their proper place. And as for the Italian and the French, she spake them with as much facility and elegance as if they had been natural to her. And if sometimes she made use of interpreters when she conversed with the ambassadors of foreign princes, it rather was to keep her state than that she could not entertain discourse with them in their proper languages. Her person may be best known by her pictures, and the perfections of her mind by her following

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Early years
of Elizabeth.

¹ Sup. i. 57.

² See the Life of Ascham, by Johnson, prefixed to Bennet's edition of his works; and the very interesting biography in Mr Hartley Coleridge's "Lives of Eminent Northerns," Leeds, 1833.

³ Eliz. vi. 3.

⁴ A. D. 1597. See Camden, Eliz. P. ii. p. 139. Lat. The incident would probably have been related in the continuation of this work, which Heylyn intended to carry down to his own time. (i. cxiii.)

Government. Suffice it in this place to know, that she seemed Introduct.
to be made up of modesty and majesty in an equal mixture ;
and was so moderate in the course and carriage of her de-
sires, that King Edward (who took much delight in her con-
versation) used commonly to call her his Sister Temperance¹.

20. Yet notwithstanding all these personal graces, I do
not find that she was sought in marriage in the time of King
Henry ; the blots of infamy which had been laid upon her
mother serving as a bar to her preferment amongst foreign
princes. In the beginning of King Edward's, she was aimed at
by Sir Thomas Seimour², a brother of the Lord Protector
Somerset's, for the advancing of his lofty and ambitious pro- 1550.
jects ; and in the latter end thereof, propounded to the eldest
son of the King of Denmark³. But it was propounded only, 1552.
and not pursued,—whether neglected by that King for the
former reason, or intermitted by her own averseness from mar-
riage, we are yet to seek. But in the first year of Queen Mary,
she was desired by Edward Courtney Earl of Devonshire, the
eldest son of Henry Marquess of Exeter, descending from a
daughter of King Edward the Fourth ; which proved so much
to the displeasure of the Queen, that it became dangerous to
both of them, as was shewed before⁴. For notice of the Queen's
displeasure having been took by some of great place about
her, they were both drawn into suspicion of being privy at the
least unto Wyatt's rebellion, (raised on the noise of the Queen's
marriage with the Prince of Spain) ; both of them clapt up
in prison upon that account, and so detained for a long time,
though both acquitted publicly by Wyatt at the time of his
death⁵.

Her troubles
during the
Reign of
Mary.

21. But nothing so much alienated the Queen's affection

¹ Camd. Eliz. 366.

² Sup. i. 148.

³ Edw. Journal, Dec. 19, 1550.

⁴ Sup. p. 113.

⁵ Fox, vi. 430. Dr Lingard (of course) represents Elizabeth as guilty, vii. 151, 167. Sir J. Mackintosh maintains her innocence, ii. 309. Mr Hallam observes, that since the letters of Noailles, the French ambassador, prove that Courtenay was implicated, the testimony of Wyatt in favour of Elizabeth may probably have been as worthless as that for the Earl. Const. Hist. i. 107. Mr Tytler, who publishes for the first time letters of Renard, the Emperor's ambassador, is of opinion that Elizabeth was privy to the plot, but that there is no evidence of her having encouraged it. Edw. and Mary, ii. 421.

Introd. from her, as the difference which was between them in the cause of religion, occasioned and continued by their several interests. For it concerned Queen Mary to maintain the Pope and his religion, her mother's marriage not being otherwise to be defended as good and lawful but by his authority; which marriage, if by his authority made good and lawful, then must the marriage of Anne Bollen be made unlawful, and consequently the Princess Elizabeth must actually be made illegitimate by the same authority. Upon which point, as the Queen laboured nothing more than the restoring of the Pope to that supremacy of which he had been deprived by the two last Kings; so kept she a hard hand upon her sister, as of a different religion from her, the visible head of the Protestant party in the kingdom, and one whom she suspected to have more hearts amongst the subjects than she had herself. Upon the first surmise of her being privy to Wyat's conspiracy¹, Sir Edward Hastings and some others were sent to bring her to the Court from her house at Ashridge, where though they found her extremely sick and unfit for travel, yet they compelled her to go with them on the morrow after. Being come unto the Court, she was first kept prisoner in her chamber for the space of a fortnight,—neither permitted to come to the Queen's presence, nor suffered without much difficulty to write unto her. Charged by the Bishop of Winchester and some other lords with Wyat's practices, she stoutly stood on the denial, professing her fidelity and loyalty to the Queen her sister. Which notwithstanding she was conveyed by water, on the Sunday commonly called Palm Sunday, to the Tower of London, the people being commanded to keep their churches,

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March 18,
1553-4.

¹ The narrative of Elizabeth's troubles is mainly drawn from Fox, viii. 600, seqq.; and it has been shewn by Mr Tytler that the story in the "Acts and Monuments" is much exaggerated. The mission of Sir E. Hastings did not take place until a fortnight after Mary had written to her sister, begging her, in consideration of the reports which were current, to repair to the Court; nor was the removal of Elizabeth conducted with the barbarity alleged by Fox. She did not leave Ashridge until the *second* day after the arrival of Hastings,—the Queen's physicians, who accompanied him, having certified that she was able to endure the journey; and she was five days on the way, travelling in the Queen's litter, by stages of not more than from five to eight miles a-day. Tytler, Edw. and Mary, ii. 424-8.

for fear she might be rescued and took from them who were Introduc.
to have the conduct of her ; by whom compelled to land at the private stairs, generally called the Traitor's Stairs, she openly affirmed, that "there landed as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed in that place¹;" and so was brought unto the lodgings appointed for her, all doors being locked and bolted on her, to her great amazement. Gage, Constable of the Tower, and at that time Lord Chamberlain also, was her bitter enemy, but more for love to the Pope than for hate to her person, and did not only place a strong guard about her, but suffered none but those of that ragged regiment to carry up her diet to her². Of which complaint being made to him by some of her servants, he threatened to lay them in such a place where they should neither see the sun nor moon, if they troubled him any more about it ; though afterwards it was otherwise ordered by the Lords of the Council.

22. Wearied with the closeness of her imprisonment, she moved the Lord Chandois and the Lord Chamberlain,—the one of which was Constable, and the other Lieutenant of the Tower, —that she might have the liberty of walking in the private garden, or, at the least, in the Queen's lodgings, for her better health. In which, not able to gratify her by their own authority, the Lord Chandois obtained leave of the Lords of the Council that she might walk in the Queen's lodgings, himself, the Lord Chamberlain, and three of the Queen's gentlewomen, being still in her company. Permitted afterwards to enjoy the benefit of the private garden, the doors were always shut upon her, and order given that no prisoners should be suffered by their keepers to look out of the windows so long as she was walking in it. Such care there was to hinder all access unto her, and opportunity of conference with her, that a little boy of four years old was threatened to be whipt for presenting her with flowers and nosegays, and a command given by Gage that the boy's father should keep him at home, and not suffer him to come thither any more. But the Tower being thought to be no safe prison for a person of such eminent quality, by reason of its nearness to the capital city, and the great number of prisoners which were kept therein, she

¹ Fox, viii. 609.

² "The common rascal soldiers receiving it." Fox, viii. 611.

1554. Introduct. was committed to the custody of Sir Henry Bedingfield, a man of an untractable and rugged nature, by whom she was conducted with a guard of soldiers to the Manor of Woodstock: which journey she began on the 19th of May, being Trinity Sunday, and ended by short and easy stages on the Thursday after; her own servants sometimes sequestered from her by command of her jailor, (as she commonly called him), the people sometimes rated and reviled by him for flocking to see her as she passed, and the Lord Williams, though associated in commission with him, openly quarrelled and reproached for giving her noble entertainment at his house of Ricolt. Being brought to Woodstock, she was kept under many locks and bolts, a guard of ruffians continually attending before her doors, and the keys every night brought up to Bedingfield, who suffered no access unto her upon any occasion. Which being made known to the Lord Williams, he solicited the Queen that she might be prisoner in his house, and offered to be surety for her, and was in such a fair way of obtaining his suit, that he caused preparations to be made for her reception; but either by the interposition of the Bishop of Winchester, her most mortal enemy¹, or the solicitation of Bedingfield, who possibly might have some other end to work upon her, no effect followed answerable² to that expectation. 98 270

23. About this time she was advised by some of her friends to submit herself unto the Queen, which they conceived would be very well taken, and redound much both to her benefit and contentment. To which she answered, that she would never make any submission to them against whom she never had offended in word or deed; adding withal, that, if she were guilty of any such offence, she would crave no mercy but the law, which she was sure she should have had before that time, if any thing could have been proved against her by her greatest enemies. Only she was persuaded to make a

¹ The feelings and conduct of Gardiner towards Elizabeth are very variously represented. See Brewer on Fuller, iv. 136. The speech ascribed to him below (§ 24) was certainly made by Story (Eliz. i. 10); whether Gardiner also uttered it, appears very doubtful. On the whole, since there is no evidence for supposing him fond of bloody measures, and since he was unquestionably English in his affections, rather than Spanish, or even Romish, the more favourable view appears probable.

² Edd. 1, 2. "answerably."

suit to the Lords of the Council, that she might be suffered to write a letter to the Queen;—not gratified without much difficulty in that easy suit, nor otherwise gratified at all, but that Bedingfield was to stand by her all the time she writ, and have the keeping of her papers till she came to an end, and to be made privy to the conveyance of those letters when they once were written. At her first coming to the Tower, she had a Priest appointed to say mass in her chamber; but whether the same Priest or any other was appointed for the like office at her being at Woodstock, I find not in the story of her life and troubles. Certain it is, that she resorted to the mass both before and after, and seemed not a little discontented that she could not gain so much upon the Queen by her outward conformity, as to believe that she was Catholically affected¹. But the Queen was not the only one who believed so of her, though she behaved herself so warily as not to come within the danger of the laws for acting any thing in opposition unto that religion which was then established. Concerning which there goes a story, that when a popish Priest had urged her very earnestly to declare her judgment touching the presence of Christ in the blessed Sacrament, she very cautiously resolved the point in these following verses:—

“’Twas God the Word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe and take it².”

24. But all this caution notwithstanding, her averseness from the Church of Rome was known sufficiently not to be altered while she lived, and therefore she to live no longer to be the occasion of continual fears and jealousies to the Catholic party. The times were then both sharp and bloody, and a great persecution was designed against the Protestants in all parts of the kingdom. At what time Bishop Gardiner was heard to say, that it was to no purpose to cut off the boughs and branches, if they did not also lay the axe to the root of the tree³. More plainly the Lord Paget, in the hearing of

¹ Camden, Eliz. 367.

² Baker's Chronicle, 320, ed. 1634. (The first edition was published in 1641.)

³ Godwin, 135. Fuller, iv. 133.

Introduc.

King Philip
interferes in
her favour.

some of the Spaniards, “ That the King should never have a quiet government in England, if her head were not stricken off from her shoulders¹.” With which the King being made acquainted, he resolved to use his best endeavour, not only to preserve her life, but obtain her liberty ; for he considered with himself, that, if the Princess should be taken away, the right of the succession would remain in the Queen of Scots, who, being married to the Daulphin of France, would be a means of joining this kingdom unto that, and thereby gain unto the French the sovereignty or supreme command above all other Kings in Europe². He considered also with himself that the Queen was not very healthy,—supposed at that time to be with child, but thought by others of more judgment not to be like to bring him any children to succeed in the Crown,—and hoped by such a signal favour to oblige the Princess to accept him for her husband, on the Queen’s decease ; by means whereof he might still continue master of the treasures and strength of England in all his wars against the French, or any other nation which maligned the greatness of the Austrian family. Upon which grounds he dealt so effectually with the Queen, that order was given about a fortnight after Easter to the Lord Williams and Sir Henry Bedingfield to bring their prisoner to the Court ; which command was not more cheerfully executed by the one, than stomached and repined at by the other. Being brought to Hampton Court, where the Queen then lay, she was conducted by a back way to the Prince’s lodgings, where she continued a fortnight and more without being seen or sent to by any body, Bedingfield and his guards being still about her ; so that she seemed to have changed the place, but not the prison, and to be so much nearer danger, by how much she was nearer unto those who had power to work it. At last a visit was bestowed upon her, but not without her earnest suit in that behalf, by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury, and Sir William Petre ; whom she right joyfully received, desiring them to be a means unto the Queen that she might be freed from that restraint under which she had been kept so long together.

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¹ Fox, viii. 618.

² Camd. Eliz. 368.

25. Which being said, the Bishop of Winchester, kneeling Introduct.
 down, besought her to submit herself unto the Queen, that
 being, as he said, the only probable expedient to effect her
 liberty. To whom she answered as before, that, rather than
 she would betray her innocence by such submission, she would
 be content to lie in prison all the days of her life. “For by so
 doing,” (said she), “I must confess myself to be an offender,
 which I never was against her Majesty, in thought, word, or
 deed; and where no just offence is given, there needs no sub-
 mission.” Some other overtures being made to the same effect,
 but all unto as little purpose, she is at last brought before the
 Queen, (whom she had not seen in more than one year before),
 about ten of the clock at night; before whom falling on her
 knees, she desired God to preserve her Majesty,—not doubting,
 as she said, but that she should prove herself to be as good a
 subject to her Majesty as any other whosoever. Being first
 dealt with by the Queen to confess some offence against herself,
 and afterwards to acknowledge her imprisonment not to be
 unjust, she absolutely refused the one, and very handsomely
 declined the other. So that no good being to be gotten on
 her on either hand, she was dismissed with some uncomfortable
 words from the present interview, and about a week after was
 discharged of Bedingfield and his guard of soldiers. It was
 reported that King Philip stood behind the hangings, and
 hearkened unto every word which passed between them, to the
 end that, if the Queen should grow into any extremity, he might
 come in to pacify her displeasures and calm her passions. He
 knew full well how passionately this Princess was beloved by
 the English nation, and that he could not at the present more
 endear himself to the whole body of the people than by effecting
 her enlargement; which shortly after being obtained, she was
 permitted to retire to her own houses in the country, remaining
 sometimes in one, and sometimes in another, but never without
 fear of being remanded unto prison, till the death of Gardiner,
 which happened on the 12th of November then next following.
 Some speech there was, and it was earnestly endeavoured by
 the Popish party, of marrying her to Emanuel Philebert Duke
 of Savoy¹, as being a Prince that lived far off and where she
 could give no encouragement to any malcontented party in the

¹ He visited England in 1554-5, arriving on Dec. 27. Stow, 626.

Introduc. realm of England. Against which, none so much opposed as the King, who had a design on her for himself, as before is said; and rather for himself than for Charles his son, (though it be so affirmed by Cambden¹)—the Princess being then in the twenty-second year of her age, whereas the young Prince was not above seven or eight. So that, a resolution being finally fixed of keeping her within the kingdom, she lived afterwards for the most part with less vexations, but not without many watchful eyes upon all her actions, till it pleased God to call her to the Crown of England. She had much profited by the pedagogy of Ascham² and the rest of her schoolmasters, but never improved herself so much as in the school of affliction, by which she learned the miseries incident to subjects when they groan under the displeasure of offended Princes; that the displeasures of some Princes are both made and cherished by the art of their ministers, to the undoing of too many innocent persons who do less deserve it; that it is therefore necessary that the ears of Princes should be open unto all complaints, and their hands ready to receive petitions from all sorts of people, to the end that, knowing their grievances and distresses, they may commiserate them in the one, and afford them remedy in the other; that a good Prince must have somewhat in him of the priest, who, if he be not sensible of the infirmities of his brethren, cannot be thought to intercede so powerfully in their behalf as when he hath been touched with the true sense and feeling of their extremities; and finally, that the school is never better governed than by one who hath past through all the forms and degrees thereof, and, having been perfectly trained up in the ways of obedience, must know the better how to use both the rod and ferula, when he comes to be the master of the rest.

¹ Ann. Eliz. 363.

² Ascham to Sturmius, Works, ed. Bennet, p. 351.

THE
FIRST EIGHT YEARS
OF THE REIGN OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ANNO REG. ELIZ. I, ANNO DOM. 1558, 1559.

1. **E**LIZABETH, the only child then living of King Henry the Eighth, succeeded her sister in the throne on the 17th of November, anno 1558; Ferdinand of Austria being then Emperor, Henry the Second King of the French, Philip the Second King of Spain, and Paul the Fourth commanding in the Church of Rome. Queen Mary not long before her death had called a Parliament, which was then sitting when the news thereof was brought unto the Lords in the house of Peers. The news by reason of the Queen's long sickness not so strange unto them as to take them either unresolved or unprovided for the declaring of their duty to the next successor; though some of them, perhaps, had some secret wishes that the Crown might have fallen rather upon any other than upon her to whom it did of right belong; so that, upon a short debate amongst themselves, a message is sent to the Speaker of the House of Commons, desiring him and all the members of that house to come presently to them, upon a business of no small importance to the good of the kingdom. Who being come, the Lord Chancellor Heath, with a composed and settled countenance, not without sorrow enough for the death of the one, or any discontent for the succession of the other, declared unto them, in the name of the rest of the Lords, that God had taken to his mercy the late Queen Mary, and that the succession to the Crown did belong of right to the Princess Elizabeth, whose title they conceived to be free from all legal questions; that in such cases nothing was more necessary than expedition, for the preventing of all such plots and practices of any discon-

Accession of
Elizabeth.

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1558.

tented or ambitious persons as might be set on foot to the disturbance of the common quiet: and therefore that their concurrence was desired in proclaiming the new Queen with all speed that might be, they being then so opportunely convened together as the representees¹ of the whole body of the Commons of the Realm of England². Which being said, the Knights and Burgesses gave a ready consent to that which they had no reason to deny; and they which gave themselves some thoughts of inclining otherwise, conceived their opposition to the general vote neither safe nor seasonable³. So that immediately the Princess Elizabeth was proclaimed by the King at Arns, first before Westminster Hall door in the Palace Yard, in the presence of the Lords and Commons, and not long after at the Cross in Cheapside and other places in the City, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens, to the great joy of all peaceable and well affected people⁴. 102
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2. It was not long before the Princess had advertisement of the death of her sister, together with the general acknowledgement of her just and lawful title to the Crown Imperial. The news whereof being brought unto her by some of the Lords, she prepared for her removal from Hatfield on the Saturday after, (being the 19th of that month) and with a great and royal train set forwards to London. 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. In which address as she seemed to express no small contentment, so she gave to each of them particularly her hand to kiss, except only unto Bonner of London, whose bloody butcheries had rendered him incapable in her opinion of so great a favour⁵. At her first coming to the city she took her lodging in the Charterhouse, where she staid some days, till all things in the Tower might be fitted and prepared for her reception. Attended by the

¹ Qu. "representers?"

² Stow, 635. Holinshed, iv. 155.

³ Hayward's First Four Years of Elizabeth, edited by John Bruce, Esq., for the Camden Society, 1840, pp. 2-3. (The less complete edition of this work, published in 1636 with the same author's Life of Edward VI., was one of Heylyn's chief authorities for the time which it embraces.)

⁴ Holinsh. iv. 156. Hayw. 3.

⁵ Stow, 635.

Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with a stately train of lords and ladies and their several followers, she entereth by Cripplegate AN. REG. I,
1558. into the city, passeth along the wall till she came to Bishopsgate, where all the companies of the city in their several liveries waited her coming in their proper and distinct ranks, reaching from thence until the further end of Mark Lane, where she was entertained with a peal of great ordnance from the Tower. At her entrance into which place, she rendered her most humble thanks to Almighty God for the great and wondrous change of her condition, in bringing her from being a prisoner in that place to be the Prince of her people, and now to take possession of it as a royal palace in which before she had received so much discomfort¹. Here she remained till the 5th day of December then next following, and from thence removed by water unto Somerset House². In each remove she found such infinite throngs of people, who flocked from all parts to behold her, both by land and water, and testified their public joy by such loud acclamations as much rejoiced her heart to hear, and could not but express it in her words and countenance, by which she doubled their affections, and made herself the absolute mistress at all times of their hands and purses. She had been forged upon the anvil of adversity, which made her of so fine a temper that none knew better than herself how to keep her state, and yet descend unto the meanest of her subjects in a popular courtship³.

3. In the meantime the Lords of the Council had given order for the stopping of all ports and havens, that no intelligence of the Queen's death might be carried out of the realm by which any disturbance might be plotted or contrived against it till all things were settled here at home⁴. But, finding such a general concurrence in all sorts of people in acknowledging her just and lawful title, testified by so many outward signs of a public joy, that there was no fear of any danger from abroad, that bar was speedily removed, and the ports opened as before to all sorts of passengers. And in the next place care was taken for sending new commissions unto such Embassadors as resided in the Courts of several Princes, both to acquaint them with the change, and to assure those Princes of the Queen's desire to maintain all former leagues between them and the

¹ Baker, 329. Hayw. 10-11. ² Stow, 635. ³ Hayw. 6. ⁴ Ibid.

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Communica-
tions with
the King of
Spain and
the Pope.

Crown of England¹; but more particular instructions were directed to her agent in the Court of Spain; to whom it was given in charge to represent unto the King the dear remembrance which she kept of those many humanities received from him in the time of her troubles². Instructions are sent also to Sir Edward Karn, the late Queen's agent with the Pope, and now confirmed by her in the same employment, to make his Holiness acquainted with the death of Queen Mary, and her succession to the Crown, not without some desire that all good offices might be reciprocally exchanged between them. But the Pope answered hereunto (according to his accustomed rigour), "That the kingdom of England was held in fee of the apostolic see; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate; that he could not contradict the declarations of Clement the Seventh and Paul the Third; that it was a great boldness to assume the name and government of it without him; yet, being desirous to shew a fatherly affection, if she will renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to his free disposition, he will do whatsoever may be done with the honour of the apostolic see³." To the making of which sudden answer though there needed no other instigation of his own rough nature, yet many thought that he was put upon it by some ministers of the Court of France, who, fearing nothing more than that Philip will endeavour by a second marriage to assure himself of the possession of the realm of England, and to that end solicit for a dispensation to make way unto it, thought it expedient to prevent those practices in the first beginning, by putting the Pope upon such counsels as would be sure to dash all his hopes that way⁴.

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Moderation
of the Queen's
measures.

4. But the new Queen, having performed this office of civility to him as she did to others, expected not the coming back of any answer, nor took much thought of it when she heard it. 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 the discarding of the other. But in this case it concerned her to walk very warily, and not to unmask herself too much at once, for fear of giving an alarm to the Papal party before she had put herself into a

¹ Camd. 19, ed. 1615; Hayw. 12.

² Ib. 19-20.

³ Sarpi, 411.

⁴ Ibid. Camd. p. 20. ed. 1615.

posture of ability to make good her actions. Many who were imprisoned for the cause of religion she restored to liberty at her first coming to the Crown. Which occasioned Rainsford, a buffonly gentleman of the Court, to make a suit to her in the behalf of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who had been long imprisoned in a Latin translation, that they might also be restored to liberty, and walk abroad as formerly in the English tongue. To whom she presently made answer, "That he should first endeavour to know the minds of the prisoners, who perhaps desired no such liberty as was demanded¹." Which notwithstanding, upon a serious debate of all particulars, she was resolved to proceed to a Reformation, as the times should serve. In order whereunto she constitutes her Privy Council, which she compounds of such ingredients as might neither give encouragement to any of those who wished well to the Church of Rome, or alienate their affections from her whose hearts were more inclined to the Reformation. Of such as had been of the Council to the Queen her sister, she retained the Lord Archbishop of York, the Lord Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Darby, and Pembroke, the Lords Clynton and Effingham, Sir Thomas Cheiney², Sir William Petre³, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackville, and Doctor Wotton; to whom she added of her own, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry⁴, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave⁵, Sir William Cecil, and Sir Nicholas Bacon⁶. To which last, being then Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster, and one that had been much employed by her in some former services which had relation to the Law, she committed the custody of the Great Seal on the 22nd of December⁷; the title of Lord Chancellor remaining to Archbishop Heath, as before it did, and that of the Lord Keeper being given to Bacon⁸; which being a new title, and

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¹ This story is the first in Bacon's Collection of Apophthegms; but he does not name Rainsford.

² Sir T. Cheyne died Dec. 8. See an account of him in Holinsh. iv. 158.

³ Edd. 1, 2. "Petice;" ed. 3, "Petic."

⁴ Edd. "Parre."

⁵ Edd. "Care."

⁶ Camden, Annals, 18-19, ed. 1615. He adds Francis Knollis. Dr Lingard, vii. 252, substitutes "the civilian Dr Boxall," for Wotton.

⁷ Stow, 635.

⁸ Hayw. 136.

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consequently subject unto some disputes, an Act was passed in the second Parliament of her reign for investing the new Lord Keeper, and all that should from thenceforth enjoy that office, with all the powers, privileges, and preeminences which anciently had been exercised and enjoyed by the Lord Chancellor of England, and for confirming of all sentences and decrees in Chancery which had or should be made by the said Lord Keepers in all times to come¹. The like mixture she also caused to be made amongst other her subordinate ministers, in adding such new Commissioners for the Peace in every county as either were known to be of the reformed religion or to wish well to it.

5. The preferring of so many of the Protestant party, as well to places of employment in their several countries as to the rank and dignity of Privy Councillors, and the refusal of her hand to Bishop Bonner at her very first coming to the Crown, were taken to be strong presumptions (as indeed they were), that she intended to restore the reformed religion. And as the Papists, in the first beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, hoping thereby the better to obtain her favour, began to build new altars and set up the Mass, before they were required so to do by any public authority; so fared it now with many unadvised zealots amongst the Protestants, who, measuring the Queen's affections by their own, or else presuming that their errors would be taken for an honest zeal, employed themselves as busily in the demolishing of altars and defacing of images, as if they had been licensed and commanded to it by some legal warrant². It happened also, that some of the Ministers which remained at home, and others which returned in great numbers from beyond the seas, had put themselves into the pulpits, and bitterly inveighed against the superstitions and corruptions of the Church of Rome. The Popish preachers did the like, and were not sparing of invectives against the others, whom they accused of heresies, schisms, and innovation in the worship of God. For the suppressing of which disorders on the one side, and those common disturbances on the other, the Queen set out two Proclamations much about one time; by one of which it was commanded

¹ 5 Eliz. c. 13. See Burnet, ii. 160; Campbell, Lives of Chancellors, ii. 94.

² Camden, 371; Hayw. 23.

that no man, of what persuasion soever he was in the points of religion, should be suffered from thenceforth to preach in public, but only such as should be licensed by her authority; and that all such as were so licensed or appointed should forbear preaching upon any point which was matter of controversy, and might conduce rather to exasperate than to calm men's passions¹. Which Proclamation was observed with such care and strictness, that no sermon was preached at St Paul's Cross or any public place in London till the Easter following. At what time the sermons which were to be preached in the Spittle (according to the ancient custom²) were performed by Doctor Bill, the Almoner to the Queen, and afterwards the first Dean of Westminster of the Queen's foundation, Doctor Richard Cox, formerly Dean of Westminster, preferred in short time after to the see of Ely, and Mr Robert Horn (of whom mention hath been made before at the troubles of Franckfort³), advanced not long after to the see of Winchester. The rehearsal sermon, accustomedly preached at St Paul's Cross on the Sunday following, was undertook by Doctor Thomas Sampson, then newly returned from beyond the seas, and after most unhappily made Dean of Christ-Church. But so it chanced that when he was to go into the pulpit the door was locked, and the key thereof not to be found, so that a smith was sent for to break open the door; and that being done, the like necessity was found of cleansing and making sweet the place, which by a long disuse had contracted so much filth and nastiness as rendered it unfit for another preacher⁴.

6. By the other Proclamation, which was published on

¹ Hayw. 5. This proclamation does not appear in Burnet, Strype, or Wilkins.

² "Time out of mind, it hath been a laudable custom, that on Good Friday in the afternoon, some especial learned man, by appointment of the prelates, hath preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, treating of Christ's Passion; and upon the three next Easter holydays, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the like learned men, by the like appointment, have used to preach on the forenoons at the said Spital [St Mary's without Bishopgate], to persuade the article of Christ's resurrection; and then on Low Sunday, one other learned man, at Paul's Cross, to make rehearsal of those four former sermons, either commending or reproving them, as to him (by judgment of the learned divines) was thought convenient." Stow's Survey of London, 176.

³ Sup. p. 178.

⁴ Stow, 637.

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the 30th of December¹, it was enjoined, That no man, of what quality or degree soever, should presume to alter anything in the state of religion, or innovate in any of the rites and ceremonies thereunto belonging, but that all such rites and ceremonies should be observed in all parish-churches of the kingdom as were then used and retained in her Majesty's Chapel, until some further order should be taken in it. Only it was permitted, and withal required, that the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should be said in the English tongue, and that the Epistle and the Gospel at the time of the High Mass should be read in English; which was accordingly done in all the churches of London on the next Sunday after, being New-Year's day, and by degrees in all the other churches of the kingdom also². Further than this she thought it not convenient to proceed at the present, but that she had commanded the Priest or Bishop (for some say it was the one, and some the other), who officiated at the altar in the Chapel-Royal, not to make any elevation of the Sacrament, the better to prevent that adoration which was given unto it, and which she could not suffer to be done in her sight without a most apparent wrong to her judgment and conscience³; which being made known in other places, and all other churches being commanded to conform themselves to the example of the Chapel, the elevation was forborne also in most other places, to the great discontent and trouble of the Popish party. And though there was no further progress toward a Reformation by any public act or edict, yet secretly a Reformation in the form of worship, and consequently in point of doctrine, was both intended and projected. For,—making none acquainted with her secret purposes but the Lord Mar-

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¹ Dated Dec. 27. Hayw. 5. Strype, Ann. i. Append. No. 3. Wilkins, iv. 180.

² Holinsh. iv. 153; Hayw. 13.

³ Rishton, in Sanders, 273; Camden, 371. "Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, preparing to say mass in the Royal Chapel on Christmas day, received an order not to elevate the host in the royal presence. He replied that his life was the Queen's, but that his conscience was his own; on which Elizabeth, rising immediately after the Gospel, retired with her attendants." Lingard, vii. 255. I am unable to refer to Dr Lingard's authorities for Oglethorpe's reply; that the Queen left the chapel after the Gospel is mentioned by Sir W. Fitzwilliam, in Ellis, Orig. Letters, 2nd Ser. ii. 261.

quess of Northampton, Francis, Earl of Bedford, Sir John Gray¹ of Pergo, (one of the late Duke of Suffolk's brothers,) and Sir William Cecil—she committed the reviewing of the former Liturgy to the care of Doctor Parker, Doctor Gryndal, Doctor Cox, Doctor Pilkington, Doctor Bill, Doctor May, and Mr Whitehead, together with Sir Thomas Smith, Doctor of the Laws, a very learned, moderate, and judicious gentleman². But what they did, and what preferments they attained to on the doing of it, we shall see anon, when we shall find the book reviewed, confirmed by Act of Parliament, and executed in all parts of the kingdom as that Act required.

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1558-9.
—
A commis-
sion for re-
vising the
Liturgy.

7. But first, some public acts of State and great solemnities of Court are to be performed. The funeral of the Queen deceased, solemnized on the 13th of December at the Abbey of Westminster, and the sermon preached by Doctor White³, then Bishop of Winchester, seemed only as a preamble to the like solemnity performed at the said place about ten days after, in the obsequies of Charles the Fifth; which mighty Emperor, having first left the world by resigning his kingdoms and retiring himself into a monastery, as before was said, did after leave his life also in September last; and now, upon the 24th of this present December, a solemn obsequy was kept for him in the wonted form,—a rich hearse being set up for him in the Church of Westminster, magnificently covered with a pall of gold, his own Ambassador serving as the principal mourner, and all the great lords and officers about the Court attending on the same in their ranks and orders⁴. And yet both these, though stately and majestic in their several kinds, came infinitely short of those pomps and triumphs which were prepared and reserved for the Coronation. As a preparation whereunto, she passed from Westminster to the Tower on the 12th of January⁵, attended by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and other citizens, in their barges, with the banners and escutcheons of their several companies, loud music sounding all

¹ Lord John Grey, the same who is mentioned above, p. 117.

² Camden, 371. Fuller, iv. 27. See the "Device for alteration of Religion," supposed to have been drawn up by Sir Thomas Smith, in Burnet, ii.; Strype, Annals, i. Append. No. 4; Cardwell, Conferences, 43.

³ Printed in Strype's Ecl. Mem. iii. Append. No. 81.

⁴ Stow, 635. Holinsh. iv. 153.

⁵ Stow, 635.

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1558-9.

New peerages
&c.

the way; and the next day she restored some unto their old, and advanced others to new honours, according to her own fancy and their deservings. The Marquess of Northampton, who had lain under an attaindure ever since the first beginning of the reign of Queen Mary¹, she restored in blood, with all his titles and estates. The Lord Edward Seimour, eldest son to the late Duke of Somerset, was by her reconfirmed in the titles of Viscount Beauchamp and Earl of Hartford, which had been formerly entailed upon him by Act of Parliament². The Lord Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas, the late Duke of Norfolk, and brother to Henry, Earl of Surrey, (beheaded in the last days of King Henry the Eighth) she advanced to the title of Viscount Howard of Bindon. She also preferred Sir Oliver St Johns, who derived himself from the Lady Margaret, daughter of John, Duke of Somerset³, from whom the Queen herself descended, to the dignity of Lord St John of Bletsoe; and Sir Henry Carie, son of Sir William Carie, Knight, and of Mary Bollen his wife, the only sister of Queen Anne Bollen, she promoted to the honour and degree of Lord Carie of Hunsdon⁴.

The corona-
tion.

8. The ordinary acts of grace and favour being thus dispatched, she prepares the next morning for a triumphant passage through London to her Palace at Westminster. But first, before she takes her chariot, she is said to have lifted up her eyes to heaven, and to have used some words to this or the like effect:—"O Lord, Almighty and everliving God, I give thee most hearty thanks that thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to see this joyful day. And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me as thou didst with thy true and faithful servant Daniel thy Prophet, whom thou deliverdest out of the den from the cruelty of the raging greedy lions. Even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered; to thee only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen⁵." Which said, she

¹ Sup. p. 84.

² Sup. i. 6, 251.

³ The new peer was not descended from the lady mentioned in the text,—Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII.,—but from her mother, Margaret Beauchamp, who, before marrying John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, had been the wife of Sir Oliver St John. Collins, vi. 741. Heylyn states the descent rightly in Exam. Hist. Pt. iii. 75.

⁴ Stow, 635. Camd. 371.

⁵ Holinshed, iv. 176.

mounted into her chariot with so clear a spirit as if she had been made for that day's solemnity. Entertained all the way she went with the joyful shouts and acclamations of "God save the Queen!" which she repaid with such a modest affability and so good a grace that it drew tears of joy from the eyes of some, with infinite prayers and thanksgiving from the hearts of all; but nothing more endeared her to them, than the accepting of an English Bible richly gilt, which was let down from one of the pageants by a child representing Truth¹. At the sight whereof she first kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received the book, which first she kissed and after laid unto her bosom, (as the nearest place unto her heart), giving the city greater thanks for that excellent gift than for all the rest which plentifully had been that day bestowed upon her, and promised to be diligent in the reading of it². By which and many other acts of popular piety, with which she passed away that day, she did not only gain the hearts of all them that saw her, but they that saw her did so magnify her most eminent graces that they procured the like affections in the hearts of all others also.

9. On the next morning, with like magnificence and splendour, she is attended to the Church of St Peter in Westminster, where she was crowned according to the order of the Roman Pontifical by Dr Owen Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle³, the only man among all the Bishops who could be wrought on by her to perform that office. Whether it were that they saw some alteration coming, to which they were resolved not to yield conformity, so that they could not be in a worse case upon this refusal than they should be otherwise; or that they feared the Pope's displeasure, if they should do an act so contrary unto his pretensions without leave first granted; or that they had their own particular animosities and spleens against her, (as the Archbishop of York particularly, for his being deprived of the Seal)—is not certainly known. None more condemned for the refusal than the Bishop of Ely⁴, as one

¹ Holinshed, iv. 163. This chronicler is very full on the subject of the pageants connected with the coronation.

² Ibid. 170; Hayw. 17.

³ Ibid. 176. Strype, Ann. i. 29, mentions a curious circumstance,—that Bonner's robes were borrowed for the occasion.

⁴ Thirlby.

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1558-9.

that had received his first preferment from the King her father, and who complied so far in the time of King Edward as to assist in the composing of the public Liturgy, and otherwise appeared as forward in the Reformation as any other of that order. So that no reason can be given either for his denial now to perform that service, or afterwards for his not complying with the Queen's proceedings, but that he had been one of those which were sent to Rome to tender the submission of the kingdom to the Pope still living¹, and could not now appear with honour in any such action as seemed to carry with it a repugnancy (if not a manifest inconsistency) with the said engagement. It cannot be denied but that there were three Bishops² living of King Edward's making, all of them zealously affected to the Reformation; and possibly it may seem strange that the Queen received not the Crown rather from one of their hands, than to put herself unto the hazard of so many denials as had been given her by the others. But unto this it may be answered, that the said Bishops at that time were deprived of their sees,—(but whether justly or unjustly, could not then be questioned)—and therefore not in a capacity to perform that service. Besides, there being at that time no other form established for a Coronation than that which had much in it of the ceremonies and superstitions of the Church of Rome, she was not sure that any of the said three Bishops would have acted in it, without such alterations and omissions in the whole course of that order as might have rendered the whole action questionable amongst captious men; and therefore finally she thought it more conducible to her reputation amongst foreign Princes to be crowned by the hands of a Catholic Bishop, (or one at least which was accounted to be such), than if it had been done by any of the other religion. 107
279

Meeting of
Parliament.

10. And now the Parliament draws on, summoned to begin on the 25th of that month, being the Anniversary day of St Paul's Conversion; a day which seemed to carry some good omen in it in reference to that great work of the Reformation which was therein to be established. The Parliament opened with an eloquent and learned sermon, preached by Dr Cox³, a man of good credit with the Queen, and of no less esteem with the Lords and Commons who carried any good

¹ Sup. p. 143.

² Coverdale, Scory, and Barlow.

³ Stow, 636.

affection to the memory of King Edward the Sixth¹. The choosing of which man to perform that service was able of itself to give some intimation of the Queen's design to most of the auditors; though, to say truth, the Bishops refusing to perform the ceremony of the coronation had made themselves incapable of a further trust. Nor could the Queen's design be so closely carried, but that such lords and gentlemen as had the managing of elections in their several countries retained² such men for members of the House of Commons as they conceived most likely to comply with their intentions for a Reformation³. Amongst which none appeared more active than Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, whom the Queen had taken into her Council, Henry Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundel, whom she continued in the office of Lord Steward, and Sir William Cecil, whom she had restored to the place of Secretary, to which he had been raised by King Edward the Sixth. Besides, the Queen was young, unmarried, and like enough to entertain some thoughts of an husband; so that it can be no great marvel, not only if many of the nobility, but some even of the gentry also, flattered themselves with possibilities of being the man whom she might choose to be her partner in the regal diadem. Which hopes much smoothed the way to the accomplishment of her desires, which otherwise might have proved more rugged and unpassable than it did at the present. Yet notwithstanding all their care, there wanted not some rough and furious spirits in the House of Commons, who eagerly opposed all propositions which seemed to tend unto the prejudice of the Church of Rome. Of which number none so violent as Story, Doctor of the Laws, and a great instrument of Bonner's butcheries in the former reign. Who, being questioned for the cruelty of his executions, appeared so far from being sensible of any error which he then committed, as to declare himself to be sorry for nothing more than that, instead of lopping off some few boughs and branches, he did not lay

¹ To whom Cox had been tutor, sup. i. 25.

² Qu. "returned?"

³ Camden, 372; who says that the Romanists represented this as having been done. The very same sort of management had been used in the preceding reign. See Queen Mary's letter to the Earl of Sussex before the Parliament in which the reconciliation with Rome was to be moved. Burnet, iii. ii. 283. On the interference of the Court in elections to the House of Commons in those days, see Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 45.

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his axe to the root of the tree¹; and though it was not hard to guess at how high a mark the wretch's malice seemed to aim, and what he meant by laying his axe to the root of the tree, yet passed he unpunished for the present, though Divine vengeance brought him in conclusion to his just reward². Others there were—and doubtless many others also—in the House of Commons, who had as great zeal as he to the Papal interest, but either had more modesty in the conduct of it, or preferred their duty and allegiance to their natural Prince before their zeal to the concerns of the Church of Rome.

New Acts.

11. In this Parliament there passed an Act for recognizing the Queen's just title to the Crown³; but without any Act for the validity of her mother's marriage, on which her title most depended. For which 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 incogitaney, to be less careful of her own and her mother's honour than the Ministers of the late Queen Mary had been of hers⁴. But Bacon was not to be told of an old law maxim, that "the Crown takes away all defects and stops in blood, and that, from the time that the Queen did assume the Crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged⁵." Which maxim, how unsafe soever it may seem to others, yet, since it goes for a known rule

¹ Fox, vi. 554; Hayw. 25; Strype, Ann. i. 70. Camden, Annal. p. 13, ed. 1615, refers Story's speech to the reign of Mary. "Ea tempestate, dum in minoris notæ Protestantæ sæviretur, J. Storius, Legum D. et alii ingenio inmiti [cf. p. 261] per circulos passim dictitarunt, Haeresis radicem (illam innuentes) excindendam, non ramusculos amputandos."

² He fled to Brabant, and was appointed searcher for English goods at Antwerp. Having been decoyed on board an English vessel in 1569, he was brought back, and committed to prison. In 1571 he was tried for having conspired the Queen's death, having advised the Duke of Alva how to invade England, and other such offences. He refused to submit to a trial, declaring himself a subject not of Elizabeth, but of the king of Spain; and denying that he was accountable in England for what he had done abroad. The judges, however, condemned him, and he was executed at Tyburn. Fuller, iv. 349. Camden in Kennett, ii. 417, 437. Burnet, ii. ii. 555. Fox, viii. 743. Speed, 870.

³ 1 Eliz. c. 3.

⁴ Camd. 25, ed. 1615.

⁵ "Licet jurisprudentia Anglicana jam olim pronuntiarit *Coronam semel susceptam omnes omnino defectus tollere.*" Ibid.

amongst our lawyers, could not be questioned at that present. AN. REG. I,
1558-9.

108 And possible it is that he conceived it better for the mar-
280 riage of the Queen's mother to pass unquestioned, as a mat-
ter justly subject unto no dispute, than to build the validity
of it on no better ground than an Act of Parliament, which
might be as easily reversed as it was agreed to. There passed
an Act also for restoring to the Crown the tenths and first-
fruits¹, first settled thereon in the time of King Henry the
Eighth, and afterwards given back by Queen Mary, as before
was said². For the better drawing on of which concession,
it was pretended that the patrimony of the Crown had been
much dilapidated, and that it could not be supported with
such honour as it ought to be, if restitution were not made
of such rents and profits as were of late dismembered from it.
Upon which ground they also passed an Act for the dissolution
of all such monasteries, convents, and religious orders, as had
been founded and established by the Queen deceased³. By
virtue of which Act the Queen was repossessed again of all
those lands which had been granted by her sister to the Monks
of Westminster and Shene, the Knights Hospitalers, the Nuns
of Sion, together with the mansion-houses re-edified for the
Observants at Greenwich, and the Black Friars in Smithfield.
Which last, being planted in a house near the dissolved Priory
of Great St Bartholomew's, had again fitted and prepared the
church belonging thereunto for religious offices; but had scarce
fitted and prepared it when dissolved again, and the church
afterwards made a parochial church for the use of the Close
and such as lived within the verge and precincts thereof. How
she disposed of Sion House, hath been shewn already⁴; and
what she did with the rich Abbey of Westminster, we shall
see hereafter⁵.

¹ 1 Eliz. c. 4.² P. 162.³ 1 Eliz. c. 24. Stow, 640. Holinshed, iv. 135.⁴ Sup. 191. The nuns of Sion retired to the continent, and, after various movements, settled at Lisbon. Fuller, iii. 493. There the convent was kept up until 1810, when its members were driven from Portugal by the war, and sought a refuge in England. "Two or three, advanced in years, were in 1825 living in the vicinity of the Potteries in Staffordshire,—the last remnant of an English community dissolved in the reign of Henry VIII." Monast. Angl. vi. 540.⁵ Eliz. ii. 26.

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1558-9.

Act of Su-
premac'y.

12. In the passing of these Acts there was little trouble ; in the next, there was. For when the Act of the Supremacy¹ came to be debated, it seemed to be a thing abhorrent even in nature and polity, that a woman should be declared to be the Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England. But those of the reformed party meant nothing less than to contend about words and phrases, so they might gain the point they aimed at, which was the stripping of the Pope of all authority within these dominions, and fixing the supreme power over all persons and estates, of what rank soever, in the Crown Imperial, —not by the name of Supreme Head, which they perceived might be made liable to some just exceptions ; but, which comes all to one, of the Supreme Governess². Which, when it gave occasion of discourse and descant amongst many of the captious Papists, Queen Mary helped her sister unto one good argument for her justification, and the Queen helped herself to another, which took off the cavil. In the third Session of Parliament in Queen Mary's time, there passed an Act declaring, "That the Regal power was in the Queen's Majesty, as fully as it had been in any of her predecessors³." In the body whereof it is expressed and declared, "That the law of the realm is, and ever hath been, and ought to be, understood, that the kingly or regal office of the realm, and all dignities, prerogatives royal, power, preeminences, privileges, authorities, and jurisdictions thereunto annexed, united, or belonging, being invested either in male or female, are, be, and ought to be, as fully, wholly, absolutely and entirely, deemed, adjudged, accepted, invested, and taken, in the one as⁴ in the other. So that whatsoever statute or law doth limit or appoint that the King of this realm may or shall have, execute, and do any thing as King, &c., the same the Queen (being Supreme Governess, possessor, and inheritor to the Imperial Crown of this realm) may by the same power have and execute, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, without

¹ 1 Eliz. c. 1. Fuller, iv. 264.

² Rishton (in Sanders, 275) will not admit that there was any real amendment. Sandys states, in a letter to Parker, that a scruple as to the title of 'Supreme Head' was *put into the Queen's mind by Lever*. Burnet, II. ii. 465.

³ 1 Mar. Sess. iii. c. 1.

⁴ Edd. 1, 2, "or."

doubt, ambiguity, scruple, or question, any custom, use, or any other thing to the contrary notwithstanding." By the very tenor of which Act Queen Mary grants unto her sister as much authority in all Church-concernments as had been exercised and enjoyed by her father and brother according to any Act or Acts of Parliament in their several times. Which Acts of Parliament, as our learned lawyers have declared upon these occasions, were not to be considered as introductory of a new power which was not in the Crown before, but only declaratory of an old, which naturally belonged to all Christian princes, and amongst others to the Kings and Queens of the realm of England¹.

13. And to this purpose it is pleaded by the Queen in her own behalf. Some busy and seditious persons had dispersed a rumour, that by the Act for recognizing of the Queen's supremacy there was something further ascribed unto the Queen, her heirs, and successors,—a power of administering divine service in the Church, which neither by any equity or true sense of the words could from thence be gathered; and thereupon she makes this declaration unto all her subjects:—"That nothing was or could be meant or intended by the said Act, than was acknowledged to be due to the most noble King of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, her Majesty's father, or King Edward the Sixth, her Majesty's brother." And further she declareth, "That she neither doth nor will challenge any other authority by the same than was challenged and lately used by the said two Kings, and was of ancient time due unto the Imperial Crown of this realm; that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all persons born within her realms or dominions, 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." Which explication, published in the Queen's Injunctions, anno 1559², not giving such a general satisfaction to that groundless cavil as was expected and intended, the Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation of the year 1562, by the Queen's authority and consent, declared more plainly; that is to say, "That they gave not to their Princes³,

¹ Coke's 5th Report, p. 8. ed. 1727. (Cawdrey's case.) Comp. Gibson, Codex, p. 48.

² Wilkins, iv. 138.

³ Edd. "Princess."

AN. REG. 1, by virtue of the said Act or otherwise, either the ministering
 1559. of God's word or sacraments, but that only prerogative which they saw to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himself; that is to say, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evildoers¹."

14. ²By all which if the cavils of the adversary be not fully answered, it would be known upon what reason they should question that in a sovereign Queen which they allow in many cases to a Lady Abbess. For that an Abbess may be capable of all and all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, even to the denouncing of that dreadful sentence of excommunication, and that they may lawfully exercise the same upon all such as live within the verge of their authority, is commonly acknowledged by their greatest canonists. First, for suspension, it is affirmed by their Gloss that an Abbess may suspend such clerks as are subject to her, both from their benefice and office³. And questionless either to suspend a Clerk, or to bring his Church under the sentence of an interdict, is one of the chief parts of ecclesiastical or spiritual censures. Nor have they this authority only by way of delegation from the Pope in some certain cases,—as is affirmed by Aquinas, Durandus, Sylvester, Dominicus Soto, and many other of their schoolmen,—but in an ordinary way, as properly and personally invested in⁴ them,—which is the general opinion of their greatest canonists. Next, for the Sacraments, it is sufficiently known that the ministration of Baptism is performed by midwives and many other women, as of common course; not only as a thing connived at in extreme necessity, but as a necessary duty, in which they are to be instructed against all emergencies by their parish priests; for which we have the testimony of the late Lord Legate, in the articles published by him for his visitation⁵. And finally, for excommunication, it is affirmed by Paludanus⁶ and Navarre

¹ Articles of Religion, No. xxxvii.

² It is probable that the substance of this section is taken from some treatise, according to our author's practice in similar cases. Some of the matter may be found in Andrewes' "Tortura Torti," p. 151.

³ Decretal. Gregorii, l. i. tit. 33. c. 12. Cf. Andrewes, 151.

⁴ Edd. 1, 2, omit "in." ⁵ Sup. p. 197. ⁶ Edd. "Palladanus."

(none of the meanest in the pack), that the Pope may grant that power to a woman also¹; higher than which there can be none exercised in the Church by the sons of men. And if a Pope may grant these powers unto a woman, as to a Prioress or Abbess or to any other, there can be then no incapacity in the sex for exercising any part of that jurisdiction which was restored unto the Crown by this Act of Parliament. And if perhaps it be objected that a Lady Abbess is an ecclesiastical or spiritual person in regard of her office, which cannot be affirmed of Queens, Pope Gregory himself will come in to help us, by whom it was not thought unfit to commit the cognizance of a cause concerning the purgation of a Bishop who stood charged with some grievous crime to Brunichildis, or Brunholt, Queen of France; of which although the Gloss upon the Decretals be pleased to say², That the Pope stretched his power too far in this particular, yet Gregory did no more therein but what the Popes may do, and have done of late times by their own confession; so little ground there is for so great a clamour as hath been made by Bellarmine and other of the popish Jesuits upon this occasion.

AN. REG. 1,
1559.

Oath of Supremacy.

15. Now for the better exercising and enjoying of the jurisdiction thus recognized unto the Crown, there are two clauses in the Act of great importance; the first whereof contains an oath, for the acknowledgement and defence of the Supremacy, not only in the Queen, but her heirs and successors; the said oath to be taken by all Archbishops, Bishops, and all other ecclesiastical persons, and also by all temporal judges, justiciaries, mayors, or any other temporal officers, &c. For the refusal whereof, when lawfully tendered to them by such as were

¹ Andrewes, 151.

² "Fuit hic nimium populariter [papaliter] dispensatum." *Author*. [Gratiani Decretum, Causa ii. Quæst. 5, "Mennam." Dr Jelf states that "the latter part of the section is not found in the Epistle of Gregory referred to, nor does Gratian hint at the place whence he takes it." (Note on Jewel, ii. 238.) The note on the Decretum strongly denies the alleged fact, and refers the error to an oversight supposed to be made in reading a part of something else as a continuation of St Gregory's Epistle to Brunichildis. But Dr Jelf, in a note on another place where Jewel quotes the passage (vi. 313), says, that "there seems some mystery to hang over the subject, as both the Decretum and the Gloss are ancient; and it is not impossible that the passage was fraudulently expunged from St Gregory's Epistles."]

AN. REG. 1, thereto commissioned under the Great Seal of England, every
 1558-9. such person so refusing was actually to stand deprived of his
 or their ecclesiastical preferments, or other temporal office, of
 what sort soever; only it was provided that the oath should not
 be imposed on any of the temporal peers, of whose fidelity the
 Queen seemed willing to assure herself without any such tie; though
 this exemption was esteemed by others but a piece of cunning, the
 better to facilitate the passing of that Act amongst them, which
 otherwise they might have hindered. But this provision was not
 made till the following Parliament, though for the reason before
 mentioned it was promised now. By the last¹ clause it was enacted,
 “That it should and might be lawful to the Queen, her heirs, and
 successors, by letters patents under the Great Seal of England,
 to assign, name, and authorise, when and as often as her Highness,
 her heirs, or successors, should think convenient, such persons,
 being natural-born subjects to them, to exercise, use, and occupy,
 under her Highness, her heirs, and successors, all manner of
 jurisdictions, privileges, and pre-eminences, in any wise touching
 or concerning any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within
 the realm of England and Ireland, or any other her Highness’
 dominions or countries, and to visit, reform, redress², 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, or can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered,
 redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, to the pleasure
 of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and conservation of
 the peace and unity of this realm.” With a proviso notwithstanding,
 that nothing should from thenceforth be accounted for heresy,
 but what was so adjudged in the Holy Scripture, or in one of
 the four first general Councils, or in any other national or
 provincial Council, determining according to the Word of God;
 or, finally, which should be so adjudged in the time to come
 by the Court of Parliament, first having the assent of the
 Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation. This was the first
 foundation of that famous Court of High Commission, the
 principal bulwark and preservative of the Church of

The Sovereign authorized to constitute Ecclesiastical Commissions.

¹ i. e. the latter of the two mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph; for it is by no means the last clause of the Act.

² Edd. “repress.”

England against the practices and assaults of all her adversaries, whether popish or puritan. And from hence issued that Commission¹ by which the Queen's ministers proceeded in their visitation in the first year of her reign, for rectifying all such things as they found amiss, and could not be redressed by any ordinary episcopal power without the spending of more time than the exigencies of the Church could then admit of.

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111 16. There also passed another Act for recommending and
283 imposing the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of
the Sacraments, according to such alterations and corrections
as were made therein by those who were appointed to revise it,
as before is said. In the performance of which service, there
was great care taken for expunging all such passages in it as
might give any scandal or offence to the popish party, or be
urged by them in excuse for their not coming to Church and
joining with the rest of the congregation in God's public wor-
ship. In the Litany first made and published by King Henry
the Eighth, and afterwards continued in the two Liturgies of
King Edward the Sixth, there was a prayer to be delivered
"from the tyranny and all the detestable enormities of the Bishop
of Rome;" which was thought fit to be expunged, as giving
matter of scandal and disaffection to all that party, or that²
otherwise wished well to that religion. In the first Liturgy of
King Edward, the Sacrament of the Lord's Body was delivered
with this benediction, that is to say, "The Body of our Lord
Jesus Christ, which was given for the preservation of thy body
and soul to life everlasting³; The Blood of our Lord Jesus
Christ," &c. Which, being thought by Calvin and his disciples
to give some countenance to the gross and carnal presence of
Christ in the sacrament, which passeth by the name of transub-
stantiation in the schools of Rome, was altered into this form
in the second Liturgy, that is to say, "Take and eat this
in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in
thy heart by faith with thanksgiving. Take and drink this,"
&c. But the revisers of the book joined both forms together,
lest, under colour of rejecting a carnal, they might be thought
also to deny such a real presence as was defended in the writings

Act for
Uniformity
of Common
Prayer,
1 Eliz. c. 2.

¹ Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. 223.

² Edd. 1, 2 omit "that."

³ The words were, as in our present book, "which was given for thee, preserve thy body," &c. Cardwell, Liturgies, 303.

AN. REG. 1,
1558-9. of the ancient Fathers. Upon which ground they expunged also a whole rubric at the end of the Communion Service, by which it was declared that kneeling at the participation of the sacrament was required for no other reason than for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ given therein unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid that profanation and disorder which otherwise might have ensued, and not for giving any adoration to the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, "or in regard of any real and essential presence of Christ's body and blood¹." And to come up the closer to those of the Church of Rome, it was ordered by the Queen's Injunctions², that the sacramental bread (which the book required only to be made of the finest flour) should be made round, in fashion of the wafers used in the time of Queen Mary. She also ordered that the Lord's table should be placed where the altar stood³, that the accustomed reverence should be made at the name of Jesus, music retained in the Church, and all the old festivals observed with their several eves. By which compliances, and the expunging of the passages before remembered, the book was made so passable amongst the Papists, that for ten years they generally repaired to their parish-churches without doubt or scruple, as is affirmed not only by Sir Edward Coke, in his speech against Garnet⁴, and his charge given at the assizes held at Norwich⁵, but also

¹ "Being thus left out, it appears no more in any of our Common Prayers till the last Review; at which time it was again added, with some little amendment of the expression and transposal of the sentences, but exactly the same throughout as to the sense, except that the words *real and essential presence* were thought proper to be changed for *corporal presence*." Wheatley. Compare Cardwell, Conferences, pp. 34-35, ed. 1840.

² Wilkins, iv. 132-9.

³ There was, however, a provision attached, which could not have been pleasing to Romanists,—that at the administration of the Holy Communion the table should "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 ministrations, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, communicate with the minister." Wilkins, iv. 133.

⁴ Howell's State Trials, ii. 222. Comp. Cawdrey's Case, Coke's Reports, Pt. v. 25, seqq. ed. 1727.

⁵ "As well those restrained, as generally all the papists in this kingdom, not any of them did refuse to come to our church, and yield their formal obedience to the laws established. And thus they all continued,

by the Queen herself, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham¹, AN. REG. 1,
1559. then being her resident or Leiger-Embassador in the Court of France; the same confessed by Sanders also in his book *de Schismate*².

17. And that the book might pass the better in both Houses when it came to the vote, it was thought requisite that a disputation³ should be held about some points which were most likely to be checked at; the disputants to be five Bishops and four other learned men of the one side, and nine of the most learned men, graduated in the schools, on the other side; the disputation to begin on the 30th of March, and to be holden in the Church of Westminster, in the presence of as many of the Lords of the Council and of the members of both Houses as were desirous to inform themselves in the state of the questions. The disputation for that reason to be held in the English tongue, and to be managed (for the better avoiding of confusion) by a mutual interchange of writings upon every point—those writings which were mutually given in upon one day to be reciprocally answered on another, and so from day to day till the whole were ended. To all which points the Bishops gave consent for themselves and the rest of their party, though they refused to stand unto them when it came to the trial. The points to be disputed on were three in number,

Disputation
of Divines at
Westminster.

not any one refusing to come to our churches, during the first ten years of her Majesty's government. And in the beginning of the eleventh year of her reign, Cornwallis, Bedingfield, and Silyarde, were the first recusants; they absolutely refusing to come to our churches. And until they in that sort began, the name of recusant was never heard of amongst us." Coke's Charge at Norwich, Lond. 1607, fol. 12.

¹ A. D. 1570. Heyl. Aër. Redivivus, 260, where other authorities to the same purpose are given. Also Eecl. Vindic. Preface. Comp. Andrewes, "Tort. Torti," 130-1; Fullwood, "Roma Ruit," ed. Hardwick, Camb. 1347, Append. p. 317; Wordsworth, Eecl. Biog. iii. 317.

² Or rather his continuer, Rishton, pp. 291-2. He says, however, that the Romanists at the same time celebrated their own rites in private; and he adds, "Ino quod magis mirum ac miserum erat, sacerdos nonnunquam prius rem sacram domi faciens, deferebat pro catholicis, quos ipse id desiderare cognoverat, hostias secundum formam ab Ecclesia usitatum consecratas, quas eodem tempore iisdem dispensabat, quo panes hæreticorum ritu confectos, cæteris Catholice fidei minus studiosis distribuebat."

³ For the best account of these proceedings, see Cardwell's Conferences on the Common Prayer, cc. i.-ii.

AN. REG. 1, that is to say: [1.] “That it is against the Word of God and the custom of the ancient Church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in Common Prayer, and in the administration of the Sacraments. 2. That every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification. 3. That it cannot be proved by the word of God that there is in the Mass offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the living and the dead.” And for the disputants of each side, they were these that follow¹, that is to

¹ There is a considerable variety of statements as to the number and the names of the disputants.

(i.) A letter of the Privy Council (Cardw. 25—9) states that an offer had been made to Archbishop Heath for a conference of eight, nine, or ten on each side, and that *eight* was the number fixed on.

(ii.) Jewel, in a letter written before the disputation (Zurich Letters, ed. 2, p. 23) mentions *nine* as the number on each side. He gives the names of the Protestants in agreement with Heylyn, but speaks of *five* bishops of the other party, (not named) and omits Langdale. Hayward, p. 19, agrees with this, but that he does not name *any* of the Romanists.

(iii.) Collier (vi. 207) and Dr Cardwell (25) give *eight* on each side, omitting Feckenham and Sandys.

(iv.) Fuller’s list is the same; except that he inserts Sandys and omits Cox (iv. 274-5).

(v.) Fox states that the number of each party was *eight*, but gives *nine* of each, differing from the statement in the text by the substitution of Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle, for Feckenham. Stow (639), Holinshed (iv. 183), Speed (858), and Burnet (ii. 776), have the same list as Fox.

(vi.) Camden (in Kennett, ii. 372) omits Scory, and gives both Cox and Sandys. On the Romish side, he omits Scot and Feckenham,—which reduces the number to seven.

(vii.) Strype, on the authority of a letter of Cox to Weidner, and of the letter of the Council, says that there were only eight of each party, “so that the Bishop of Carlisle on the Papists’ side, and Sandys on that of the Protestants, are misadded; though probably they were present at the Conference. And we find that the Bishop of Carlisle was present on the second day; and so was Turberville, Bishop of Exeter, too, and Abbot Fecknam.” Ann. i. 87-8.

We might be satisfied with this last statement, were it not that Feckenham’s connexion with the Conference does not appear to have been merely that of a witness; for he is mentioned in the letter of the Privy Council, as distinguished from the rest of his party by having been willing to read his arguments. That Fuller was wrong in omitting the name of Cox, appears from that divine’s own letter to Weidner (in Cardwell, 93), and from his signature to a paper of arguments, ib. 162. There

say, first, for the Popish party, Dr White, Bishop of Winchester, Dr Bayne, Bishop of Lichfield, Dr Scot, Bishop of Chester, and Dr Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, Dr Fecknam, Abbot of Westminster, Dr Henry Cole, Dean of St Paul's, Dr Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr Chadsey, Prebendary¹ of St Paul's, and Dr Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewis in Sussex. For those of the Protestant persuasion appeared Dr Scory, the late Bishop of Chichester, Dr Cox, the late Dean of Westminster, Dr Sandys, late Master of Katherine Hall, Mr Horn, the late Dean of Durham, Mr Elmar, late Archdeacon of Stow, Mr Whitehead, Mr Gryndal, Mr Guest, and Mr Jewel; all of which, except only Whitehead, attained afterwards to some eminent place in the sacred hierarchy.

18. The day being come, and the place fitted and accommodated for so great an audience, the Lord Keeper Bacon takes the chair as Moderator,—not for determining anything in the points disputed, but for seeing good order to be kept, and that the Disputation might be managed in the form agreed on. When, contrary to expectation, the Bishops and their party brought nothing in writing to be read publicly in the hearing of all the auditors, but came resolved to try it out by word of mouth, and to that end appointed Cole to be their spokesman. For which neglect being reproved by the Lord Keeper, they promised a conformity on the Monday following, being the second day of April; but would not stand unto it then, because they would not give their adversaries so much leisure as a whole night's deliberation to return an answer. Desired and pressed by the Lord Keeper to proceed according to the form agreed on, for the better satisfaction and contentment of so great an audience, it was most obstinately denied; Watson and White behaving themselves with so little reverence (or so much insolency rather), as to threaten the Queen with excommunication in that public audience²; for which they were are seven other names attached to the paper, that of Sandys being the one which does not appear. On the whole, there seems to be good ground for believing that eight was the number on each side; and of the names mentioned in the various lists, we may perhaps do best by omitting Sandys of the Protestant party, and Oglethorpe and Langdale of the Romanists.

¹ Edd. 1, 2, "Prebend."

² They were disposed to excommunicate her (Camd. 29. ed. 1615); but it does not appear that they uttered any threat at the Conference, although they behaved violently.

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committed to the Tower on the fifth of April. The rest of the Bishops were commanded to abide in London, and to give bond for their appearance at the Council-table whensoever they should be required. And so the whole assembly was dismissed, and the conference ended before it had been well begun,—the Lord Keeper giving to the Bishops this sharp remembrance, “Since,” (said he) “you are not willing that we should hear you, you shall very shortly hear from us¹.” Which notwithstanding produced this good effect in the Lords and Commons, that they conceived the Bishops were not able to defend their doctrine in the points disputed; which made the way more easy for the passing of the public Liturgy, when it was brought unto the vote. Two speeches there were made against it in the House of Peers, by Scot and Fecknam, and one against the Queen’s supremacy by the Archbishop of York; but they prevailed as little in both points by the power of their eloquence, as they had done in the first by their want of arguments.

19. It gave much matter of discourse to most knowing men, that the Bishops should so wilfully fall from an appointment to which they had before agreed, and thereby forfeit their whole cause to a condemnation. But they pretended for themselves that they were so straitened in point of time that they could not possibly digest their arguments into form and order; that they looked upon it as a thing too much below them to humble themselves to such a conference or disputation, in which Bacon, a mere layman and of no great learning, was to sit as judge; and finally, that the points had been determined already by the Catholic Church, and therefore were not to be called in question without leave from the Pope². Which last pretence if it were of any weight and moment, it must be utterly impossible to proceed to any Reformation in the state of the Church by which the power and pride of the Popes of Rome may be any thing lessened, or that the corruptions of the Church should be redressed, if it consist not with their profit. For want of time they were no more straitened than the opposite party,—none of them knowing with what arguments the other side would fortify and confirm their cause, nor in what forms they would propose them, before they had perused their reciprocal papers. But nothing was more weakly urged

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¹ Hayw. 23.

² Camden, 27, Lat.

than their exception against the presidency of Sir Nicholas Bacon, which could not be considered as a matter either new or strange. Not strange, because the like presidency had been given frequently to Cromwel, in the late reign of King Henry the Eighth, and that not only in such general conferences, but in several convocations and synodical meetings¹. Not new, because the like had been frequently practised by the most godly Kings and Emperors of the Primitive times; for in the Council of Chalcedon the Emperor appointed certain noblemen to sit as judges, whose names occur in the first action of that Council². The like we find exemplified in the Ephesine Council, in which, by the appointment of Theodosius and Valentinian, then Roman Emperors, Candidianus³, a Count Imperial, sat as Judge or President, who in the managing of that trust over-acted anything which was done by Cromwel, as Vicar-General to that King, or Bacon was empowered to do as the Queen's Commissioner⁴. No such unreasonable condescension to be found in this as was pretended by the Bishops and the rest of that party, to save themselves from the guilt and censure of a tergiversation; for which and other their contempts we shall find them called to a reckoning within few months after.

20. In the Convocation⁵ which accompanied the present Parliament there was little done, and that little which they did was to little purpose. Held under Bonner, in regard of the vacancy of the see of Canterbury⁶, it began without the ordinary preamble of a Latin Sermon, all preaching being then prohibited by the Queen's command. The Clergy for their Prolocutor made choice of Doctor Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury,—a man of more ability (as his works declare) than he had any opportunity to make use of in the present service. The Act of the submission of the Clergy to King Henry the Eighth and his successors Kings of England, had been repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, so that the Clergy might have acted of their own authority, without any license from the Queen; and it is much to be admired that Bonner, White, or

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Proceedings
in Convoca-
tion.

¹ Sup. i. 10.

² Concilia Maxima, edd. Labbe et Cossart, iv. 78.

³ Baronius, v. 587, 593, ed. Antverp. 1658.

⁴ Comp. Sarpi, 136; Heylyn's Tracts, 43; Field "Of the Church," b. v. c. 53.

⁵ Wilkins, iv. 179. Fuller, iv. 169.

⁶ See p. 103, note 2.

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Watson did not put them to it; but such was either their fear or modesty, or a despair of doing any good to themselves and the cause, that there was nothing done by the Bishops at all, and not much more by the lower Clergy than a declaration of their judgment in some certain points which at that time were conceived fit to be commended to the sight of the Parliament: that is to say, “1. That in the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of Christ’s assisting, after the word is duly pronounced by the Priest¹, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, is really present under the species of bread and wine, as also his natural blood. 2. That after the consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine, or any substance save the substance of God and man. 3. That the true body of Christ and his [true] blood is offered for a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. 4. That the supreme power of feeding and governing the militant Church of Christ, and of confirming their brethren, is given to Peter the Apostle, and to his lawful successors in the see Apostolic, as unto the vicars of Christ. 5. That the authority to handle and define such things which belong to faith, the sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical, hath hitherto ever belonged, and only ought to belong, unto the pastors of the Church whom the Holy Spirit hath placed in the Church², and not unto lay-men.” These Articles they caused to be engrossed, and so commended them to the care and consideration of the higher house. By Bonner afterwards, that is to say on the third of March, presented to the hands of the Lord Keeper Bacon, by whom they were candidly received³. But they prevailed no further with the Queen or the House of Peers when imparted to them, but that possibly they might help forward the disputation which not long after was appointed to be held at Westminster, as before was said.

21. It was upon the eighth of May that the parliament ended, and on the 24th of June that the public Liturgy was to be officiated in all the Churches of the kingdom. In the

¹ This is Fuller’s translation of the Latin which he gives,—“Virtute Christi, verbo et a sacerdote debite prolato, assistentis.” The words in Wilkins are “virtute verbi Christi, a sacerdote debite prolati existentis.”

² “Quos Spiritus Sanctus *in hoc* in ecclesia Dei posuit.”

³ “Qui articulos predictos, ut apparebat, gratanter accepit, sed nullum omnino responsum dedit.” Mr Brewer erroneously substitutes the name of Archbishop Heath, the Chancellor, for that of Bacon, the Keeper. See above, p. 269.

The Bishops
all but one
refuse the
oath of Su-
premacy,

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performance of which service the Bishops giving no encouragement, and many of the Clergy being backward in it, it was thought fit to put them to the final test, and either to bring them to conformity, or to bestow their places and preferments on more tractable persons. The Bishops at that time had been reduced into a narrower number than at any other time before. The sees of Salisbury and Oxon had been made vacant in the year 1557, by the death of Capon in the one, and of King in the other; neither of which Churches had since been filled, and that of Oxon not in ten years after¹. Purefew² of Hereford, Holyman of Bristow, and Glyn of Bangor, died some few weeks before the Queen; Cardinal Pole of Canterbury on the same day with her; Hopton of Norwich, and Brooks of Gloucester, within few weeks after³. Griffin of Rochester departed this life about the beginning of the parliament⁴; about which time also Pates of Worcester forsook the kingdom, and was followed by Goldwel of St Asaph in the end of May; so that there were no more than fifteen⁵ living of that sacred order. And they, being called in the beginning of July by certain of the Lords of the Council, commissioned thereunto in due form of law, were then and there required to take the oath of Supremacy, according to the law made in that behalf. Kitchin of Landaff only takes it, who, having formerly submitted unto every change, resolved to shew himself no changing in not conforming to the pleasure of the higher powers. By all the rest it was refused; that is to say by Dr Heath, Archbishop of York, Bonner of London, Tonstall of Durham, White of Winchester, Thirlby of Ely, Watson of Lincoln, Pool of Peterborough, Christopherson of Chichester, Bourn of Wells, Turberville of Exeter, Morgan of St David's, Bayne of Lichfield, Scot of Chester, and Oglethorp Bishop of Carlisle. And yet these men (which makes it seem the greater wonder) had either taken the like oath as Priests or Bishops in some part or other of the reign of the two last Kings.

¹ The delay as to Salisbury has been explained, p. 215. King having died Dec. 4, 1557, Bishop Goldwell, of St Asaph, was nominated to Oxford in the reign of Mary, and received the temporalities, Oct. 25, 1558. Thomas Wood was nominated as his successor in St Asaph, Nov. 5, 1558. Richardson, Notes on Godwin, 545, 642. The death of the Queen interfered with the execution of these arrangements.

² Edd. 1, 2. "Pacefew."

³ Sup. p. 227

⁴ Nov. 20. Godwin, 538.

⁵ Fourteen. See p. 295, n. 1.

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1559.and are de-
prived.

22. But now they had hardened one another to a resolution of standing out unto the last, and were thereupon deprived of their several Bishopricks, as the law required—a punishment which came not on them all at once, some of them being borne withal (in hope of their conformity and submission) till the end of September. And when it came, it came accompanied with so much mercy that they had no reason to complain of the like extremity as they had put upon their brethren in the late Queen's time. So well were they disposed of and accommodated with all things necessary, that they lived more at ease, and in as prosperous a condition, as when they were possessed of their former dignities. Archbishop Heath was suffered to abide in one of his own purchased houses¹, never restrained to any place, and died in great favour with the Queen, who bestowed many gracious visits on him during this retirement. Tonstall of Durham spent the remainder of his time with Archbishop Parker, by whom he was kindly entertained, and honourably buried². The like civility afforded also in the same house to Thirlby of Ely³, and unto Bourn of Wells⁴ by the Dean of Exon, in which two houses they both died about ten years after. White, though at first imprisoned for his haunts and insolencies, after some cooling of himself in the Tower of London, was suffered to enjoy his liberty, and to retire himself to what friend he pleased⁵. Which favour was vouchsafed unto Turberville⁶ also, who, being by birth a gentleman of an ancient family, could not want friends to give him honest entertainment. Watson, of Lincoln, having endured a short restraint, spent the remainder of his time with the Bishops of Rochester and Ely, till, being found practising against the state, he was finally shut up in Wisbich castle, where at last he died⁷. Oglethorp⁸ died soon after his deprivation, of an apoplexy, Bayne⁹ of the stone, and Morgan¹⁰ of some other disease in December following; but all of them in their beds, and in perfect liberty. Pool, by the clemency of the Queen, enjoyed the like freedom, courteously treated by all persons

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¹ At Cobham in Surrey. Camden in Kennett, ii. 376; who, with Fuller, iv. 280-1, is generally followed in this paragraph. Comp. Strype Parker, b. ii. c. 16; Andrews, Tort. Torti, 145-7.

² Godwin, 756.

³ Ib. 273.

⁴ Ib. 383.

⁵ Camd. 376.

⁶ Godwin, 417.

⁷ 1584. Ibid. 301.

⁸ Godwin, 770.

⁹ Ibid. 343.

¹⁰ Ibid. 586.

amongst whom he lived, and at last died upon one of his own farms in a good old age. And as for Christopherson¹, he had been in his time so good a benefactor to Trinity College in Cambridge, whereof he had been sometimes Master, that he could not want some honest and ingenious retribution, if the necessity of his estate had required the same. Bonner alone was doomed to a constant imprisonment, which was done rather out of care for his preservation than as a punishment of his crimes; the prison proving to that wretch his safest sanctuary, whose horrid tyrannies had otherwise exposed him to the popular fury. So loud a lie is that of Genebrard, (though a good chronologer) that the Bishops were not only punished with imprisonment and the loss of their livelihoods, but that many of them were destroyed by poison, famine, and many other kinds of death².

23. The Bishops being thus put to it, the oath is tendered next to the Deans and Dignitaries, and by degrees also to the rural Clergy; refused by some, and took by others, as it seemed most agreeable to their consciences or particular ends. For the refusal whereof, or otherwise not conforming to the public Liturgy, I find no more to have been deprived of their preferments, than fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, Priors, and Governors of religious Orders, twelve Deans, and as many Archdeacons, fifteen Presidents or Masters of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries of Cathedral Churches, and about eighty Parsons or Vicars³;—the whole number not amounting to 200 men, which, in a realm consisting of nine thousand parishes, and twenty-six Cathedral Churches, could be no great matter. 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 them

Other deprivations.

¹ Fuller, in his History of Cambridge, mentions him as ejected, and Burnet supposed him to have survived the change of religion. But Strype, in Burnet m. ii. 548, and Harmer (Wharton) 153, shew that such was not the case. Machyn (134) records his burial on Dec. 23, 1558. Comp. Richardson, in Godwin, 513.

² "Clero et episcopis carcere et rerum suarum amissione multatis, nonnullis etiam veneno, necesse, &c. absumptis." Genebr. Chronographia, 737. ed. Lugd. 1609.

³ Camden in Kennett, ii. 376. Strype quotes a Cottonian MS., which makes the whole number 192, including abbesses. Ann. i. 72. As Christopherson was dead, the number of Bishops deprived was 13.

AN. REG. 1,
1539.

Puritans preferred.

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; and otherwise that they might be able to relieve their brethren, who could not so readily frame themselves to present compliance. Which notwithstanding, so it was, that, partly by the deprivation of these few persons, but principally by the death of so many in the last year's sickness, there was not a sufficient number of learned men to supply the cures; which filled the Church with an ignorant and illiterate Clergy¹, whose learning went no further than the Liturgy or the Book of Homilies, but otherwise conformable (which was no small felicity) to the rules of the Church. And on the other side, many were raised to great preferments, who, having spent their time of exile in such foreign Churches as followed the platform of Geneva, returned so disaffected to Episcopal Government, unto² the rites and ceremonies here by law established, as not long after filled the Church with most sad disorders; not only to the breaking of the bond of peace, but to the grieving and extinguishing of the spirit of unity. Private opinions not regarded, nothing was more considered in them, than their zeal against Popery and their abilities in

¹ "Cum autem viri docti rarius invenirentur, multi ex officina mechanici, et non minus illiterati quam ipsi pontificii sacerdotes, dignitates ecclesiasticas, prebendas, et opima sacerdotia consecuti sunt." Camd. p. 39. ed. 1615. The evil consequences of admitting such persons to holy orders were very soon felt. Strype gives a letter of Archbishop Parker to Grindal, then Bishop of London, dated Aug. 15, 1560, in which it is stated, that "now by experience it was seen that such manner of men, partly by reason of their former profane arts, partly by their light behaviour otherwise, and trade of life, were very offensive unto the people; and unto the wise of this realm they were thought to do a great deal more hurt than good, the Gospel thereby sustaining slander." The Bishops are, therefore, charged "to be more circumspect in admitting any to the ministry; and only to allow such as, having good testimony of their honest conversation, had been traded and exercised in learning, or, at the least, had spent their time in teaching of children; excluding all others which had been brought up and sustained themselves either by occupations or other kinds of life alienated from learning." Life of Parker, 91. (*Traded* is not, as we might suppose, put by mistake for *trained*; in Stapleton's "Fortress of Faith," as quoted by Fulke in his Answer, reprinted by the Parker Society, 1848, the word is used in the same sense as here,— "The preachers which were *traded up* by them were of a virtuous conversation," p. 121.)

Qu. "and to?"

learning to confirm that zeal. On which account we find the Queen's Professor in Oxford¹ to pass amongst the Nonconformists, though somewhat more moderate than the rest; and Cartwright, the Lady Margaret's in Cambridge, to prove an unextinguished firebrand to the Church of England²; Whittingham³, the chief ringleader of the Franckfort schismatics, preferred unto the Deanery of Durham, from thence encouraging Knox and Goodman in setting up Presbytery and sedition in the Kirk of Scotland; Sampson advanced unto the Deanery of Christ Church, and within few years after turned out again for an incorrigible Nonconformist⁴; Hardiman, one of the first twelve Prebendaries⁵ of the Church of Westminster, deprived soon after for throwing down the altar, and defacing the vestments of the Church⁶. Which things I only touch at now, leaving the further prosecution of them to another place.

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1559.

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24. Of all these traverses the Pope received advertisement, from the first to the last. But, being of a rugged humour, he fell most infinitely short of that dexterity which the case required for finding out a fit expedient to prevent the rupture. When his first sullen fits had left him, he began to treat more seriously with the English Agent; not that the Queen should sue unto him for the Crown, which she was possessed of, but that no alteration of religion might be driven at by her. To which Karn answered according to such instructions as he had received, That he could give him no assurance in that point, unless the Pope would first declare,

Transactions
with the
Pope.

¹ Laurence Humphrey, Professor from 1560 to 1589. Le Neve, Fasti, 471.

² Eliz. vi. 3.

³ Edd. "Whittington." He was Dean of Durham from 1563 to 1579. Le Neve, 351.

⁴ Eliz. vi. 4.

⁵ Edd. 1, 2. "Prebends."

⁶ Wood gives the following account of this person:—"He ran with the mutable times of King Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary, and, being in shew a zealous Protestant in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, was by her made the first canon of the second stall in the collegiate church of Westminster, in the year 1560. About which time, being well known among the puritanical party (who began to shew themselves betimes), he was made their instrument to break down the altars, and to deface the ancient utensils and ornaments of the church of Westminster. For which, upon complaint, he was deprived by the Queen's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, in 1567. Fasti, Oxon. i. 110.

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that the marriage of King Henry with Queen Anne Bollen had been good and lawful. Which cross request so stumbled both the Pope and the Conclave, that they made choice rather of doing nothing than to do that of which they could not promise to themselves any fortunate issue. Roused at the last by the continual alarms which came from England, he entertains some secret practices with the French, and on the sudden signifies his commands to Karn that he should not depart out of Rome without his leave, and that in the mean time he should take upon him the government of the English hospital in the city¹. In which command each of them is affirmed to have had his own proper ends: for Karn affected that restraint, which he was thought to have procured under hand because he had no mind to return into England, where he was like to find a different religion from that which he embraced in his own particular. And the Pope had his own ends also, in hindering, as he thought, the discovering of that secret intelligence which he maintained with the French King, to the Queen's destruction, if his designs had took effect. But his design was carried with so little cunning that presently it discovered itself, without the help of a revelation from the English Agent. For—whether it were by his instigation, or by the solicitation of the French King, or the ambition of the Daulphin, who had then married the Queen of Scots, (as before was said)—the Queen of Scots assumes unto herself the style and title of the Queen of England, quartereth the arms thereof upon all her plate, and in all armories and escutcheons, as she had occasion. And this she did as cousin and next heir to the Queen deceased; which could not be without imputing bastardy to the Queen then living. A folly which occasioned such displeasure in the heart of Elizabeth, that it could neither be forgotten, nor so much as forgiven, till that unfortunate lady was driven out of her kingdom, hunted into a close imprisonment, and finally brought out to the fatal block².

The Queen's
Injunctions.

25. This, as it somewhat startled the new Queen of England, so it engaged her the more resolutely in that Reformation which was so happily begun. And to that end she sets out, by advice of her Council, a certain body of Injunctions³, the same in purpose and effect with those which had been published

¹ Camd. 373.

² Ib. 378-9.

³ Wilkins, iv. 182—9.

in the first of King Edward¹, but more accommodated to the temper of the present time. Nothing more singular in the same than the severe course taken about ministers' marriages, the use of singing, and the reverences in divine worship to be kept in Church, the posture of the Communion table, and the form of bidding prayers in the congregation. This last almost the same verbatim with that which is prescribed, Can. 55, anno 1603, and therefore not so necessary to be here repeated. The first worn long since out of use, and not much observed neither when it first came out; as if it had been published in the way of caution, to make the clergymen more wary in the choice of their wives, than with a purpose of pursuing it to an execution². But as for that concerning the use of singing, and the accustomed reverences to be kept in churches, they are these that follow.—Touching the last it is enjoined, “That whensoever the name of Jesus should be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise, in the Church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowliness of courtesy, and uncovering of the heads of the men kind, as thereunto did necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed.” For the encouragement of the art, and the continuance of the use of singing in the Church of England, it was thus enjoined, that is to say, “That because in divers Collegiate, as also in some Parish-churches, heretofore there hath been livings appointed for the maintenance of men and children for singing in the Church, by means whereof, the laudable exercise³ of Music hath been had in estimation, and preserved in knowledge; the Queen's Majesty, neither meaning in any wise the decay of anything that might conveniently tend

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¹ Sup. i. 70—74.

² Inj. xxix., after declaring that the marriage of clergy is not forbidden by the word of God, or by the example of the primitive Church, states that evils had arisen through “lack of discreet and sober behaviour in many ministers of the Church, both in choosing of their wives, and indiscreet living with them,” and orders that no priest or deacon shall marry without the sanction of the bishop and of two justices of the peace, together with the goodwill of the woman's nearest kinsfolks, “or, for lack of knowledge of such, of her master or mistress where she serveth.” The marriages of bishops were to be sanctioned by the metropolitan, and by the Queen's Commissioners; those of deans and masters of colleges, by their respective Visitors. Comp. Rishton in Sanders, 299—301.

³ “service.”

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1559.

to the use and continuance of the said science, neither to have the same so abused in any part of the Church¹, that thereby the Common Prayer should be the worse understood by the hearers, willeth and commandeth, that first no alterations be made of such assignments of livings 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 as delight in music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning or in the end of Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived." According to which order, as plain song was retained in most Parish-churches for the daily Psalms, so in her own Chapels, and in the quire of all Cathedrals and some Colleges, the hymns were sung after a more melodious manner, with organs commonly, and sometimes with other musical instruments, as the solemnity required. No mention here of singing David's Psalms in metre, though afterwards they first thrust out the hymns which are herein mentioned, and by degrees also did they the Te Deum, the Magnificat, and the Nunc Dimittis².

26. Concerning the position of the holy table it was ordered thus, viz. "That no altar should be taken down, but by oversight of the curate of the Church, or the church-wardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner was to 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 should be appointed by the visitors, and so to stand, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be administered; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the quire or chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and minis-

¹ "in any part so abused in the Church."

² Comp. i. 271; Collier, v. 307, 473.

tration, 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 said holy table to be placed where it stood before." Which permission of removing the table at Communion times, "is not so to be understood," (as the most excellent King Charles declared in the case of St Gregory's) "as if it were ever left to the discretion of the parish, much less to the particular fancy of any humorous person; but to the judgment of the ordinary, to whose place and function it doth properly belong to give direction in that point, both for the thing itself, or for the time when, and how long, as he may find cause¹."

27. By these Injunctions she made way to her visitation, executed by commissioners in their several circuits, and regulated by a book of articles printed and published for that purpose². Proceeding by which articles, the commissioners removed all carved images out of the Church which had been formerly abused to superstition, defacing also all such pictures, paintings, and other monuments as served for the setting forth of feigned miracles; and this they did without any tumult and disorder, and without laying any sacrilegious and ravenous hands on any of the Church's plate, or other utensils which had
 118 been repaired and re-provided in the late Queen's time. They
 290 inquired also into the life and doctrine of ministers, their diligence in attending their several cures, the decency of their apparel, the respect of the parishioners towards them, the reverent behaviour of all manner of persons in God's public worship. Inquiry was also made into all sorts of crimes,—haunting of taverns by the clergy, adultery, fornication, drunkenness, amongst those of the laity, with many other things since practised in the visitations of particular Bishops; by means whereof the Church was settled and confirmed in so good an order, that the work was made more easy to the Bishops, when they came to govern, than otherwise it would have been. But more particularly in

¹ Rushworth, *Hist. Collections*, ii. 207. Wilkins, iv. 483. This judgment was given in the case of St Gregory by St Paul's, London, A. D. 1633, immediately after the elevation of Laud to the primacy. Heylyn retained a particular interest in such questions from his controversy with Archbishop Williams.

² Wilkins, iv. 189—191.

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London (which for the most part gives example to the rest of the kingdom) the visitors were Sir Richard Sackville, (father to Thomas Earl of Dorset) Mr Robert Horn, after Bishop of Winchester, Dr Huick, a civilian, and one Salvage, possibly a common lawyer; who, calling before them divers persons of every parish, gave them an oath to inquire and present upon such articles and injunctions as were given unto them¹. In pursuance whereof both the commissioners and the people shewed so much forwardness, that on St Bartholomew's day and the morrow after they burned in St Paul's church-yard, Cheapside, and other places of the city, all the roods and other images which had been taken out of the Churches. And as it is many times supposed that a thing is never well done if not over done, so happened it in this case also; zeal against superstition had prevailed so far with some ignorant men, that in some places the copes, vestments, altar-cloths, books, banners, sepulchres, and rood-lofts, were burned altogether².

Proposals of
Marriage
made to the
Queen.

28. All matters of the Church being thus disposed of, it will be time to cast our eyes on the concernments of the civil state which occurred this year; in which I find nothing more considerable than the overtures of some marriages which had been made unto the Queen. Philip of Spain had made an offer of himself by the Count of Feria, his Ambassador; but the Queen had heard so much of the disturbances which befel King Henry by marrying with his brother's wife, that she had no desire to run into the like perplexities by marrying with her sister's husband³; and how he was discouraged from proceeding in it, hath been shewed already⁴. Towards the end of the Parliament, the Lords and Commons made an humble address unto her, in which they most earnestly besought her, that, for securing the peace of the kingdom and the contentation of all her good and loving subjects, she would think of marrying; not pointing her particularly unto any one man, but leaving her to please herself in the choice of the person. To which she answered, "That she thanked them for their good affections, and took their application to her to be well intended,—the rather, because it contained no limitation of place or person; which

¹ Stow, 640. Comp. Strype, Ann. i. 167—171.

² Stow, 640; Hayw. 23.

³ Camden, 370.

⁴ P. 268.

had they done, she must have disliked it very much, and thought it to have been a great presumption." But for the matter of their suit, she lets them know, "That she had long since made choice of that state of life in which now she lived, and hoped that God would give her strength and constancy to go through with it; that if she had been minded to have changed that course, she neither wanted many invitations to it in the reign of her brother, nor many strong impulsions in the time of her sister. That as she had hitherto remained, so she intended to continue by the grace of God, though her words, compared with her youth, might be thought by some to be far different from her meaning¹." And so having thanked them over again, she licensed them to depart to their several businesses. And it appeared soon after that she was in earnest, by her rejecting a motion made by Gustavus King of Sweden for the Prince Ericus; for the soliciting whereof his second son John, Duke of Finland (who succeeded his brother in that kingdom²) is sent Ambassador into England about the end of September. Received at Harwich in Essex by the Earl of Oxford and the Lord Robert Dudley, with a goodly train of gentlemen and yeomen, he was by them conducted honourably towards London, where he was met by the Lords and gentlemen of the
 119 Court, attended through the city on the 5th of October to the
 291 Bishop of Winchester's house in Southwark. There he remained with his train, consisting of about fifty persons, till the Easter following; magnificently feasted by the Queen, but otherwise no farther gratified in the business which he came about than all the rest who both before and after tried their fortunes in it³.

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1550.

29. The next great business of this year was a renewing of the peace with the Crown of France, agreed on at the treaty near the city of Cambray; in which all differences were concluded also between France and Spain. All other articles being accorded, the restitution of Calais to the Queen of Eng-

Treaty of
Chateau
Cambresis.

¹ Stow, 636. Camd. 375-6. Hayw. 31—3.

² Gustavus Vasa died Sept. 29, 1560, and was succeeded by Eric, the son of his first marriage. It was by deposing Eric (who had given proofs of an unsound mind), that his half-brother John became King in 1657. Gfrörer's Gustav Adolf, Stuttg. 1345, pp. 21—3.

³ Stow, 640. Hayw. 37.

AN. REG. 1,
1559.

land seemed the only obstacle by which the general peace of Christendom was at the point to have been hindered. But the Queen, either preferring the public good before private interest, or fearing to be left alone if she should stand too obstinately upon that particular, came at the last to this agreement, viz. That Calais should remain for the term of eight years then next following in the hands of the French; that at the end of the said term it should be delivered unto the English, or otherwise the French King should pay unto the Queen the sum of 500,000 crowns. According unto which agreement peace was proclaimed in London on the 7th of April, between the Queen's Majesty on the one part, and the French King on the other; as also between her and the King Daulphin, with his wife the Queen of Scots, and all the subjects and dominions of the said four Princes; the proclamation published by Garter and Norroy Kings at Arms, accompanied by three other heralds and five trumpeters, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet gowns being present on horseback¹. But long the French King lived not to enjoy the benefit of this general peace;—unfortunately wounded in Paris at a tilt or tournament by Count Montgomery; of which wound he shortly after died, on the 10th of July², leaving behind him four sons, Francis, Charles, Henry, and another Francis, of which the three first, according to their seniority, enjoyed that kingdom. And though she had just cause to be offended with the young King Francis, for causing the Queen of Scots, his wife, to take upon herself the title and arms of England, yet she resolved to bestow a royal obsequy on the King deceased; which was performed in St Paul's Church on the 8th and 9th of September, in most solemn manner, with a rich hearse made like an imperial crown, sustained with eight pillars, and covered with black velvet, with a vallance fringed with gold, and richly hanged with scutcheons, pennons, and banners of the French King's arms. The principal mourner for the first day was the Lord Treasurer Pault, Marquess of Winchester, assisted with ten other Lords mourners, with all the heralds in black, and their coat-armours uppermost. The divine offices performed by Doctor Matthew Parker, Lord Elect of Canterbury, Doctor William Barlow,

Death of
Henry II. of
France.

¹ Stow, 639. Camd. 374. A translation of the treaty is in Speed, 859.

² Stow, 639.

Lord Elect of Chichester, and Doctor John Scory, Lord Elect of Hereford, all sitting in the throne of the Bishop of London, AN. REG. I,
1559. no otherwise at that time than in hoods and surplices: by whom the Dirige was executed at that time in the English tongue; the funeral sermon preached the next morning by the Lord of Hereford, and a Communion celebrated by the Bishops, then attired in copes upon their surplices. At which time six of the chief mourners received the Sacrament, and so departed with the rest to the Bishop's Palace, where a very liberal entertainment was provided for them¹. By which magnificency and the like this prudent Queen not only kept her own reputation at the highest amongst foreign Princes, but caused the greater estimation to be had by the Catholic party of the religion here established.

¹ Stow, 640. Holinsh. iv. 135-6. Strype, Ann. i. 127-9.

AN. REG. 2,
1559.

ANNO REGNI ELIZ. 2,

ANNO DOM. 1559, 1560.

Nomination
of Parker as
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

I. **WE** must begin this year with the consecration of such 120
new Bishops as were elected to succeed in the place 292
of those which had been deprived; the first of which was that
of the Most Reverend Doctor Matthew Parker, elected to the
See of Canterbury on the first of August¹, but not consecrated
till the 17th of December following. That dignity had first
been offered, as is said by some, to Doctor Nicholas Wotton²,
Dean of Canterbury and York, who, grown in years, and still
a well-willer to the Pope, desired to be excused from under-
taking of a charge so weighty. And some say it was offered
unto Whitehead also, who had been Chaplain to Anne Bollen,
the Queen's mother; but he returned the like refusal, though
on other grounds,—as more inclined (by reason of his long
abode in Calvin's Churches) to the presbyterian³ than the
Episcopal form of government: and it was happy,—for the
Church might have been betrayed by his disaffection,—that he
did refuse it; the chair being better filled by Parker⁴, ano-
ther of Queen Anne Bollen's Chaplains, but better principled,
and of a far more solid judgment in affairs of moment. The
Congé d'eslire which opened him the way to this eminent
dignity bears date on the 18th day of July, within few days
after the deprivation of the former Bishops,—to satisfy the world
in the Queen's intention of preserving the episcopal govern-
ment. And therefore why the Consecration was deferred so
long may be made a question. Some think it was that she
might satisfy herself by putting the Church into a posture by
her visitation before she passed it over to the care of the
Bishops; others conceive that she was so enamoured with the
power and title of Supreme Governess that she could not deny
herself that contentment in the exercise of it which the present

¹ Godwin de Præsul. 152.

² Holinsh. iv. 601.

³ Edd. "presbyterians."

⁴ For Parker's reluctance to accept the primacy, see Strype's Parker,
b. i c. 8.

interval afforded ; for what are titles without power ? and what pleasure can be took in power if no use be made of it ?

AN. REG. 2,
1559.

Acts for ex-
change of
Bishops'
Lands.

2. And it is possible enough that both or either of these considerations might have some influence upon her. But the main cause for keeping the episcopal sees in so long a vacancy must be found elsewhere. An Act had passed in the late Parliament, which never had the confidence to appear in print¹, in the preamble whereof it was declared, That, by dissolution of religious houses in the time of the late King, her Majesty's father, many impropriations, tithes, and portions of tithes had been invested in the Crown, which the Queen, being a lady of a tender conscience, thought not fit to hold, nor could conveniently dismember from it without compensation, in regard of the present low condition in which she found the Crown at her coming to it : and thereupon it was enacted, that in the vacancy of any Archbishopsrick or Bishopsrick it should be lawful for the Queen to issue out a Commission under the Great Seal for taking a survey of all castles, manors, lands, tenements, and all other hereditaments to the said episcopal sees belonging or appertaining ; and on the return of such surveys, to take into her hands any of the said castles, manors, lands, tenements, &c., as to her seemed good ; giving to the said Archbishops or Bishops as much annual rents, to be raised upon impropriations, tithes and portions of tithes, as the said castles, manors, lands, &c., did amount unto. The Churchlands certified according to the ancient rents, without consideration of the casualties and other perquisites of court which belonged unto them ; the retribution made in pensions, tithes, and portions of tithes, extended at the utmost value, from which no other profit was to be expected than the rent itself. Which Act not being to take effect till the end of that Parliament, the interval between the end of the Parliament, the deprivation of the old Bishops, and the consecration of the

¹ 1 Eliz. c. 19, repealed by 1 Jac. I. c. 3, in so far as regarded alienations of lands by bishops to the sovereign. It was first printed by Gibson, Codex, 676. For an account of the representations made by Parker, Cox, and others, with the view of persuading the Queen to remit the execution of the act, see Strype's Parker, 43, and Append. No. x. ; Annals, i. c. 6. By way of inducement, they offered 1000 marks yearly, in the name of the province of Canterbury ; but Elizabeth was not to be moved.

AN. REG. 2, new, was to be taken up in the executing of such surveys,
 1559.

and making such advantages of them, as most redounded to the profit of the Queen and her courtiers. Upon which ground, as all the Bishops' sees were so long kept vacant before any one of them was filled, so in the following times they were kept void one after another as occasion served, till the best flowers in the whole garden of the Church had been culled out of it. There was another clause in the said statute¹, by which the patrimony of the Church was as much dilapidated *sede plena* as it was pulled by this in the times of vacancy; for by that clause all Bishops were restrained from making any grants of their farms and manors for more than twenty-one years, or three lives at the most, except it were unto the Queen, her heirs and successors. But either to the Queen, or to any of her heirs and successors (and under that pretence to any her hungry courtiers), they might be granted in fee-farm, or for a lease of four-score and nineteen years, as it pleased the parties. By which means, Credinton² was dismembered from the see of Exon, the goodly manor of Sherborn from that of Salisbury, many fair manors alienated for ever from the rich sees of Winchester, Ely, and indeed what not?

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293

Consecration
of Parker.

3. But to proceed unto the Consecration of the new Archbishop³—the first thing to be done, after the passing of the Royal Assent for ratifying of the election of the Dean and Chapter, was the confirming of it in the Court of the Arches, according to the usual form in that behalf. Which being accordingly performed, the Vicar General, the Dean of the Arches, the Proctors and Officers of the Court, whose presence was required at this solemnity, were entertained at a dinner provided for them at the Nag's-head Tavern in Cheapside; for which, though Parker paid the shot, yet shall the Church be called to an after reckoning. Nothing remains to expedite the Consecration but the Royal Mandate⁴, which I find dated on the sixth of December, directed to Anthony Kitching, Bishop of Landaff; William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, Lord Elect of Chichester; John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, Lord Elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, late Bishop of

¹ Edd. "Statutes."

² Sup. p. 174.

³ Fuller, iv. 285—393.

⁴ There had been an earlier mandate, dated Sept. 9, which was not acted on. Bramhall, ed. Anglo-Cath. Lib. iii. 73.

Exeter; John Hodgskins, Suffragan of Bedford; John, Suffragan of Thetford; and John Bale, Bishop of Osserie in the realm of Ireland:—requiring them, or any four¹ of them at the least, to proceed unto the Consecration of the Right Reverend Matthew Parker, lately elected to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury. The first and the two last, either hindered by sickness or by some other lawful impediment, were not in a condition to attend the service; which notwithstanding was performed by the other four on Sunday the seventeenth of that month, according to the Ordinal of King Edward the Sixth, then newly printed for that purpose. The ceremony performed in the Chapel at Lambeth House², the east end whereof was hanged with rich tapestry, and the floor covered with red cloth; the morning service read by Pearson, the Archbishop's chaplain, the sermon preached by Doctor Scory, Lord Elect of Hereford, on those words of St Peter, "The elders which are among you I exhort," &c. (1 Pet. v. 1); the Letters Patents for proceeding to the Consecration publicly read by Doctor Yale³, the act of Consecration legally performed by the imposition of the hands of the said four Bishops, according to the ancient Canons and King Edward's Ordinal; and after all, a plentiful dinner for the entertainment of the company which resorted thither: amongst whom, Charles Howard, eldest son of William Lord Effingham, created afterwards Lord Admiral and Earl of Nottingham⁴, happened to be one, and after testified to the truth of all these particulars⁵, when the reality and form of this consecration was called in question by some captious sticklers for the Church of Rome.

4. For so it was, that some sticklers for the Church of Rome, having been told of the dinner which 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 the consecration. And this report 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 Bishopricks, being met at a tavern, did then and there lay

The Nag's
Head Fable.

¹ Edd. 1, 2, "or any of them;" Ed. 3, "or any two of them."

² Wilkins, iv. 188. Bramhall, iii. 203.

³ Edd. 1, 2. "Dale." Ed. 3. "Vale."

⁴ Sup. p. 127.

⁵ Mason de Minist. Anglic. l. iii. c. 8. p. 339. Bramhall, iii. 151.

AN. REG. 2, hands upon one another, without form or order. The first 122
 1559. calumny fathered on one Neale¹, once Hebrew Reader in the 294

University of Oxford, and Chaplain unto Bishop Bonner; which last relation were sufficient to discredit the whole tale, if there were no other evidence to disprove the same. And yet the silence of all Popish writers concerning this Nag's-head consecration during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, when it had been most material for them to insist upon it, as much discrediteth the whole figment as the author of it. The other published by Dr Nicholas Sanders, (never more truly Dr *Slanders*² than in that particular), in his pestilent and seditious book entitled "De Schismate Anglicano³;" whose frequent falsehoods make him no fit author to be built upon in any matter of importance. Yet on the credit of these two⁴, but on the first especially, the tale of the Nag's-head consecration, being once taken up, was generally exposed to sale as one of the most vendible commodities in the writings of some Romish Priests and Jesuits, as Champneys, Fitzsimons, Parson⁵, Kellison, &c. They knew right well that nothing did more justify the Church of England in the eye of the world than that it did preserve a succession of Bishops, and consequently of all other sacred orders, in the ministration. Without which, as they would not grant it to be a Church, so could they prove

¹ Edd. 1, 2. "Keale." Ed. 3. "Weale."

² Fuller styles him, "lying *Slanders*," iii. 235; but it is not probable that this so obvious and so well deserved variation on the name remained for Fuller to discover.

³ It ought to be observed that the account of the reign of Elizabeth is not by Sanders, but by a worthy continuator, Rishton.

⁴ This might lead us to suppose that Sanders (or Rishton) asserted the Nag's Head consecration; which is not the case. The form which the falsehood bears in the book *De Schismate Anglicano* is, that after an imprisoned Irish archbishop had in vain been urged to consecrate, the Protestant Bishops entered on their office without any consecration whatever (298). It is shewn in Bramhall, iii. 47, that there was no Romish archbishop of Ireland with whom there *could* have been a negociation; and that, if necessary, consecrators could readily have been procured from the Irish Church.

⁵ Parsons did not maintain the story in print, although it is possible that he may have privately expressed a belief in it, as he lived six years after it had been first published by Holywood (or Sacrobosco) at Antwerp, in 1604. Note in Bramhall, iii. 39.

it to be none by no stronger argument than that the Bishops (or the pretended Bishops rather, in their opinion) were either not consecrated at all, or not canonically consecrated as they ought to be. And for the gaining of this point, they stood most pertinaciously on the fiction of the Nag's-head Tavern, which 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.

5. For the decrying of this clamour, and satisfying all opponents in the truth of the matter, it was thought fit by Dr George Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, to call before him some of the Priests and Jesuits, that is to say, Fairecloth, Leake, Laithwait, and Collington¹, being then prisoners in the Clink. Who being brought to Lambeth on the 12th of May, 1613, were suffered in the presence of divers Bishops to peruse the public registers, and thereby to satisfy themselves in all particulars concerning the confirmation and consecration of Archbishop Parker, according to the circumstances and punctilioes before laid down². This stilled the clamour for the present, though it brake out again forty years after, and was again stilled by the care and industry of the Right Reverend Dr Bramhal, Lord Bishop of Derry, in a book entituled, "The Church of England defended against some scandalous and fabulous imputations cast upon her, &c."³ Which cavil (for is no better) being thus refelled, the other objections of the adversaries will be easily answered. Though Barlow and Scory were deprived of their episcopal sees, yet, first, the justice and legality of their deprivation was not clear in law; and secondly, they neither were nor could be deprived

¹ Edd. "Collins."

² Godwin, 163.

³ "The Consecration of Protestant Bishops Vindicated, and the Fable of the Nag's Head Ordination refuted." This treatise has been elaborately edited in the "Anglo-Catholic Library" edition of Bramhall, vol. iii.; to which the reader may be referred for a history of the controversy on the subject. See also Courayer's work on English Ordinations, ed. Oxf. 1844. The Nag's Head story, although it would seem to be still maintained by some of the lower Romish writers, is now abandoned by all respectable Romanists, including Dr Lingard, vii. 380. The late editor of Dodd's Church History (Mr Tierney) also professes himself "compelled to adopt the opposite opinion" to his author, who "was inclined to favour the story." ii. Append. p. 277.

AN. REG. 2, of their episcopal character, which remained in them unde-
 1559. ———— faced, as before it was. And whilst the character remained, they were in a capacity of performing all episcopal offices to which they should be called by their Metropolitan, or any higher power directing and commanding in all such matters as concerned the Church. And as for Suffragans, by which title Hodgskins is commissioned for the consecration, they were no other than the *Chore-Episcopi* of the primitive times,—subsidiary Bishops, ordained for easing the Diocesan of some part of his burden; by means whereof they were enabled to perform such offices belonging to that sacred function, not limited to time and place by the ancient Canons, by which a Bishop was restrained in some certain acts of jurisdiction to his proper diocese. Of this sort there were twenty-six in the realm of England, distinguished by the names of such principal towns as were appointed for their title and denomination. The names and number whereof, together with the jurisdiction and preheminenes proportioned to them, the reader may peruse in the Act of Parliament made in the 26th year of King Henry the Eighth¹.

Sees filled up.

6. No sooner was this solemnity ended, but a new man- 123
 date comes for the confirmation² of Dr Barlow in the See of 295
 Chichester, and Dr Scory to the See of Hereford, to which they had been severally elected in August last. And though the not restoring of them to their former Sees might seem to justify the late Queen Mary in their deprivation, yet the Queen wanted not good reasons for their present removal; not that she did consult therein her own power and profit, (as is thought by some) but studied rather their content and satisfaction than her own concernments. For Barlow, having wasted the revenue of the Church of Wells³, could not with any comfort behold a place which he had so spoiled; and Scory, having been de-

¹ c. 14. But it is incorrect to say that there ever “were twenty-six” suffragans in England. The statute named that number of towns which should be the seats of suffragans; but it was only partially and occasionally acted on. The suffragans, who were not uncommon in England before the date of this act, usually took their titles from places *in partibus infidelium*. See Gibson, Codex, 155—7. He mentions Dr Stern, suffragan of Colchester, circa 1606, as “one of the last” of those appointed under the act; which, however, is still unrepealed.

² They were both confirmed Dec. 20. Bramh. iii. 227. ³ Sup. i. 112.

prived of the See of Chichester under pretence of wanting a just title to it, desired not to be put upon the hazard of a second ejection¹. But as for Coverdale, he did not only waive the acceptance of Exon, but of any other Church then vacant. He was now seventy-two years old, and desired rather to enjoy the pleasure of a private life than be disquieted in his old age with the cares of government. And somewhat might be also in it of a disaffection, not to the calling but the habit; which is to be believed the rather, because he attended not at the Consecration in his cope and rochet, as the others did, but in a plain black coat reaching down to his ankles². And now the rest of the Episcopal Sees begin to fill; for on the 21st of the same December, Dr Edmond Grindall was consecrated to the See of London, Dr Richard Cox to that of Ely, Dr Edwin Sandys to the Church of Worcester, Dr Rowland Meriek unto that of Bangor³. On the 21st of January then next following, Dr Nicholas Bullingham was by the like consecration made Bishop of Lincoln, the right learned Mr John Jewel, (who afterwards accepted the degree of Doctor), Bishop of Sarisbury, Dr Thomas Young, Bishop of St David's, and Mr Richard Davis, Bishop of St Asaph⁴. The 24th of March was honoured with the consecration of three other Bishops; that is to say, of Mr Thomas Bentham to the See of Coventry and Lichfield, of Mr Gilbert Barclay to the See of Wells, and of Dr Edmond Guest to that of Rochester⁵. On the 14th of July comes the consecration of Dr William Alley to the Church of Exon; and that of Mr John Parkhurst to the Church of Norwich, on the first of September⁶. By which

AN. REG. 2,
1559-60.

¹ The reasons here given are merely conjectural. Mr Brewer, in a note on Fuller, iv. 293, quotes from Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, a strange statement of a superstitious motive for Barlow's having declined his old see. Burnet suggests, with great probability, that the remembrance of the lapse mentioned in p. 93, note 5 (of which Heylyn had no knowledge), may have rendered Scory unwilling to return to Chichester, ii. 553. The like might, indeed, be said of Barlow. See p. 99.

² "Non nisi toga lanea talari utebatur." Record of the Consecration, in Bramhall, iii. 211, and Wilkins. Comp. Strype, Ann. i. 425. Coverdale afterwards obtained the rectory of St Magnus, near London Bridge, the first-fruits being remitted on account of his poverty. He died in 1569, aged 81. Strype, Parker, 149.

³ Bramh. iii. 218-9.

⁴ Ib. 220-1.

⁵ Ib. 222.

⁶ Ib. 223.

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1560.

account we find no fewer than sixteen Sees to be filled with new Bishops within the compass of the year,—men of ability in matter of learning, and such as had a good report for the integrity of their lives and conversations. Nor was it long before the rest of the Episcopal Sees were supplied with new pastors, as shall be shewn hereafter in due time and place. The Queen's Commission of Survey had not crossed the Trent, which possibly may be the reason why we find no new Bishops in the province of York; and Winchester must afford one Michaelmas rent more to the Queen's Exchequer, before the Lord Treasurer could give way to a new incumbent.

Description
of the
Church.

7. And now we may behold the face of the Church of England, as it was first settled and established under Queen Elizabeth. The government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, according to the practice of the best and happiest times of Christianity. These Bishops nominated and elected according to the statute in the 25th¹ of King Henry the Eighth, and consecrated by the Ordinal confirmed by Parliament in the fifth and sixth years of King Edward the Sixth²; never appearing publicly but in their rochets, nor officiating otherwise than in copes at the holy altar. The Priests not stirring out of doors but in their square caps, gowns, or canonical coats; nor executing any divine office but in their surplice,—a vestment set apart for religious services in the primitive times, as may be gathered from St Chrysostome³ for the Eastern Churches, and from St Hierom⁴ for the Western. The doctrine of the Church reduced unto its ancient purity, according to the Articles agreed upon in Convocation, anno 1552. The Liturgy conform to the primitive patterns, and all the rites and ceremonies therein prescribed, accommodated to the honour of God and increase of piety. The festivals pre-

¹ Edd. "26th." Sup. i. 39.

² Sup. i. 173.

³ Chrys. in Matth. Hom. 82, t. ii. p. 471, ed. Field. "ἵνα λευκὸν χιτῶνισκον καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περιήητε."

⁴ Hieron. adv. Pelagianos, lib. ii. (Opera, ed. Martianay, Paris, 1706. t. ii. pars ii. col. 502.) "Quæ sunt, rogo, inimicitie contra Deum.. si episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus, in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint?" This and the preceding passage have been found by the help of Cypr. Anglic. p. 6,—where, however, the references are given with Heclyn's usual incorrectness. Comp. Hooker, b. v. c. 29.

124 served in their former dignity, observed with their distinct
 296 offices peculiar to them, and celebrated with a religious con-
 course of all sorts of people; the weekly fasts, the holy time
 of Lent, the Embring weeks, together with the fast of the
 Rogation, severely kept by a forbearance of all kind of flesh;—
 not now by virtue of the Statute, as in the time of King Ed-
 ward¹, but as appointed by the Church in her public Calendar
 before the Book of Common Prayer. The Sacrament of the
 Lord's Supper celebrated in most reverend manner, the holy
 table seated in the place of the Altar², the people making
 their due reverence at their first entrance into the Church³,
 kneeling at the Communion, the Confession, and the public
 prayers, standing up at the Creed, the Gospels, and the Gloria
 Patri⁴, and using the accustomed reverence at the name of
 Jesus⁵. Music retained in all such Churches in which pro-
 vision had been made for the maintenance of it, or where the
 people could be trained up at the least to plain song. All
 which particulars were either established by the laws, or com-
 manded by the Queen's Injunctions, or otherwise retained by
 virtue of some ancient usages not by law prohibited. Nor is
 it much to be admired that such a general conformity to those
 ancient usages was constantly observed in all Cathedral and
 the most part of the parish-churches, considering how well
 they were preceded by the Court itself, in which the Liturgy
 was officiated every day both morning and evening, not only
 in the public Chapel, but the private closet; celebrated in the
 Chapel with organs and other musical instruments, and the
 most excellent voices, both of men and children, that could be
 got in all the kingdom. The gentlemen and children in their
 surplices, and the Priests in copes as oft as they attended the
 divine service at the holy altar. The altar furnished with rich
 plate, two fair gilt candlesticks with tapers in them, and a
 massy crucifix of silver in the midst thereof⁶. Which last

¹ Sup. i. 144.² But see p. 236, n. 3.³ See Cypr. Anglic. p. 17, where the subject of this section is more fully treated.⁴ See i. 171.⁵ See "How shall we conform to the Liturgy?" pp. 131, seqq.⁶ Zur. Letters, ed. 2, p. 29. Elizabeth wished that the Rood, with the figures of St Mary and St John, should be retained in churches. Sandys, ib. 98. A paper of reasons against Images, presented to her by some Bishops and others, is printed by Burnet, ii. 487. Comp. Dr Cardwell's note on it, Doc. Ann. i. 235.

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1560. — remained there for some years, till it was broke in pieces by Pach the fool¹, (no wiser man daring to undertake such a desperate service), at the solicitation of Sir Francis Knolles, the Queen's near kinsman by the Caries, and one who openly appeared in favour of the schism at Frankfort. The ancient ceremonies accustomedly observed by the Knights of the Garter in their adoration toward the altar, abolished by King Edward the Sixth, and revived by Queen Mary, were by this Queen retained as formerly in her father's time; which made that order so esteemed amongst foreign Princes, that the Emperors Maximillian and Rodolphus, the French Kings Charles the Ninth and Henry the Third, together with Francis Duke of MontMorency, though of a contrary religion to her, (not to say anything of divers Lutheran Kings and Princes) did thankfully accept of their elections into that society. The solemn sermons upon each Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday in the time of Lent preached by the choicest of the Clergy, she devoutly heard, attired in black, according to the commendable custom of her predecessors²; in which if anything escaped them contrary to the doctrine and approved rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, they were sure to hear of it; for which she received both thanks and honour from her very enemies, as appears by Dr Harding's Epistle Dedicatory before his Answer to the Apology writ by Bishop Jewel³.

¹ I do not know the authority for the statement that the Queen's fool was the agent, although, for the reason given in the parenthesis, it may well be believed that the fact was so.

² Camden, 371.

³ "Of which your good inclination (that I seem not to flatter) these both to me and to others appear most evident arguments. Your constant bearing and upholding of the banner and ensign of our redemption (the image I mean of Christ crucified) against the enemies of his cross: your princely word commanding a preacher, that opened his lewd mouth against the reverent use of the cross in your private chapel, to retire from that ungodly digression unto his text of holy scripture: your well understood liking of the soberest preachers, both always heretofore, and specially on Good Friday last openly by word of thanks declared, when one of a more temperate nature than the rest in his sermon before your majesty confessed the real presence."—"A Confutation of a Booke intitvled an Apologie of the Chvrch of England, by Thomas Harding, Doctor of Divinitie." Antwerpe, 1565, fol. 2. b. of the Dedication to Queen Elizabeth. (This extract from Harding's very rare work has been most obligingly supplied by the Rev. J. Ayre, editor of Jewel for the Parker Society. Harding's Dedication is not reprinted in Jewel's works.)

Particularly when one of her chaplains (Mr Alexander Nowell, AN. REG. 2, 1560. Dean of St Paul's) had spoken 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 text¹. And on the other side, when one of her divines had preached a sermon in defence of the Real Presence, on the day commonly called Good Friday, anno 1565, she openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety². The Bishops and the Clergy had been but ill proficients in the school of conformity under so excellent a mistress, if they had not kept the Church in the highest splendour, to which they were invited by that great example. And in this glorious posture still³ had lasted longer, had not her order been confounded and her peace disturbed by some factious spirits; who, having had their wills at Frankfort, or otherwise ruling the Presbytery when they were at Geneva, thought to have carried all before them with the like facility when they were in England.

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8. But leaving them and their designs to some other time, we must next look upon the aid which the Queen sent to those of the reformed religion in the realm of Scotland, but carried under the pretence of dislodging such French forces as were garrisoned there, and might have proved bad neighbours to the kingdom of England. Such of the Scots as desired a reformation of religion, taking advantage by the Queen's absence, the easiness of the Earl of Arran, and want of power in the Queen Regent to suppress their practices, had put themselves into a body; headed by some of the nobility, they take unto themselves the name of The Congregation, managing their own affairs apart from the rest of the kingdom, and, in assurance of their own strength, petition to the Queen Regent and the Lords of the Council, that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper might be administered in both kinds, that divine offices

Violent Reformation of Scotland.

1558.

¹ Harding, as quoted in the preceding note; Rishton, in Sanders, 304, (who, however, does not mention this as creditable to the Queen, but as an instance of improper interference with the Church.) Comp. Churton's Life of Nowell, 111.

² See note 3, p. 216. Mr Ayre remarks,—“This Good Friday must have been March 31, 1564, as Good Friday 1565 was Apr. 20, and Hard-
ing's book is dated Apr. 12, 1565.”

³ Qu. “she?”

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might be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, and that they might have the choice of their own Ministers, according to the practice (as it was pretended) of the primitive times¹. The answer hereunto was fair and gracious, but rather for the gaining of time than with a purpose to grant any of the points demanded. The principal leaders of the party, well followed by the common people, put themselves into Perth, and there begin to stand on higher terms than before they did. The news whereof occasioneth Knox to leave his sanctuary in Geneva, and join himself unto the Lords of the Congregation; at Perth he goes into the pulpit, and falls so bitterly on images, idolatry, and other superstitions of the Church of Rome, that the people in a popular fury deface all the images in that Church, and presently demolish all religious houses within that city². This happened about the end of May, anno 1559, and gave a dangerous example to them of Couper, who forthwith, on the hearing of it, destroyed all the images, and pulled down the altars in that Church also. Preaching at Craile he inveighed sharply against the Queen Regent, and vehemently stirred up the people to join together for the expulsion of the French; which drew after it the like destruction of all altars and images as was made before at Perth and Couper. The like followed on his preaching at St Andrew's also, the religious houses being pulled down as well as the images, and laid so flat, that there was nothing left in the form of a building³. Inflamed by the same firebrand, they burned down the rich monastery of Scone, and ruined that of Cambuskenneth, demolished all the altars, images, and covents of religious persons in Sterling, Lithgow, Glasgough, Edenburgh, make themselves masters of the last, and put up their own preachers into all the pulpits of that city, not suffering the Queen Regent to have the use of one Church only for her own devotions⁴.

9. Nor staid they there, but, being carried on by the same ill spirit, they pass an Act among themselves for depriving the Queen Regent of all place and power in the public government; concerning which the oracle⁵, being first consulted, returned this answer—sufficiently ambiguous, as all oracles are,—that is to say, that “the iniquity of the Queen Regent ought not to

¹ Spottiswoode, 117.

² Ibid. 121-2. See Keith, i. 190-1.

³ Spottisw. 123-4.

⁴ Ibid. 129.

⁵ i. e. Knox.

withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their Sovereign, nor did he wish any such sentence to be pronounced against her, but when she should change her course, and submit herself to good counsel, there should be place left unto her of regress to the same honours, from which, for good causes, she ought to be deprived¹." This Act is intimated to the Queen Regent, who now begins as seriously to provide for her own preservation, as she had done before in maintenance of the Queen's authority. Some forces had been sent from France, together with many arms and ammunition in proportion to them; but these not being great enough to suppress those insolencies, she is supplied at times with 3000 foot, beside Octavian's regiment sent over to make way for the rest. Some horse were also shipped from France, but so scattered and dispersed by tempest, that few of them came safely thither². Yet by the terror of their coming, and the noise of more, she recovereth Edenburgh, compelleth the confederate Scots to go further north, fortifies Lieth, the port-town to Edenburgh and the chief key of all that kingdom,—garrisoned forthwith by the French, not only to make good their entrance, but second their exit³. On these discouragements, many of the Scots soldiers drop away, and the rest refuse to stand unto their arms without present pay. Had the French gone to work like soldiers, and poured such forces into that kingdom as the condition of affairs did require at their hands, they might easily have suppressed that scattered faction, before they were united under the protection of a foreign power; but this doing of their work by halves proved the undoing of the whole, and only served to give the Scots sufficient time to renew their forces, and call the English to their aid. They had all along maintained a correspondence with some in England, but more particularly with Crofts, Governor of the town of Barwick. To him they send for a supply in this great necessity; by whom their agents are dispatched with four thousand crowns; but the Queen Regent was so seasonably advertised of it, that she intercepted on the way both the men and the money⁴.

10. In this extremity they take counsel of despair with Knox, by whom they are advised to cast themselves into the

Queen Elizabeth assists the Scotch Reformers.

¹ Spottisw. 137.

² Ibid. 140.

³ Ibid. 131.

⁴ Ibid. 138-9.

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arms of the Queen of England, the only visible means then left to support the cause; to whom the neighbourhood of the French, upon just jealousies and reasons of State, was not very acceptable. No better counsel being offered (as indeed none could) Maitland and Melvin¹ are dispatched to the Court of England; by whom the Queen is made acquainted with the state of that kingdom, the difficulty under which it struggled, the danger like to fall on her own dominions if the French should grow too strong in Scotland; and thereupon entreat her succours and assistance for the expulsion of that people, who otherwise might to both realms prove alike destructive. The business being taken into consideration, it was conceived by some of the Council, that the Queen ought not to give ear unto their desires; that it was a matter of dangerous consequence, and of ill example, to assist the subjects of that or any other kingdom against their own natural and lawful Princes; and that she did not know how soon it might be her own case, to have the like troubles and commotions raised against her by those who liked not her proceedings in the change of religion. By others it was thought a matter of no small impiety not to assist their brethren of the same profession, imploring their assistance in the present exigency; that it was a work of charity to defend their neighbours from the oppression of strangers; that the French were always enemies to the Crown of England, and therefore that it could not be consistent with the rules of prudence to suffer them to grow too strong upon their borders; that the French King had already assumed the title of England, and it concerned them to take care that they gave him not by their improvidence the possession also². These reasons carried it for the Scots, and so they are dismissed with promise of such present aid, and on such conditions, as should be agreed on by Commissioners on both sides in the town of Barwick.

11. About the middle of February the Commissioners meet,—the Duke of Norfolk for the Queen, the Lord James Stewart (one of the bastard brothers of the Queen of Scots), the Lord Ruthven, and some other principal men of the Con-

¹ Maitland of Lethington, and "Robert Melvil, brother of the laird of Raith." Spottisw. 141.

² Stow, 641. Camd. 46, ed. 1615. Hayw. 45—7.

gregation in the the name of the rest: by whom it was concluded on the 27th of that month, that the Queen should send sufficient forces into Scotland, both by sea and land, furnished with money, arms, and ammunition; that she should not recall her forces till that kingdom was cleared of all the French; that provision of victuals for the army should be made by the Scots, and that the Scots should shew themselves enemies to all such as were enemies to the Crown of England, whether Scots or French; but by all means, that nothing should be done by virtue of this agreement, which might import the least withdrawing of the Scots from that loyalty, duty, and obedience which was due unto their natural Queen, or the King her husband¹. By which agreement with the Scots, the Queen abundantly provided for her own security from all invasions on that side; and by affording them such succours as their wants
 127 required, but chiefly by conferring some small annual pensions
 299 on the chiefs among them, she made herself more absolute on that side of the Tweed than either the Queen of Scots herself, or King James her son, or any of their predecessors in all times before. According to these capitulations, an army gallantly appointed is sent into Scotland, consisting of 6000 foot and 2000² horse, and commanded by the Lord Gray, a right expert soldier, accompanied by some lords and gentlemen of eminent quality; some ships were also sent to block up the haven, and hinder all relief which might come by sea to the town of Lieth, on the defence whereof depended the whole hopes of the French, together with the interest of that Crown in the realm of Scotland³.

12. It was about the beginning of April that the English army came before it; recruited afterwards by the coming of 2000 more; which fresh supply, together with some ill success which they found in the action, did so disanimate the besieged, that they conceived no possibility of a long resistance⁴. Embassadors are therefore sent from France to Edenborough,

¹ Camden, 48.9. Spottisw. 142-3.

² Edd. 3 reads "3000;" Camden says 1200.

³ Stow, 641. Spottisw. 144. Holinshed is very full on this expedition. iv. 190, seqq.

⁴ Heylyn has omitted to mention that the Queen Regent of Scotland died on the 10th of June. Spottisw. 146.

AN. REG. 2, there to confer with such of the same quality as should also
 1560, come thither, authorised by the Queen of England: by whom it was in fine concluded, That all the French forces should forthwith depart out of Scotland, except sixty only to be left in Dunbar, and as many in the Fort of Inchkeith¹; that they should be transported for their greater safety in English bottoms; that all matters of religion should be referred to the following Parliament; that an act of oblivion should be passed for the indemnity of all who had borne arms on either side; that a general bond of love and amity should be made betwixt the Lords and their adherents of both religions; and finally, amongst many other particulars, that neither the Queen of Scots nor the French King should from thenceforth assume the titles and arms of England². Which articles being signed and confirmed for both kingdoms, the French about the middle of July take their leave of Scotland, and the English army at the same time set forward for Barwick, being there disbanded and dismissed to their several dwellings. Followed not long after by the Earls of Morton and Glencarn, in the name of the rest of the Congregation, sent purposely to render to the Queen their most humble thanks for her speedy and prosperous assistance, and to desire the continuance of her Majesty's favours, if the French should any more attempt to invade their country. Assured whereof, and being liberally rewarded with gifts and presents, they returned with joy and glad tidings to the Congregation; whom as the Queen had put upon a present confidence of going vigorously on in their Reformation, so it concerned them to proceed so carefully in pursuance of it, as might comply with the dependence which they had upon her³.

13. First therefore, that she might more cordially espouse their quarrel, they bound themselves by their subscription to embrace the Liturgy, with all the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England⁴, which for a time remained the only form

¹ Edd. "Nachkeeth."

² Stow, 640. Spottisw. 147—9.

³ Spottisw. 152.

⁴ "Scoti, ante aliquot annos, Anglorum auxiliis e servitute Gallica liberati, religionis cultui et ritibus cum Anglis communibus subscripserunt." Buchanan, *Hist. Rerum Scoticarum*, l. xix. (p. 330, ed. Riddiman, Edinb. 1715.) That this is the authority on which Heylyn relied, is ascertained by the Preface to his *Ecclesiu Vindicatu* (*Hist. Tracts*, folio). Perhaps, however, he has gone too far in inferring from it that

of worship for the Kirk of Scotland; when, and by whose means they receded from it, may be shewn hereafter¹. In the next place they cause a Parliament to be called in the month of August, according to the Articles of the Pacification, from which no person was excluded, who either had the right of suffrage in his own capacity, or in relation to their Churches, or as returned from their Shirealties or particular Boroughs: of which last, there appeared the accustomed number; but of the Lords Spiritual, no more than six Bishops of thirteen, with thirteen Abbots and Priors, or thereabouts; and of the temporal Lords, to the number of ten Earls and as many Barons. By whose authority and consent they passed three acts, conducing wholly to the advantage of the Reformation: the first whereof was for abolishing the Pope's jurisdiction and authority within the realm; the second, for annulling all statutes made in former times for maintenance of idolatry and superstition; and the third, for the punishment of the sayers and hearers of the mass². To this Parliament also some of the Ministers presented "A Confession of the Faith and Doctrine to be believed and professed by the Protestants of the Kirk of Scotland;" modelled in many places by the principles of

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300

the reforming party in Scotland bound themselves to the English Prayer-book and ceremonies precisely at this time, and that there was a compact on the subject between them and Elizabeth. Buchanan does not distinctly make either of these statements; moreover, the passage does not hold its proper place in his work, according to the order of time, but is inserted by way of retrospect in the narrative of a later period. And it would appear that, with the exception of Buchanan's words, there is no known authority for the circumstance of a covenant with the English Queen for the use of the Liturgy. (See Bp. Sage, *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery* examined, Works, ed. Spottisw. Soc. i. 159.) The more important fact, that the English Book was used in Scotland during the earlier years of the Reformation, is, however, certain. The Lords of the Congregation, on associating together for reformation of religion in 1558, resolved "That in all parishes the curates should be caused to read the Prayers, and Lessons of the Old and New Testaments, on Sundays and other festival days, according to the form set forth in *the Book of Common Prayers*" (Spottisw. 117);—by which title, as is now proved beyond all question, the second Prayer-book of King Edward is meant. See Sage, i. 164—7; Keith, i. 155; Tytler, vi. 117; Lingard, vii. 273.

¹ Aër. Rediv. p. 139, ed. 1672.

² Spottisw. 149—150. On the invalidity of this Parliament, see Bp. Russell's ed. of Spottiswoode, i. 373.

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Calvin's doctrine, which Knox had brought with him from Geneva; but being put unto the vote, it was opposed by no more than three of the temporal Lords, that is to say, the Earl of Athol, and the Lords Somervil and Borthwick, who gave no other reason for it, but that "they would believe as their fathers did." The Popish prelates were silent in it, neither assenting nor opposing: which being observed by the Earl-Marshal, he is said to have broke out into these words following;—"Seeing" (saith he) "that my Lords the Bishops (who by their learning can, and for the zeal they should have to the truth ought, as I suppose, to gainsay anything repugnant to it), say nothing against the confession we have heard; I cannot think but that it is the very truth of God, and that the contrary of it false and deceivable doctrine¹."

Affairs of
Ireland.

14. Let us now cross over into Ireland, where we shall find the Queen as active in advancing the reformed religion, as she had been in either of the other kingdoms. King Henry had first broke the ice, by taking to himself the title of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of Ireland, exterminating the Pope's authority, and suppressing all the monasteries and religious houses. In matters doctrinal, and forms of worship, as there was nothing done by him, so neither was there much endeavoured in the time of King Edward; it being thought perhaps unsafe to provoke that people in the King's minority, considering with how many troubles he was elsewhere exercised. If anything were done therein, it was rather done by toleration than command; and whatsoever was so done, was presently undone again in the reign of Queen Mary. But Queen Elizabeth, having settled her affairs in England, and undertaken the protection of the Scots, conceived herself obliged in point of piety that Ireland also should be made partaker of so great a benefit. A Parliament is therefore held on the 12th of January, where passed an Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical and spiritual persons². By which statute were established both the Oath of Supremacy and the High Commission, as before in England. There also passed an Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c., with a permission for saying the same in Latin, in such Church or place where the Minister had not

¹ Spottisw. 150.

² 2 Eliz. c. 1. Irel.

the knowledge of the English tongue¹. But for translating it into Irish (as afterwards into Welsh, in the fifth year of this Queen), there was no care taken, either in this Parliament, or in any following². For want whereof, as also by not having the Scriptures in their native language, most of the natural Irish have retained hitherto their old barbarous customs, or pertinaciously adhere to the corruptions of the Church of Rome. The people by that statute are required, under several penalties, to frequent their Churches, and to be frequent at the reading of the English Liturgy, which they understand no more than they do the Mass. By which means the Irish was not only kept in continual ignorance as to the doctrines and devotions of the Church of England, but we have furnished the Papists with an excellent argument against ourselves, for having the divine service celebrated in such a language as the people do not understand.

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15. There also passed another statute³ for restoring to the Crown the first-fruits, and twenty⁴ parts of all ecclesiastical promotions within that kingdom; as also of all improprieate parsonages, which there are more in number than those rectories which have cure of souls. King Henry had before united the first-fruits, &c., to the Crown Imperial, but Queen Mary, out of her affection to the Church of Rome, had given them back unto the Clergy, as before was said⁵. The like act passed for the restitution of all such lands belonging to the knights of St John of Jerusalem⁶, as by that Queen had been regranted to the order; with the avoidance of all leases and other grants which had been made by Sir Oswald Massingberd, the late Prior of the same. Who, fearing what was like to follow, had voluntarily forsook the kingdom in the August foregoing, and thereby saved the Queen the charge of an yearly pension, which otherwise he might have had, as his predecessors had before him in the time of King Henry⁷. During

¹ 2 Eliz. c. 2. Irel. See above, i. 260.

² In the note at the end of the History, Heylyn corrects the statement of vol. i. p. 260, that "no care was taken" for translating the Liturgy into Irish; but it is true, as is stated here, that no care was taken by parliament.

³ 2 Eliz. c. 3. Irel.

⁴ i. e. twentieth.

⁵ Sup. p. 194.

⁶ 2 Eliz. c. 7. Irel.

⁷ The act for dissolution of the Order, 32 Hen. VIII. c. 24, allowed

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the reign of which King, a statute had been made in Ireland (as in England also) for the electing and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops,—repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, and now revived by her sister; in which there is nothing more memorable than that, amongst many other ceremonies therein directed, there is mention of giving the pall to a new Archbishop, that being an ornament or habit peculiar only unto those of the highest rank in the holy hierarchy¹. And that she might not only take care for the good of the Church, without consulting her own safety, she caused an act to pass for the recognition of her own just title to the Crown, as before in England. All which being done, she left the prosecution of the work to her Bishops and Clergy,—not so well countenanced by power as they were by law, and yet more countenanced by law than they made good use of. For many of them, finding how things went in England, and knowing that the like alterations would ensue amongst themselves, resolved to make such use of the present times as to enrich their friends and kindred by the spoil of their churches. To which end they so dissipated the revenues of their several Bishopricks, by long leases, fee farms, and plain alienations, that to some of their sees they left no more than a rent of five marks per annum, to others a bare yearly rent of forty shillings, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, the reproach of re-

Sir W. Weston, the Prior of England, a pension of £1000. Sir John Rawson, Prior of Ireland, had 500 marks, and the other members had allowances according to their standing, the least being £10 a-year. Massingberd was at that time among those to whom the lowest rate of pension was assigned. Gibson, Codex. 1243.

¹ Heylyn's reference to the act of Henry VIII. for Ireland, as similar to that of England, might mislead the reader as to the purport of the Irish act, 2 Eliz. c. 4, which did not provide for the "electing" of Archbishops and Bishops, but, like the English act of 1 Edw. VI. c. 2 (sup. i. 104), abolished the capitular elections, on the ground that they caused delay and expense to the nominees; "and whereas the said elections be in very deed no elections, but only by a writ of *congé d'estire* have colours, shadows, or pretences of elections—serving nevertheless to no purpose, and seeming also derogatory and prejudicial to the Queen's prerogative royal, to whom only appertaineth the collation and gift of all archbishopricks and bishopricks and suffragan bishops within this her Highness' realm." Comp. Mant, i. 263-4.

ligion, the great disservice of the Church, and the perpetual ignominy of themselves for that horrible sacrilege¹.

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Bishop
Jewel's Chal-
lenge.

16. It is now time that we hoise sail for England, where we shall find an entertainment made ready for us in a sermon preached by reverend Jewel, then newly consecrated Bishop of the Church of Sarisbury; the sermon preached at St Paul's Cross on the 31st² of March, being Passion-Sunday, or the Sunday fortnight before Easter, the text or theme of his discourse being taken out of St Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi. ver. 23.—“That which I delivered to you I received of the Lord,” &c. Which text being opened, and accommodated to the present times, he published that memorable challenge, which so much exercised the pens and studies of the Romish Clergy, by whom the Church had been injuriously upbraided with the imputation of novelty, and charged with teaching such opinions as were not to be found in any of the ancient Fathers, or approved Councils, or any other monument of true antiquity, before Luther's time. For the stopping of whose mouths for ever, this learned prelate made this stout and gallant challenge in these following words³.

BISHOP JEWEL'S CHALLENGE.

“IF any learned man of our adversaries, or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic Doctor or Father, or general Council, or Holy Scripture, or any one example in the primitive Church,

¹ For details of the Irish spoliations, see Mant, i. 230, seqq.; Bramhall, i. xviii, lxxxi, lxxxix, xc. Heylyn had probably seen in MS. the letter to Laud, in which Bramhall states, A. D. 1633, that “the Earl of Cork holds the whole bishoprick of Lismore, at the rent of 40s., or five marks, by the year.” i. lxxxii.

² Edd. “30th.” “It would appear that this Challenge was first given at Paul's Cross on the 26th of November, 1559, when Jewel was bishop elect of Salisbury, but before his confirmation and consecration, which took place in the following January.” (Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. 255.) “The Sermon, with the Challenge amplified, was preached at the Court, March 17, 1560, and repeated at Paul's Cross, March 31.” Note in Jewel, ed. Park. Soc. i. 3. The original Challenge contained only the first fifteen articles, ib. 21. It was on occasion of the *second* preaching,—that at Court,—that Cole's attack was made. Jelf's note on Jewel, i. 3.

³ Jewel, ed. Park. Soc. i. 20-21; ed. Jelf, i. 30—32.

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302¹ "they."² "and in silence."³ "his Lord and God."

there without corruption ; 23. Or that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught) ; 24. Or that when Christ said *Hoc est corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some of them say ; 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shews of bread and wine be the Sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself ; 26. Or that the Sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ that lieth hidden underneath it ; 27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion¹ [and obedience] :—the conclusion is, that I shall be then content to yield and subscribe.”

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17. This Challenge, being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English Papists both at home and abroad, —none more than such of the fugitives as had retired to Lovain, Doway, or Saint Odomar's, in the Low-Country provinces belonging to the King of Spain. The business first agitated by the exchange of friendly letters betwixt the said reverend Prelate and Dr Henry Cole, the late Dean of St Pauls ; more violently followed in a book of Rastal's², who first appeared in the lists against the Challenger. Followed therein by Dorman³ and Marshall⁴, who severally took up the cudgels to as little purpose ; the first being well beaten by Nowel⁵, and the last by Calphil⁶, in their discourses writ against them. But they were

¹ This was a dictum uttered by Cole at the Westminster disputation. Jewel to P. Martyr, in Cardwell, Conferences, 96 ; Works, ed. Park. Soc. i. 57.

² “Confutation of a Sermon pronounced by Mr Jewel at Paul's Cross,” Antw. 1564. Tanner, Bibliotheca, 617.

³ “A proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr Jewel.” Antw. 1564. “A Request to Mr Jewel, that he keep his promise made by solemn protestation in his late Sermon at Paul's Cross,” 1567, &c. Tanner, Bibl. 232.

⁴ “A Treatise of the Cross, gathered out of the Scriptures, Councils, and Antient Fathers of the Primitive Church.” Antw. 1564.

⁵ “A Reproof of a book entitled A Proof of certain Articles,” &c. Lond. 1565. The controversy between Nowell and Dorman ran to some length. Tanner, 553. See below, vi. 12 ; Strype, Ann. i. 540.

⁶ Calphill, however, is not a writer with whom Heylyn would have had much sympathy, if he had read his “Answer to Martial's Treatise of the Cross.” The work has been learnedly and impartially edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. R. Gibbings.

AN. REG. 2, only velitations¹, or preparatory skirmishes in reference to the
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main encounter, which was reserved for the reverend Challenger himself and Dr John Harding, one of the Divines of Lovain, and the most learned of the College. The combatants were born in the same county, bred up in the same grammar-school, and studied in the same university also: so that it may be said of them, as the historian hath of Jugurth and Sylla under Caius Marius,—that is to say, that they both learned those feats of arms in the same camp, and under the same commander, which afterwards they were to exercise against one another². Both zealous Protestants also in the time of King Edward, and both relapsed to Popery in the time of Queen Mary—Jewel for fear, and Harding upon hope of favour and preferment by it³. But Jewel's fall may be compared to that of Saint Peter, which was short and sudden; rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than before he was: but Harding's like to that of the other Simon⁴, premeditated and resolved on; never to be restored again—(so much was there within him of “the gall of bitterness”)—to his former standing. But some former differences had been between them in the Church of Sarisbury⁵, whereof the one was Prebendary, and the other Bishop, occasioned by the Bishop's visitation of that Cathedral, in which as Harding had the worst, so was it a presage of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter. Who had the better of the day, will easily appear to any that consults the writings; by which it will appear how much the Bishop was too hard for him at all manner of weapons. Whose learned answers, as well in maintenance of his “Challenge,” as in defence of his “Apology,”—(whereof more hereafter⁶)—contain in them such a magazine of all sorts of learning, that all our controversors since that time

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¹ “Edd. “velitations.”

² “Quo quidem tempore [scil. Numantino bello] juvenes adhuc Jugurtha et Marius, sub eodem Africano militantes, in iisdem castris didicere quæ postea in contrariis facerent.” Vell. Patere. ii. 9. The illustration is borrowed from the *Life* (by Featley; see Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, Intr. § 11, and p. 313, ed. Camb. 1651) of Jewel, prefixed to the folio edition, 1609; but the error as to the persons is Heylyn's own.

³ See p. 38, note 2.

⁴ Acts viii.

⁵ Fox, vi. 418.

⁶ Eliz. iv. 16.

have furnished themselves with arguments and authority from it'. AN. REG. 2,
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18. But these discourses came not out until some years after², though the occasion was given now by this famous Challenge;—the interval being spent in preparations by the Romish party, before they shewed themselves in public. In the mean time, the Papists, mad enough before, seemed to grow more outrageous upon this occasion, though they were willing to impute it to some other cause. Philip of Spain shewed himself much incensed against her, as well for altering the religion here by him established, as for refusing him in marriage when the offer had been made unto her by the Count of Feria; nor was the Count less troubled at it than the King. And in this melancholy humour he employs all his interest with the Pope then being for subjecting her unto a sentence of excommunication³. Which motion if it had been pressed on Pope Paul the Fourth, who seemed very much displeas'd at her for accepting the Crown without his consent, there is no question to be made but that it had been hearkened to with a listening ear, and executed with a rash and ungoverned hand. But Paul the Fourth deceased about the middle of August in the year last past, and John Angelo, Cardinal of Medices, succeeded him, by the name of Pope Pius the Fourth, in December following. Who, being a more moderate man, did not think fit to proceed to such extremities; for, seeing that his power was a thing rather consisting in the conceits of men than in truth and substance, if it should once appear that this thunderbolt of excommunication (whereby the world is so much terrified), should prove ineffectual and without all power, then might this great authority fall into contempt, and become ridiculous. Upon which ground he goes another way to work, and is resolved to try all fair and plausible means for gaining her to the obedience of the See Apostolic. To which end he directs unto her an affectionate letter, in which he calls her his “dearest daughter,” and seems exceeding careful of her

PIUS IV.
writes to the
Queen.

¹ For a collection of testimonies to this great controversialist, see the Quarterly Review, Vol. lxi. pp. 476-7.

² Harding's book appeared in 1564; Jewel's answer in the latter part of 1565. Jewel, ed. Park. Soc. i. Advertisement, and p. 35.

³ Camden, 58.

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salvation and the prosperity of her people—not to be found by wandering out of the communion of the Catholic Church, to which she is again invited with much Christian meekness. Which letter he dispatcheth by the hands of Vincentius Parpalia, a right trusty minister, and one (by reason of some former employments hither in the time of Queen Mary) not unknown to her. Whom he had furnished also with some secret instructions to be communicated to her at his being in England, concerning which (for with that intimation he concludes his letter), the same Vincentius was to deal more largely with her, and declare his fatherly affection towards her; she being in like sort desired to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches as she would to the Pope himself¹.

19. This letter of the Pope's bears date on the 5th of May, anno 1560; before which time the Queen had caused the English Liturgy to be translated into Latin, using therein the pen and diligence of Walter Haddon², (as some suppose), who afterwards appeared against Ossorius³ upon several arguments. And, being translated into Latin, it was commended by her letters patents of the first of April, not only to all Colleges and Halls in both Universities, but also to the Colleges of Eaton and Winchester, to be used by them in their several and respective Chapels⁴. And she caused, further, some selected hymns to be added to it, for some particular occasions; but most especially to be sung in funerals and solemn obsequies: which, not being warranted by the statute of the year preceding, were therefore authorized with a *non obstante*. All which as she was thought to do, to satisfy and instruct all foreign princes in the form and fashion of our devotions,—so did she so far satisfy the Pope then being⁵, that he shewed himself

¹ Camd. 59-60. Fuller, iv. 307—9. Wilkins, iv. 219.

² Mr Clay shews that "little claim to the authorship of the Latin prayer-book was possessed by Haddon" (or by the Elizabethan editor, whoever he was), inasmuch as it is grounded on the version of King Edward's second Liturgy made by Aless (sup. i. 165). Liturgies of Elizabeth, ed. Park. Soc. p. xxv.

³ See Strype, Ann. i. 422.

⁴ Wilkins, iv. 217.

⁵ Against Heylyn's view of the intention with which the Latin book was published, and against the story of the Pope's willingness to confirm it, see Clay, Liturg. Eliz. xxii.

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willing to confirm it by his papal power. The learned Cambden, who received all his choice intelligence from Sir William Cecil¹, (but better known in his last times by the name of Lord Burleigh), gives us to understand, that this Parpalia was instructed to offer in the name of his Holiness, that the English Liturgy should be confirmed; the use of the Communion in both kinds allowed of; and that all sentences which had passed in the Court of Rome against the marriage of her mother should be rescinded and made void,—conditioned only, that she would reunite herself to the Roman Church, and acknowledge the primacy of that see. For the carrying on of which accord, the Abbot was commissioned to distribute some thousands of crowns amongst such men as should be found most forward to effect the same. Sanders² makes this to be another of his secret mandates, that, if she had any diffidence in her title to the Crown of England, either in regard of the doubtfulness of her legitimation, or anything which had been done by the authority of the Pope and Church of Rome, all matters should be cleared and sweetened to her best advantage, by the benignity and favour of the See Apostolic. But for all this, the Abbot came no nearer than Brussels with his bulls and faculties, not being suffered to set foot upon English ground³: whether it were upon a probable suspicion, that, under colour

¹ Camden only states that the purport of Parpaglia's instructions was said ("Fama obtinet") to have been such as is here reported. Of himself he expressly says, "Quæ Parpalia proposuit, non comperi, nec enim scriptis mandata credo, comminisci vero cum vulgo historicorum minime lubet." p. 59, ed. 1615. On the other hand, Coke, in his charge at the Norwich assizes, 1607, states that he received a similar relation from the Queen herself (Twysden's Hist. Vindication, 200, ed. Corrie, Camb. 1847); and the truth of it is maintained by Twysden, *ibid*.

² De Schism. Angl. 307.

³ "Which is altogether improbable; for how could he propound anything to the Queen,—(which Camden says he did)—if he saw her not? Would he be so negligent of the papal honour as to send a letter which he was to deliver himself? If we are to credit tradition, he not only spake with her Majesty, but passed from her not without a gratitude. And I conceive the learned doctor [Heylyn] attributes to this abbot what happened to another, the year following; for of Martinengus, 1561 [see Eliz. iii. 9], it is most true, but none mention it of this; neither is it likely the Pope, having received so peremptory a denial, would a year after have adventured a second." Twysden, 200.

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of such plausible and specious overtures, he was designed to encourage a rebellion amongst the Papists, as was thought by some; or rather, that the Queen was grown so confident of her own just title and the affections of her people as not to be beholden to the Pope for a confirmation,—remains a matter undetermined by our best historians. How it succeeded with this Pope in another project for the reducing of this kingdom under his command, we shall see hereafter.

Proceedings
of Puritans.

20. But all this while there was no care taken to suppress the practice of another faction, who secretly did as much endeavour the subversion of the English Liturgy, as the Pope seemed willing to confirm it; for whilst the prelates of the Church and the other learned men before remembered bent all their forces toward the confuting of some Popish errors, another enemy appeared, which seemed not openly to aim at the Church's doctrines, but quarrelled rather at some rites and extrinsecals of it. Their purpose was to shew themselves so expert in the art of war as to take in the outworks of religion first, before they levelled their artillery at the fort itself. The schismatics at Franckfort had no sooner heard of Queen Mary's death, but they made what haste they could for England, in hope of fishing better for themselves in a troubled water than a composed and quiet current. Followed not long after by the brethren of the separation which retired from thence unto Geneva; who, having left some few behind to complete their notes upon the Bible¹, and make up so many of the Psalms in English metre as had been left unfinished by Sternhold and Hopkins, hastened as fast homewards as the others. But notwithstanding all their haste, they came not time enough to effect their purposes, either in reference to the Liturgy or episcopal government; on which the Queen had so resolved, according to her own most excellent judgment, that they were not able to prevail in either project. It grieved them at the heart that their own prayers might not be made the rule of worship in their congregations, and that they might not lord it here in their several parishes, as Calvin did in the

¹ Mr Anderson shews (*Annals of the English Bible*, ii. 320), that Whittingham, Gylby, and Sampson, were the only Englishmen of note who remained at Geneva, and that to them the version is to be attributed.

Presbytery of the Church of Geneva. Some friends they had about the Queen, and Calvin was resolved to make use of all his power and credit both with her and Cecil (as appears by his letters unto both¹) to advance their ends; and he was seconded therein by Peter Martyr², who thought his interest in England to be greater than Calvin's, though his name was not so eminent in other places. But the Queen had fixed herself on her resolution of keeping the Church in such outward splendour as might make it every way considerable in the eye of the world; so that they must have faith enough to remove a mountain, before they could have hope enough to draw her to them. When, therefore, they saw the Liturgy imposed by Act of Parliament, and so many episcopal Sees supplied with able pastors, nothing seemed more expedient to them than to revive the quarrels raised in King Edward's time against caps and surplices, and such particulars as had then been questioned in the public Liturgy; and herein they were seconded (as before in King Edward's time), by the same Peter Martyr,—
 133 as appears by his letters to a nameless friend³, bearing date at
 305 Zurich, on the fourth of November, 1560⁴, to which he added his dislike in another of his letters to the same friend also, touching the same and other points proposed unto him, that is to say, the cap, the episcopal habit, the patrimony of the Church, the manner of proceeding to be held against Papists, the perambulation used in the Rogation weeks, with many other points of the like condition, in which his judgment was desired⁵.

21. But these helps being too far off, and not to be consulted with upon all inconveniences without a greater loss of time than could consist with the impatience of their desires, they fell upon another project, which promised them more hopes of setting up their discipline and decrying the Liturgy

Foreign Congregations admitted into England.

¹ The letter to Cecil is in Calv. Epp. p. 133; but although he there speaks of having given advice to the Queen, no letter to her appears in the Collection.

² Martyr had written to Elizabeth on her accession, *Loc. Com.* 1121—4; there is no other letter of his to the Queen.

³ Sampson, see i. 195, note 2.

⁴ 1559. P. Martyr, *Loc. Comm.* 1127. Zurich Letters, ed. 2, p. 65.

⁵ P. Martyr, 1127-8. Zurich Letters, 84—6. The date is Feb. 1, 1560.

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than¹ quarrels about caps and vestments. Some friends they had about the Court, as before was said, and Gryndal, the new Bishop of London, was known to have a great respect to the name of Calvin. The business, therefore, is so ordered, that by Calvin's letters unto Gryndal², and the friends they had about the Queen, way should be given to such of the French nation as had repaired hither to enjoy the freedom of their own religion, to have a Church unto themselves, and in that Church not only to erect the Genevian discipline, but to set up a form of Prayer which should hold no conformity with the English Liturgy. They could not but remember those many advantages which John à Lasco and his Church of strangers afforded to the Zuinglian gospellers in the reign of King Edward³, and they despaired not of the like, nor of greater neither, if a French Church were settled upon Calvin's principles, in some part of London. A synagogue had been built for the use of the Jews, anno 1231, not far from the place in which now stands the Hall of the Merchant-Taylors, near the Royal Exchange; but the Jews having removed themselves to some other place, the Christians obtained that it should be dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and by that name was given unto the brotherhood of St Anthony of Vienna⁴ by King Henry the Third. After which time, an hospital was there founded by the name of St Anthony, consisting of a master, two priests, one school-master, twelve poor men⁵; enlarged in the succeeding times by the addition of a fair grammar-school, and other publick buildings for the use of the brethren. It was privileged by King Edward the Fourth to have priests, clerks, scholars, poor men, and brethren of the same, [clerks⁶] or lay-men, choristers, proctors, messengers, servants in household, and other things whatsoever, like unto the prior and covent of St Anthony of Vienna, &c.; and, being privileged, it was annexed to the collegiate chapel of St George of Windsor, under whose patronage it remained, but much impoverished by the fraud

¹ Edd. "their."

² The only letter to Gryndal on the subject in the collection of Calvin's Epistles is that of thanks, mentioned in the next paragraph.

³ Sup. i. 189.

⁴ i. e. Vienne; where the relics of the Egyptian St Anthony were believed to be preserved. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, Jan. 17.

⁵ Stow, Survey, 190.

⁶ Stow.

and folly of one of its schoolmasters, till the final dissolution of it, amongst other hospitals and brotherhoods, by King Edward the Sixth; so that, being vested in the Crown, and of no present use to the city, it was no hard matter to obtain it for the use of the French, as it still continueth¹.

22. And now again we have another Church in London, as different from the Church of England in government and forms of worship, and some doctrinals also, as that of John à Lasco was in the Augustine Friars². Nor must we marvel if we find the like dangerous consequents to ensue upon it; for what else is the setting up of a presbytery in a Church founded and established by the rules of episcopacy, than the erecting of a commonwealth or popular estate in the midst of a monarchy? Which Calvin well enough perceived, and thereupon gave Gryndal thanks³ for his favour in it; of whom they after served themselves upon all occasions. Upon the news of which success, divers both French and Dutch repaired into England, planting themselves in the sea-towns, and openly professing the reformed religion; under which covert they disguised their several heterodoxies and blasphemous dotages,—some of them proving to be Anabaptists, others infected with unsound opinions of as ill a nature, but all endeavouring to disperse their heretical doctrines, and, by envenoming the good people amongst whom they lived, to increase their sects.

306 306 Which being made known unto the Queen, she presently commands them all by her proclamation to depart the kingdom,

¹ Stow. Survey, 190-1.

² Besides the new establishment of the French church, that of "Dutch" (or Germans) was about this time restored. Utenhovius, who had been a leading member of à Lasco's congregation, again came to England, bringing with him King Edward's charter, which the Queen was prayed to confirm. The petition was at first refused, "because the Queen thought it not convenient in her kingdom to have another superintendent over a Church, and that a stranger, besides the Bishop of London." In order to meet this objection, the Germans chose Bishop Grindal for superintendent; and, after overcoming various other difficulties, they were restored to the possession of the building in the Augustine Friars, which in the reign of Mary had been used as a repository for naval stores. Strype, Annals, i. 113. Compare for the history of foreign congregations, Strype's Grindal, b. i. c. 5; Burn's Hist. of Protestant Refugees, Lond. 1845.

³ Epp. p. 144. May 15, 1560.

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whether they were aliens or natural-born English, and not to stay above the term of twenty days, upon pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of all their goods¹. Which proclamation notwithstanding, too many of them lurked in England without fear of discovery, especially after the erecting of so many French and Dutch churches in the maritime parts; as at this time they did in London, infecting the French and Dutch churches there with some of their frenzies, and occasioned such disputes amongst them upon that account, that Peter Martyr found it necessary to interpose his authority with them, to the composing of those heats and differences which had grown amongst them; for which consult his letter bearing date at Zurick on the 15th of February next following after the date of the said proclamation, and superscribed, ‘Unto the Church of Strangers in the city of London².’

Proclamation against defacers of Churches.

23. Now for the date of the said proclamation, it seemeth to have been about the 19th of September³; at which time it pleased the Queen to set forth another, no less conducing to the honour, than did the other to the preservation of the Church’s purity. She had given command by her injunctions in the year foregoing, “For destroying and taking away all shrines, and coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals, and rolls of wax, together with all pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass-windows, or elsewhere, whether it were in churches or men’s private houses⁴.” But some, perverting rather than mistaking her intention in it, guided by covetousness, or overruled by some new fangle in religion, under colour of conforming to this command, defaced all such images of Christ and his Apostles, all paintings which presented any history of the holy Bible, as they found in any windows of their churches or chapels. They proceed 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

¹ Camden, 60. Lat.

² Loc. Comm. 1123—31.

³ There were later orders for inquiry as to strangers who “were come into the realm for pretence of religion.” See Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 307.

⁴ Injunctions of 1559, No. 23.

reserved¹ 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 their bells, to turn the steeples into dove-cotes, and to rob the churches of those sheets of lead with which they were covered. For the restraining of which sacrilege and profane abuses, she gave command in her said proclamation of the 19th of September, “That all manner of men should from thenceforth forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any monument, or tomb, or grave, or other inscription and memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place; or to break any image of kings, princes, or noble estates² of this realm, or of any other, that have been in times past erected and set up for the only memory of them to their posterity, in common churches, and not for any religious honour; or to break down or deface any image in glass-windows in any church, without the consent of the ordinary: upon pain of being committed to the next gaol without bail or mainprize, and there to remain till the next coming of the justices for gaol-delivery, and then to be further punished by fine or imprisonment (besides the restitution or re-edification of the thing broken), as to the said justices shall seem meet, and, if need shall be, to use the advice³ of her Majesty’s Council in her Star-Chamber⁴.”

24. It was also signified in the said proclamation, “That some patrons of churches and others, who were possessed of impropriations, had prevailed with the parson and parishioners to take or throw down the bells of churches or chapels, and the lead of the same, and to convert the same to their private gain, by which ensued not only the spoil of the said churches, but even a slanderous desolation⁵ of the places of prayer.” And thereupon it was commanded, “that no manner of person should from thenceforth take away any bells or lead off any church or chapel, under pain of imprisonment during her Majesty’s plea-

¹ Qu. “preserved?”

² Edd. “nobles, estates.”

³ “Using therein the advice of the Ordinary, and, if need shall be, the advice also of her Majesty’s Council,” &c.

⁴ Fuller, iv. 301—5. Wilkins, iv. 221-2.

⁵ “And make such like alterations, as thereby they seek a slanderous desolation,” &c.

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sure, and such further fine for the contempt as shall be thought meet ;” with a charge given to all Bishops and other Ordinaries, “ to inquire of all such contempts done from the beginning of her Majesty’s reign, and to enjoin the persons offending to repair the same within a convenient time, and of their doing therein to certify the Privy Council, or the Council in the Star-chamber, that order may be taken therein.” And in pursuit of this most seasonable and religious act, she did not only sign the said proclamation, one for all, to authorise it for the press, as the custom is, but signed them every one apart (amounting to a very great number) with her own royal hand, that so it might be known rather for her own proper act than an act of the council¹.

Reform of
the coinage.

25. With like care also she provided for the honour and prosperity of her estate in affairs politic and civil. The monies of the realm had been much debased by King Henry the Eighth, to the great disprofit of the merchant and reproach of the kingdom ; for which no remedy had been taken by her brother or sister, though they had better opportunities, and more advantages to go through with it². But this brave Queen, endeavouring nothing more than the restoring of her kingdom to its ancient splendour, first caused all such base monies as were coined by any of her predecessors to be decried to a less value, according to the fineness or alloy thereof ; and that being done, by virtue of her proclamation bearing date the 28th of September, she caused all the said base monies, so reduced to a lower value, to be brought in to her Majesty’s Mint, for which she gave them money of the purest silver, (such as passed commonly by the name of Easterling or sterling money) : since which time, no base money hath been coined in England, but only of pure gold and silver, to pass for current in the same ; save that of late times, in relation to the necessity of poor people, a permission hath been given to the coining of farthings, which no man can be forced to accept in satisfaction of a rent or debt : which, as it could not be affirmed of England in the times preceding, so neither can it now be said of any state or nation in the Christian world ; in all which there are

¹ Fuller, iv. 301.

² But we have already had notice of a reform in the reign of Edward i. 232.

several sorts of copper money, as current with them for public uses as the purest metal¹. She provided also in like manner for her people's safety, and the increase of trade and merchandize in English bottoms; for, towards the end of this second year, she made great preparation of ordnance, arms, munition, and powder of her own materials, to be in a readiness to defend her realm in all emergencies of danger: for the advancing of which service it so pleased the divine Providence which watched over her actions, that a rich mine of brass was found near Keswick in Cumberland, such as sufficed not only for furnishing her own forts and ships with all manner of ordnance, but for supplying other countries as their wants required. And, to complete so great a mercy in her preservation, the stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, exceeding necessary for all brass-works, was at the same time also found in England in most plentiful manner². And whereas complaint was made unto her by the merchants of the Hans-towns, or merchants of the Steelyard, as then commonly called, that King Edward had first seized their liberties³, and that afterwards Queen Mary had raised their customs upon all sorts of merchandizes from one to twenty in the hundred, her answer was, that, as she was resolved not to innovate any thing, so she could grant no other privileges and immunities to them than those in which she found them when she came to the Crown. Their trading hereupon being intermitted, the English merchants took the managing of it upon themselves, and thrived therein so well after some adventures, that cloth and other manufactures, heretofore transported in the ships of those merchants, were from henceforth fraughted and dispersed in English vessels; by means whereof the English in a very short time attained unto the reputation of being the wealthiest merchants, the most expert mariners, and the ablest commanders for sea-fights, of any nation in the world.

AN. REG. 2,
1560.

Increase of
English Com-
merce.

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26. I shall conclude this year with a work of piety in the foundation of the Collegiate Church of St Peter in Westminster, which in the space of twenty years had been changed from an abbey to a deanery, from a deanery to a see episcopal, reduced unto a deanery again, and finally restored to the state of an

New Founda-
tion of West-
minster.

¹ Stow, 640. Camden, 61-2. Lat. ² Camd. 70. Lat.

³ Sup. i. 230.

AN. REG. 2, 1560. abbey¹. But the abbey being dissolved in the foregoing Parliament, an offer was made to Fecknam and the rest of the convent (if Sanders² be to be believed in this particular) for continuing in their places and possessions as before they did, clogged with no other conditions than the taking of the oath of Supremacy, and officiating all divine offices by the English Liturgy. But this offer being by them rejected, the Act of dissolution passed in both houses of Parliament; concerning which there goes a story³, that the Lord Abbot being then busied in planting some young elms in the Dean's yard there, one that came by advised him to desist from his purpose, telling him, that the bill was just then passed for dissolving his monastery. To which the good old man replied, that he resolved howsoever to go on with his work, being well assured that that Church would be always kept for an encouragement and seat of learning. And so it proved in the event; for the Queen, having pleased herself in the choice of some of the best lands which remained unto it, confirmed the rest upon that Church, which she caused to be called the Collegiate Church of St Peter in Westminster, as appears by her Letters Patents bearing date in the second year of her most gracious and most prosperous reign. A foundation of a large capacity, and as amply privileged, consisting of a Dean and twelve secular Canons, two schoolmasters and forty scholars, petit Canons and others of the quire to the number of thirty, ten officers belonging to the Church, and as many servants appertaining to the College diet, and twelve alms-men, besides many officers, stewards, receivers, and collectors, for keeping courts, and bringing in of their revenue⁴: the principal of which, called the High Steward of Westminster, hath ever since been one of the prime nobility, and in great favour at the Court. The Dean entrusted with keeping the Regalia, honoured with a place of necessary service at all coronations, and a commissioner for the peace within the City of Westminster and the liberties of it by Act of Parliament. The Dean and Chapter vested with all manner of jurisdiction both ecclesiastical and

¹ Fuller, iv. 312. Camd. 61. Lat.

² Rishton, in Sanders, 295.

³ See Fuller, v. 96; Heyl. Exam. Hist. Pt. i. 167.

⁴ Stow, Survey, 500.

civil, not only within the city and liberties of Westminster, but within the precinct of St Martins le Grand¹ and some towns of Essex,—exempted in the one from the Bishop of London, and in the other from the power of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The scholars annually preferred by election, either to Christ Church in Oxon, or Trinity College in Cambridge, each College being bound by an indenture made with Queen Elizabeth to take off yearly two or three at the least (though since that number is extended to four or five), to be preferred to scholarship and fellowships in their several houses. A College founded, as it proved, in such a happy conjuncture, that since this new foundation of it, it hath given breeding and preferment to four Archbishops, two Lord Chancellors or Lord Keepers of the Great Seal of England, twenty-two Bishops, and thirteen Deans of Cathedral Churches, besides Archdeacons and Prebendaries, and other dignitaries in the Church to a proportionable number; which is more than can be said of either of the two famous Colleges of Eaton and Winchester, or of both together, though the one was founded 168, and the other 114 years before it.

AN. REG. 2,
1560.

¹ Stow, Survey, 330, 917. Sup. i. 124.

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1560.

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ANNO REGNI ELIZ. 3,

ANNO DOM. 1560, 1561.

Death of
Francis II.
of France.

1. **WE** shall begin this third year of the Queen with the death of Francis the Second, King of the French, who deceased on the fifth day of December, when he had scarce lived to the end of his seventeenth year, and had reigned but one year and five months, or thereabouts¹. His death much altered both the counsels and affairs of Christendom,—distracting the French nation into schisms and factions, encouraging the Scots to proceed with confidence in their reformation, and promising no small security to Queen Elizabeth, in regard of the pretensions of the Queen of Scots. But so little was her condition bettered by it, that she seemed to be in more danger by the acts of her enemies after his decease than formerly in the time of his life and government. Francis of Guise, a man of great abilities for camp and council, had made himself a very strong party in the Court of France, which he intended to make use of for the Queen of Scots, whose mother, the late Queen Regent of Scotland, was his only sister. And this he might the better do by reason of a division in the Court of France about the government of the kingdom during the minority of Charles the Ninth, the second brother and next heir to the King deceased. Katherine de Medices, the relict of Henry the Second, and the mother of Charles, lays claim to the Regency; for who could have a greater care, either of the young King's person or estate, than his natural mother? But against her, as being a mere stranger to the nation and affairs of France, Anthony of Burbon, Duke of Vendosme by descent, and King of Navarr, at the least in title, in the right of Joan d'Albret his wife, the sole heir of that Crown, lays his claim unto it, as being the first Prince of the blood, and therefore fitter to be trusted with the Regency by the rules of that Government. The Guisian faction join themselves to that of the Queen, of whom they better knew

¹ Speed, 361. On the religious wars of France, comp. Aër. Rediv. b. ii.

how to make advantage than they could of the other, and to that end endeavour by all subtle artifices to invest her in it¹. AN. REG. 3,
1560.

2. To this end they insinuate themselves into the Duke, persuade him either to relinquish his demands of the Regency, or to associate himself with the Queen-mother in the public government; and to join counsels with the Catholic party for suppressing the Hugonots. Which that they might allure him to, or at least take him off from his first pursuit, they offered to procure a divorce from his present wife, and that, instead of holding the kingdom of Navarr in right of his wife, he should hold it in his own personal capacity by a grant from the Pope, his wife being first deprived of it by his Holiness, as suspected of Lutheranism; that being divorced from his wife, he should marry Mary Queen of the Scots, with whom he should not only have the kingdom of Scotland, but of England also, of which Elizabeth was to be deprived on the same account; that for the recovery of that kingdom he should not only have the Pope's authority and the power of France, but also the forces of the King of Spain; and finally, that the Catholic King did so much study his contentment, that, if he would relinquish his pretensions to the Crown of Navarr, he should be gratified by him with the sovereignty and actual possession of the Isle of Sardinia, of which he should receive the Crown with all due solemnities². By which temptations when they had rendered him suspected to the Protestant party, and thereby settled the Queen-mother in that place and power which so industriously she aspired to, they laid him by as to the title, permitting him to live by the air of hope for the short time of his life, which ended on the 17th of November, anno 1562. And so much of the game was played in earnest, that the Duke of Guise did mainly labour with the Pope to fulminate his excommunications against Elizabeth, as one that had renounced his authority, apostated from the Catholic religion, and utterly exterminated the profession of it out of her dominions³.

3. But the Duke sped no better in this negotiation than the Count of Feria⁴ did before. The Pope had still retained some hope of regaining England, and meant to leave no way

¹ Davila, 39.

² Sarpi, 439; Davila, 52.

³ Camd. 63. ed. 1615.

⁴ Sup. p. 331.

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1560.

unpractised by which he might obtain the point he aimed at. When first the See was vacant by the death of Pope Paul the Fourth, the Cardinals assembled in the Conclave bound themselves by oath, that, for the better settling of the broken and distracted estate of Christendom, the Council formerly held at Trent should be resumed with all convenient speed that might be¹. Which being too fresh in memory to be forgotten, and of too great importance to be laid aside, the new Pope had no sooner settled his affairs in Rome, which had been much disordered by the harshness and temerity of his predecessor, but he resolved to put the same in execution. For this cause he consults with some of the more moderate and judicious Cardinals, and by his resolution and dexterity surmounts all difficulties which shewed themselves in the design; and he resolved not only to call the Council, but that it should be held in Trent², to which it had been formerly called by Pope Paul the Third, 1545,—that it should rather be a continuance of the former Council, which had been interrupted by the prosecution of the wars in Germany, than the beginning of a new; and that he would invite unto it all Christian Princes,—his dear daughter Queen Elizabeth of England amongst the rest³. And on these terms he stood, when he was importuned by the ministers of the Duke of Guise to proceed against her to a sentence of excommunication, and thereby to expose her kingdoms to the next invader. But the Pope was constantly resolved on his first intention, of treating with her after a fair and amicable manner,—professing a readiness to comply with her in all reciprocal offices of respect and friendship, and consequently inviting her amongst other princes to the following Council; to which if she should please to send her Bishops, or be present in the same by her Embassadors, he doubted not of giving them such satisfaction as might set him in a fair way to obtain his ends.

4. Leaving the Pope in this good humour, we shall go for England, where we shall find the Prelates at the same employment in which we left them the last year, that is to say, with setting forth the consecrations of such new Bishops as served to fill up all the rest of the vacant Sees. The first of

¹ Sarpì, 416.

² *Ibid.* 425—7.

³ *Ibid.* 436. *Camd.* 68. ed. 1615.

which was Robert Horn, Doctor in Divinity, once Dean of Durham, but better known by holding up the English Liturgy, and such a form of discipline as the times would bear, against the schismatics of Franckfort¹; preferred unto the See of Winchester, and consecrated Bishop in due form of law, on the 16th of February²—of which we shall speak more hereafter on another occasion³. On which day also Mr Edmond Scambler, Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Prebendaries of the new Collegiate Church of St Peter in Westminster, was consecrated Bishop of the Church of Peterborough⁴. During the vacancy whereof, and in the time of his incumbency, Sir William Cecil, principal Secretary of Estate, possessed himself of the best manors in the Soake which belonged unto it⁵; and for his readiness to confirm the said manors to him, preferred him to the See of Norwich, anno 1584. Next follows the translation of Dr Thomas Young, Bishop of Saint David's, to the See of York⁶, which was done upon the 25th of February—in an unlucky hour to that city, as it also proved; for scarce was he settled in that See, when he pulled down the goodly hall, and the greatest part of the episcopal palace in the city of York, which had been built with so much care and cost by Thomas the elder, one of his predecessors there, in the year of our Lord 1090⁷. Whether it were for covetousness to make money of the materials of it, or out of sordidness to avoid the charge of hospitality in that populous city, let them guess that will. Succeeded in the See of St David's by Davis, Bishop of St Asaph, translated thither the 21st of May, 1561⁸; as he was by another of the same name, Dr Thomas Davis, within few months after⁹.

5. The province of York being thus fitted with a new

¹ Sup. p. 181.

² Godwin, 238. Bramhall, iii. 224.

³ Eliz. viii. 1-3.

⁴ Godw. 559. Bramh. iii. 225. Scambler was also chaplain to Archbishop Parker.

⁵ See Browne Willis, Survey of Cathedrals, iii. 496.

⁶ He had refused the archbishoprick, which was then offered to May, dean of St. Paul's; but, on May's dying before consecration, Young accepted it. Bramh. iii. 223.

⁷ Stow, 602. Godw. 710. Fuller, iv. 344.

⁸ Godw. 536.

⁹ Consecrated May 26, 1561. Godw. 643. It was in the see of St Asaph that Richard Davis (who held St David's till 1581) was succeeded by Thomas.

AN. REG. 3,
1560-1.

Archbishop, it was not long before the consecration of Dr James Pilkington to the See of Durham, which was performed by the hands of his own Metropolitan on the second of March¹. At whose first coming to that See, he found it clogged with an annual pension of an hundred pound, to be paid into her Majesty's Exchequer yearly, toward the maintenance of the garrison in the town of Barwick,—first laid upon this Bishoprick when that town seemed to be in danger of such French forces as had been brought into that kingdom, or otherwise might fear some practice of the Popish party, for the advancing of the interest of the Queen of Scots. The Bishop's tenants were protected in their corn and cattle by the power of this garrison, and consequently the more enabled to make just payment of their rents; and it was thought to be no reason that the Queen should be at the sole charge of protecting his tenants, and he enjoy the whole benefit of it without any disbursement. But this was only a pretence for raising some revenue to the Crown out of that rich patrimony; the pension being still charged upon it, though the garrison was removed in the first of King James². On the same day, that is to say the second of March, Dr John Best was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle³, after the See had been refused by Bernard Gilpin, Parson of Houghton in the Spring, betwixt Durham and Newcastle. The offer made him with relation to his brother George⁴, a man much used in many employments for the State; but on what ground declined by him, is not well assured. Whether it were that he was more in love with the retirements of a private life, or that he could not have the bird without he yielded to the stripping of it of the most part of its feathers (as it came to Best)—may be sooner questioned than resolved⁵.

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¹ 1560—1. Godw. 756. Pilkington had been nominated and elected to Winchester, but made way for Horn in that see. Bramh. iii. 224—6.

² See Heylyn's *Examen Historicum*, 163.4; Browne Willis, i. 228.

³ Godw. 771. Bramh. iii. 226.

⁴ See Wordsw. *Ecl. Biog.* iii. 404.

⁵ Bp Carleton, in his *Life of Gilpin*, states that he was recommended for the bishoprick by the Earl of Bedford, and by Sandys, then Bishop of Worcester. The latter, in a letter urging him to accept it, writes, "I give you to understand that the said bishoprick is left unto you untouched, neither shall anything of it be diminished (as in some others it is a custom); but you shall receive the bishoprick entire as Dr Ogle-

And finally, on the fourth of May comes in the consecration of Mr William Downham (the Queen's Chaplain, when she was but Princess, and afterwards made one of the Prebendaries of St Peter's in Westminster,) to the See of Chester,—by this preferment recompensed for his former services¹. By which last care the vacant Sees were all supplied with learned pastors, except Oxon, Gloucester, and Bristol; of which we shall speak more in the following year.

AN. REG. 3,
1561.

6. But neither this diligence and care in filling all the vacant Sees with learned pastors, nor the Queen's proclamation for banishing all Anabaptists and other sectaries which had resorted hither out of other countries, could either free the land from those dangerous inmates, or preserve the Church from the contagion of their poisonous doctrines. Too many of those fanatical spirits still remained behind, scattering their tares, and dispersing their blasphemous follies amongst simple people. In which number they prevailed so far upon More and Geofrys, that the first professed himself to be Christ, the last believed him to be such, and did so report him. Continuing obstinate in this frenzy, Geofrys was committed prisoner to the Marshalsea in the Borough of Southwark, and More to the house of mad men, (commonly called Bethlem), without Bishop's Gate, in the City of London. Where having remained above a year, without shewing any sign of their repentance, Geofrys was whipped on the 10th of April from the said Marshalsea to Bethlem, with a paper bound about his head, which signified that this was William Geofrys, a most blasphemous heretic, who denied Christ to be in heaven. At Bethlem he was whipped again in the presence of More, till the lash had extorted a confession of his damnable error. After which More was stripped and whipped in the open streets till he had made the like acknowledgement, confessing Christ to be in

Geofrys and
More, fanatics.

thorpe left it." The reason of Gilpin's refusal is thus given by the biographer, from the remembrance of his conversation,—“If I had been chosen in this kind to any bishoprick elsewhere, I would not have refused it; but in that place I have been willing to avoid the trouble of it, seeing I had there many of my friends and kindred, at whom I must connive in many things, not without hurt to myself, or else deny them many things, not without offence to them: which difficulties I have easily avoided by refusal of that bishoprick.” Wordsw. *Ecl. Biog.* iii. 396.

¹ Godw. 770. Bramh. iii. 226.

AN. REG. 3, heaven, and himself to be a vile, miserable, and sinful man.
1561.

Which being done, they were again remitted to their several prisons for their further cure¹. At which the Papists made good game, and charged it on the score of the Reformation, as if the principles thereof did naturally lead men to those dreams and dotages. Whereas they could not choose but know that Christ our Saviour prophesied of the following times, that some should say, "lo, here is Christ," and others would say, "lo, there is Christ²; that Simon Magus, even in the days of the Apostles, assumed unto himself the glorious title of "the great power of God³;" that Menander in the age next following did boldly arrogate to himself the name of Christ⁴; and, finally, that Montanus, when the Church was stored with learned and religious prelates, would needs be taken and accounted for the Holy Ghost⁵. Or if they think the Reformation might pretend unto more perfection than the primitive times, they should have looked no farther back than to King Henry the Third, in whose reign the Pope's authority in England was at the highest; and yet neither the Pope, by his authority, nor by the diligence of his preachers and other ministers, could so secure the Church from Mores and Geofrys, but that two men rose up at that very time, both which affirmed themselves to be Jesus Christ, and were both hanged for it⁶. And as Montanus could not go abroad without his Maximilla and Priscilla to disperse his dotages, so these impostors also had their female followers, of which the one affirmed herself to be Mary Magdalen, and

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¹ Stow, 647.

² Matth. xxiv. 23.

³ Acts viii. 10.

⁴ Bingham, xi. 3. 5. Menander seems really to have asserted, not that he was *identical* with our Lord, but that he was a being of the same class with Him, as represented by the heretic's system.—"It appears from the testimony of Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian, that he wished to be thought one of the *Eons*, sent from the upper world or the *Pleroma*, to succour the souls that were suffering miserably in material bodies, and to afford them aid against the machinations and the violence of the demons who governed our world." Mosheim, by Murdock and Soames, Lond. 1841, i. 115. Comp. Fleury, l. ii. c. 42.

⁵ "Though Montanus has been charged with the blasphemy of calling himself the Paraclete, it seems certain that he only meant to say that the Holy Ghost, or Paraclete, had given to himself and his followers an extraordinary measure of spiritual illumination." Burton, Hist. of the Christian Church, 141. Comp. Newman on Arianism, p. 131.

⁶ See Stow, 178; Baker, ed. 1674. p. 89.

the other that she was the Virgin Mary. So that the Reformation is to be excused from being accessory in the least degree to these men's heresies; or else the apostolical age, and the primitive times, yea, and the Church of Rome itself, (which they prize much more,) must needs come under the necessity of the like condemnation.

7. Nor did the Zuinglian Gospellers, or those of the Genevian party, rejoice much less at a most lamentable accident which happened to the cathedral church of St Paul, on the 4th of June; on which day, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, a fearful fire first shewed itself near the top of the steeple, and from thence burnt down the spire to the stonework and bells, and raged so terribly, that within the space of four hours the timber and lead of the whole church, and whatsoever else was combustible in it, was miserably consumed and burnt, to the great terror and amazement of all beholders. Which church, the largest in the Christian world for all dimensions, contains in length 720 foot, or 240 tailor's yards, in breadth 130 foot, and in height from the pavement to the top of the roof 150 foot. The steeple, from the ground to the cross or weathercock contained in height 520 foot, of which the square tower only amounted to 260, the pyramid, or spire, to as many more¹. Which spire being raised of massy timber, and covered over with sheets of lead, as it was the more apt to be inflamed, so was the mischief more incapable of a present remedy. The terror being over, most men began to cast about for the first occasion of such a miserable misfortune; the generality of the Zuinglian or Genevian party affirmed it for a just judgment of God upon an old idolatrous fabric, not throughly reformed and purged from its superstitions, and would have been content that all other cathedrals in the kingdom had been so destroyed. The Papists, on the other side, ascribe it to some practice of the Zuinglian faction, out of their hatred unto all solemnity and decency in the service of God, performed more punctually in that church, for example's sake, than in any other of the kingdom². But, generally, it was ascribed by the common people to a flash of lightning, or some such sudden fire from heaven, though neither any

AN. REG. 3,
1561.

Fire of
St Paul's.

¹ Stow, 647. Camd. 72, Lat.

² See Pilkington's Works, ed. Park. Soc. 479—648.

AN REG. 3,
1561.

lightning had been seen, or any clap of thunder had been heard that day. Which fiction, notwithstanding, got such credit amongst the vulgar, and amongst wiser persons too, that the burning of St Paul's steeple by lightning was reckoned amongst the ordinary epochs or accounts of time in our common almanacks; and so it stood till within these thirty years now last past, when an old plumber at his death confessed that woful accident to have happened through his negligence only, in leaving carelessly a pan of coals and other fuel in the steeple when he went to dinner; which, catching hold of the dry timber in the spire, before his return was grown so dangerous that it was not possible to be quenched, and therefore to no purpose (as he conceived) to make any words of it¹. Since which discovery, that ridiculous epoch hath no more been heard of.

S. But the Queen quickly hearing what a great misfortune had befallen the city, regarded not the various reports of either party, but bent her thoughts upon the speedy reparation of those fearful ruins; and knowing right well (without the help of an informer) that the patrimony of that Church had been so wasted in these latter times, that neither the Bishop nor the Dean and Chapter were able to contribute any thing proportionable to so vast a charge, she directed her letters to the Lord Mayor and City of London to take care therein, as most concerned in the preservation of their mother-Church, and in the honour of their city². In obedience to whose royal pleasure, the citizens granted a benevolence and three fifteens, to be speedily paid, besides the extraordinary bounty of particular

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¹ Fuller, b. ix. 71, folio; comp. Heyl. Exam. Hist. pt. iii. 100; although Dugdale, in his History of St Paul's (p. 147, ed. 1818), refers to the present work as if the earliest authority for this statement as to the origin of the fire. His editor, Sir Henry Ellis, denies the truth of the story, on the ground that a black-letter tract, printed at the time, and republished in the Archaeologia, vol. xi., relates that some persons who were in a boat on the Thames saw lightning strike the spire. I should be disposed to attach greater weight to a passage in Churton's Life of Nowell, to which Sir H. Ellis refers:—"The *Veru Historia*, minutely detailed in the episcopal register by an eyewitness...assures us, that neither plumbers nor other workmen had been employed about the church for six months before, and that the fire was occasioned by lightning." p. 59, ed. Oxf. 1809. Comp. Strype's Grindal, 53—5, where it is also stated that the spire of St Martin's, Ludgate, suffered at the same time from lightning.

² Stow, 647.

persons, or was to be issued from the chamber. And that they might proceed therein with the greater zeal, the Queen sent in a thousand marks in ready money, and warrants for one thousand load of timber to be served out of her Majesty's woods. Encouraged by which brave example, the clergy of the province of Canterbury contributed towards the furtherance of the work the fortieth part of their benefices which stood charged with first-fruits, and the thirtieth part of those which had paid the same; the Clergy of the diocese of London bestowing the thirtieth part of such of their livings as were under the burthen of that payment, and the twentieth part of those which were not¹; to which the Bishop added at several times the sum of 900*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.*, the Dean and Chapter 136*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* By which and some other little helps (the benevolence, the three fifteens, and the contributions of the Bishop and Clergy, with the aid aforesaid, amounting to no more than 6702*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) the work was carried on so fast, that before the end of April, 1566, the timber work of the roof was not only fitted, but completely covered. The raising of a new spire was taken also into consideration, but conceived unnecessary; but whether because it was too chargeable², or that some feared it might prove a temptation, is not yet determined.

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1561.

9. And now the season of the year invites the Pope's Nuncio into England,—advanced already in his way as far as Flanders, and there expecting the Queen's pleasure touching his admittance; for the Pope, always constant to his resolutions, could not then be taken off from sending his Nuncio to the Queen, with whom he conceived himself to stand upon terms of amity. It had been much laboured by the Guisiards and Spanish faction to divert him from it, by telling him that it would be an undervaluing of his power and person, to send a Nuncio into England, or to any other princes of the same persuasions, who openly professed a separation from the See of Rome. To which he made this prudent and pious answer,—

The Queen declines communication with Rome.

¹ Stow, Chron. 647; Survey, 357. Wilkins, iv. 226. Comp. Strype's Parker, 92—3, 127; Grindal, b. i. cc. 6-7.

² "This one thing resteth to be told, that, by the estimation of wise men, 10000 pounds more than is yet granted to it, will not perfect and finish the church and steeple in such sort as it was before the burning thereof." Holinsh. iv. 203.

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1561.

That he would humble himself even to heresy itself, in regard that whatsoever was done to gain souls to Christ, did beseech that See. And to this resolution he adhered the rather, because he had been told and assured by Karn, the old English agent, that his Nuncio would be received by one half of the kingdom, with the Queen's consent. But as it proved, they reckoned both without their host—and hostess too, who desired not to give entertainment unto such guests. For having designed the Abbot Martingo to this employment, and the Abbot being advanced as far as Flanders, as before was said, he there received the Queen's command not to cross the seas. Upon advertisement whereof, as well the King of Spain himself as Ferdinand of Toledo, Duke of Alva, (the most powerful minister of that King,) did earnestly intreat that he might be heard,—commending the cause of his legation, as visibly conducing to the union of all the Christian Church in a general council. But the Queen persevered in her first intent, affirming she could not treat with the Bishop of Rome, whose authority was excluded out of England by consent of Parliament. Nor had the Pope's Nuncio in France any better fortune in treating with Throgmorton, the English agent in that Court, to advance the business; who, though he did solicit by his letters both the Queen and the Council to give some satisfaction in that point to the French and the Spaniards, (though not unto the Pope himself), could get no other answer from them but the same denial¹.

10. For so it was, that on the first noise of the Nuncio's coming, the business had been taken into consideration at the council-table, and strongly pleaded on both sides, as men's judgments varied. By some it was alleged in favour of the Nuncio's coming, that Pope Pius was nothing of so rugged a nature as his predecessor; that he had made a fair address unto the Queen by his last year's letters; that his designs did most apparently tend to the peace of Christendom; that the admitting of the Nuncio was a matter which signified nothing, it being still left in her Majesty's power whether she would embrace or reject his overtures; but that the refusing to admit him to a public audience was the most ready way to disoblige all Catholic Princes with whom she stood at that time in terms

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¹ Sarpi, 441. Camden, 68-9. Fuller, iv. 312-3.

of amity. On the other side it was alleged, that King Henry, a most prudent Prince, had formerly protested against the calling of this Council by Pope Paul the Third, who did as much pretend to the peace of Christendom as the Pope now being; that to admit a minister of the Pope, in the quality or capacity of a Nuncio, inferred a tacit acknowledgement of that supremacy whereof he had been deprived by Act of Parliament; that the Popes of Rome have always raised great advantages by the smallest concessions; and therefore that it was most expedient for the good of the kingdom to keep him always at a distance; that Queen Mary, in favour only unto Pole, refused to give admittance to Cardinal Peitow, though coming from the Pope in quality of a Legate *a latere*¹; that a great part of the people were in discontentment with the change of religion, and wanted nothing but such an opportunity to break out into action as the Nuncio's presence might afford them; and therefore that it concerned the Queen to be as zealous for religion and the weal of her people as her sister the late Queen Mary was in maintenance of Cardinal Pole and his private authority. And to say truth, the greatest obstacle in the way of the Nuncio's coming was partly laid in it by the indiscretion of some papists in England, and partly by the precipitancy of the Pope's ministers in Ireland. For so it was, that the only noise of the coming of a Nuncio from the Pope had wrought in sundry evil-disposed persons such a courage and boldness, that they did not only break the laws made against the Pope and his authority, with great audacity, but spread abroad false and slanderous reports, that the Queen was at the point to change her religion, and alter the government of the realm. Some also had adventured further, even to a practising with the devil by conjurations, charms, and casting of figures, to be informed in the length and continuance of her Majesty's reign². And on the other side, the Pope's Legate, being at the same time in Ireland, not only joined himself to some desperate traitors, who busied themselves in stirring up rebellion there, but, for as much as in him was, had deprived her Majesty of all right and title to that kingdom. Upon which grounds it was carried clearly by the Board against the Nuncio. Nor would they vary from the vote upon the intercession of the

AN. REG. 3,
1561.

¹ Sup. p. 216.

² See Eliz. v. 1.

AN. REG. 3, French, the Spaniard, or—(whose displeasure was more dangerous)—of the Duke of Alva.

The Emperor exhorts her to return to the Roman Church.

11. Nothing discouraged with the repulse which had been given to the French and Spaniard, the Emperor Ferdinand must make trial of his fortune also,—not, as they did, in favour of the Nuncio's coming, but in persuading her to return to the old religion. To this end he exhorts her by his letters in a friendly way, not to relinquish the communion of so many Catholic Kings and Princes, and her own ancestors into the bargain; not to prefer her single judgment and the judgment of a few private persons, and those not the most learned neither, before the judgment and determination of the Church of Christ; that, if she were resolved to persist in her own opinion, she should deal favourably with so many reverend and religious Prelates as she kept in prison, and which she kept in prison for no other reason but for adhering unto that religion which himself professed; and, finally, he intreats most earnestly that she would set apart some churches to the use of the Catholics, in which they might with freedom exercise their own religion, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of Rome¹. To which desires she made a full and sufficient answer, by satisfying him touching her merciful dealing with those Bishops whom, for their obstinacy and many other weighty reasons, she had deprived of their preferments in the Church. And to the rest she answered,—That she had settled her religion on so sure a bottom, that she could not easily be changed; that she doubted not but that she had many learned men in her dominions which were able to defend the doctrine by them taught, against all opponents; and that, for granting any churches to the use of the papists, it was a point so contrary to the policy and good laws of the land that she desired to be excused for not yielding to it. In which last she seemed to have an eye upon the edict of the Emperor Constantine, touching the meetings of the Marcionites, Novatians, Valentinians, and other heretics of

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¹ Rishton, in Sanders, 307. Strype gives in his Annals, i. App. D, E, a letter from the Emperor, with Elizabeth's answer. The chief subject of these are, the treatment of the Romish bishops, and the Emperor's wish that places of worship should be allowed for the Romanists. The exhortation to return to the communion of Rome may have been contained in an earlier letter, to which reference is made.

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that age; in which it was enjoined that none of them should from thenceforth hold any assemblies; and that, for the more certain conforming unto this decree, those churches or other houses, whatsoever they were, in which they used to hold their meetings, should be demolished to the ground, to the end that there might be no place in which such men as were devoted to their superstitious faction might have the opportunity of assembling together. For which the reader may consult Eusebius in the Life of Constantine, l. iii. c. 65¹. But, that it might appear both to him and others that she was ready to shew all just favours, she laid a most severe command upon all her officers, for the full payment of all such pensions as had been granted unto all such abbots, monks and friars, in the time of her father, as were not since preferred in the Church to cures or dignities². And this to be performed to the utmost farthing on pain of her most high displeasure in neglect thereof³.

The Queen
strengthens
her navy.

12. It could not be but that the governing of her affairs with such an even and steady hand, though it occasioned admiration in some, must needs create both envy and displeasure in the hearts of other Christian Princes; from none of which she had a juster cause to fear some practice than the King of Spain, or rather from the fierce and intemperate spirit of the Duke of Alva, as appeared afterwards when he was made Lord Deputy or Vicegerent of the Belgic provinces. They had both shewed themselves offended, because their intercession in behalf of the Nuncio had found no better entertainment; and when great persons are displeased, it is no hard matter for them to revenge themselves, if they find their adversaries either weak or not well provided. But the Queen looked so well about her as not to be taken tardy in either kind. For which end she augments her store of arms and ammunition, and all things necessary for the defence of her kingdom; which course

¹ Edd. "63." The order really was, not that the buildings should be *demolished*, but that they should be *taken from* the sectaries,—πάντων τῶν αἰρετικῶν τοὺς ἐκκλησίους, εἶγε ἐκκλησίους ἀνομάζειν οἴκους προσήκει, ἀφαιρεθέντας, τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθῆναι. (p. 622, ed. Reading.) The editor remarks that Christopherson rendered ἀφαιρεθέντας by *diruta*; and on this mistranslation Heylyn's statement is doubtless founded.

² Sup. i. 34. n. 3.

³ Cand. 71.

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she had happily begun in the year foregoing. But holding it a safer maxim in the schools of polity, not to admit, than to endeavour by strong hand to expel, an enemy, she entertains some fortunate thoughts of walling her kingdom round about with a puissant navy¹; for merchants had already increased their shipping, by managing some part of that wealthy trade which formerly had been monopolized by the Hanse or Easterlings. And she resolves not to be wanting to herself in building ships of such a burthen, and so fit for service, as might enable her in short time, not only to protect her merchants, but command the ocean. Of which the Spaniard found good proof to his great loss, and almost to his total ruin, in the last twenty years of her glorious government. And knowing right well that money was the sinew of war, she fell upon a prudent and present course to fill her coffers. Most of the monies in the kingdom were of foreign coinage, brought hither for the most part by the Easterling and Flemish merchants. These she called in by proclamation, dated the 15th of November, (being but two days before the end of this third year), commanding them to be brought to Her Majesty's Mint, there to be coined and take the stamp of her royal authority, or otherwise not to pass for current within this realm; which counsel took such good effect, that monies came flowing into the Mint, insomuch that there was weekly brought into the Tower of London, for the space of half a year together, 8000*l.*, 10,000*l.*, 12,000*l.*, 16,000*l.*, 20,000*l.*, 22,000*l.*, of silver plate, and as much more in pistols, and other gold of Spanish coins: which were great sums according to the standard of those early days, and therefore no small profit to be growing to her by the coinage of them².

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Practices of
the Genevian
party.

13. The Genevians slept not all this while, but were as busily employed in practising upon the Church as were the Romanists in plotting against the Queen. Nothing would satisfy them but the nakedness and simplicity of the Zuinglian Churches, the new fashions taken up at Franckfort, and the Presbyteries of Geneva. According to the "pattern which they saw in those mounts," the Church of England is to be modelled; nor would the temple of Jerusalem have served their turn, if a new altar, fashioned by that which they found at

¹ Stow, 647. Camd. 70-1.

² Stow, 647.

Damascus¹, might not have been erected in it. And they AN. REG. 3,
1561. drove on so fast upon it, that in some places they had taken down the steps where the altar stood, and brought the holy table into the midst of the church; in others they had laid aside the ancient use of godfathers and godmothers in the administration of Baptism, and left the answering for the child to the charge of the father. The weekly fasts, the time of Lent, and all other days of abstinence by the Church commanded, were looked upon as superstitious observations. No fast by them allowed of but occasional only, and then too of their own appointing. And the like course they took with the festivals also, neglecting those which had been instituted by the Church, as human inventions, not fit to be retained in a Church reformed. And finally, that they might wind in their outlandish doctrines with such foreign usages, they had procured some of the inferior Ordinaries to impose upon their several parishes certain new books of sermons and expositions of the Holy Scripture, which neither were required by the Queen's Injunctions, nor by Act of Parliament. Some abuses also were discovered in the regular Clergy who served in churches of peculiar or exempt jurisdiction; amongst whom it began to grow too ordinary to marry all such as came unto them, without banns or licence, and many times not only without the privity, but against the express pleasure and command, of their parents. For which those churches past by the name of 'lawless churches' in the voice of the people².

14. For remedy whereof it was found necessary by the Archbishop of Canterbury to have recourse unto the power which was given unto him by the Queen's Commission, and by a clause or passage of the Act of Parliament for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, &c. As one of the Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, he was authorized, with the rest of his associates, according to the statute made in that behalf, to "reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever," as might from time to time arise in the

¹ 2 Kings xvi. 10, seqq. The presbyterian Calderwood had applied the name of *Altare Damascenum* to the *English Church*. See i. 194.

² The statements of this paragraph appear to be derived from the paper of orders given below.

AN. REG. 3, Church of England, and did require “to be redressed and
 1561. reformed, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of
 virtue, and conservation of the peace and unity of the kingdom¹.”
 And in the passage of the Act before remembered it was
 especially provided, “That all such ornaments of the Church,
 and of the Ministers thereof, should be retained and be in use,
 as were in the Church of England by authority of Parliament,
 in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth,
 until further order should be therein taken by authority of the
 Queen’s Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners ap-
 pointed and ordered² under the Great Seal of England for
 causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm.
 And also if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence
 to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the Church, by the mis-
 using of the orders of the said Book of Common Prayer, the
 Queen’s Majesty might, by the like advice of the said Com-
 missioners or Metropolitan, ordain or publish such further cere-
 monies or rites, as should be most for the advance of God’s
 glory, the edifying of His Church, and the due reverence of
 Christ’s holy mysteries and sacraments³.”

Orders of the
 Ecclesiastical
 Commission-
 ers.

15. Fortified and assured by which double power, the
 Archbishop, by the Queen’s consent, and the advice of some of
 the Bishops, commissioned and instructed to the same intent,
 sets forth a certain book of Orders, to be diligently observed and
 executed by all and singular persons whom it might concern⁴.
 In which it was provided: “That no Parson, Vicar, or Curate

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¹ 1 Eliz. c. i. § 18. Sup. p. 234.

² “authorized.”

³ 1 Eliz. c. 2. § 24-5.

⁴ These Orders—about which there had been much discussion between our author and Archbishop Williams, (*Coal from the Altar*, 22; *Holy Table*, 41)—do not appear in any of the histories or collections, and have been reprinted for the first time while the present edition was passing through the press. It seems, therefore, worth while to give them at full length, from the *British Magazine* for October, 1843 (vol. xxxiv. pp. 419—421), to which they were communicated by the Rev. W. Goode. (*Comp. Grindal*, ed. Park. Soc. 154.)

“Orders taken the x day of October, in the third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. By virtue of Her Majesty’s letters addressed to her Highness Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, as followeth:—

“IN QUAM, for the avoiding of much strife and contention, that hath heretofore risen among the Queen’s subjects in divers parts of the realm,

of any exempt church, (commonly called 'lawless churches'), should from thenceforth attempt to conjoin by solemnization of matrimony any not being of his or their parish-church, without

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for the using or transposing of the rood-lofts, founts, and steps, within the queres and chancel in every parish-church—It is thus decreed and ordained, that the rood-lofts, as yet being at this day aforesaid untransposed, shall be so altered that the upper part of the same with the sollar be quite taken down, unto the upper parts of the vaultes, and beam running in length over the said vaultes, by putting some convenient crest upon the said beam towards the church, with leaving the situation of the seats (as well in the quere as in the church), as heretofore hath been used.

“ Provided yet, that where any parish of their own costs and charges by common consent will pull down the whole frame, and reedifying again the same in joiner's work (as in divers churches within the city of London doth appear), that they may do as they think agreeable, so it be to the height of the upper beam aforesaid.

“ Provided also, that where in any parish-church the said rood-lofts be already transposed, so that there remain a comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church, that no alteration be otherwise attempted in them, but be suffered in quiet. And where no partition is standing, there to be one appointed.

“ Also that the steps which be as yet at this day remaining in any cathedral, collegiate, or parish-church, be not stirred nor altered; but be suffered to continue, with the tombs of any noble or worshipful personage, where it so chanceth to be, as well in chancel, church, or chapel. And if in any chancel the steps be transposed, that they be not erected again, but that the place be decently paved, where the Communion-table shall stand out of the times of receiving the communion, having thereon a fair linnen cloth, with some covering of silk, buckram, or other such like, for the clean keeping of the said cloth on the communion-board, at the cost of the parish.

“ And further, that there be fixed upon the wall, over the said communion-board, the tables of God's precepts, imprinted for the said purpose.

“ Provided yet that in Cathedral Churches the tables of the said precepts be more largely and costly painted out, to the better shew of the same.

“ Item, that all chancels be clean kept and repaired, within as without, in the windows and elsewhere as appertaineth.

“ Item, that the font be not removed from the accustomed place; and that in parish-churches the curates take not upon them to confer baptism in basens, but in the font customably used.

“ Item, that there be no destruction or alienation of the bells, steeple, or porch belonging to any parish-church, by the private authority of any person or persons, without sufficient matter shewed to the Archbishop of

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sufficient testimony of the banns being asked in the several churches where they dwell, or otherwise were sufficiently licensed: that there should be no other days observed for holy days or fasting days, as of duty and commandment, but only such holy days as be expressed for holy days in the Kalendar lately set forth by the Queen's authority¹; and none other fasting days to be so commanded, but as the laws and proclamation of the Queen's Majesty should appoint: that it should not be lawful to any Ordinary to assign or enjoin the parishes to buy any books of sermons or expositions in any [other] sort than is already, or shall be hereafter, appointed by public authority: that neither the Curates, or parents of the children which are brought to Baptism should answer for them at the font, but that the ancient use of godfathers and god-

the province, of his and their doings, and by them allowed; except it be for cause of repairing the same.

"Item, that neither the curates nor the parents of the children alter the common used manner for godfathers and godmothers to answer for the children, nor shall condemn the accustomed usage in the same.

"Item, that it shall not be lawful to any ordinary to assign or enjoin the parishes to buy any books of sermons or expositions, in any other sort than is already, or shall be hereafter, appointed by public authority.

"Item, that there be none other days observed for holy days or fasting days, as of duty and commandment, but only such holy days as be expressed for holy days in the Kalendar late set forth by the Queen's authority. And none other fasting days (to be so commanded), but as the laws and proclamations by the Queen's Majesty provided in the same do appoint.

"Item, that the parson, vicar, or curate, with the churchwardens, shall yearly make and exhibit unto the registers [registrars] of the Ordinary, the names and surnames of all persons married, christened, and buried, within their said parishes, by bill indented, with the subscription of their hands: noting the day and year of the said christenings, marriages, and burials, out of their original register kept in custody, as is appointed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions.

"Item, that no parson, vicar, or curate of any exempt churches, or otherwise called *lawless Churches*, do attempt to conjoin by solemnization of matrimony any persons not being of his parish, without sufficient testimony of the banns asking in the Churches where they dwell: or otherwise be authorized lawfully to marry.

"Imprinted at London in Powles Church-yard, by Richard Jugge, Printer to the Queen's Majesty. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis."

¹ The Calendar was revised in 1561. See Liturgical Services of Eliz. ed. Park. Soc. xxxiii. 435—455.

mothers should be still retained : and finally, that in all such churches in which the steps to the altar were not taken down, the said steps should remain as before they did; that the communion table should be set in the said place where the steps then were, or had formerly stood; and that the table of God's precepts should be fixed upon the wall over the said communion board." Which passage compared with that in the Advertisements, published in the year 1565, (of which more hereafter¹), make up this construction,—that the communion table was to stand above the steps, and under the commandments; and therefore all along the wall, on which the ten commandments were appointed to be placed: which was directly where the altar had stood before². Some other innovations and disorders had been obtruded on the Church at the same time also by those of the Genevian faction; for the suppressing whereof, before they should prescribe to any antiquity, the like course was taken. But what those innovations and disorders were, will easily be seen by the perusal of the Orders themselves, which were then published in print by the Queen's command; as a judicious apothecary is able to conjecture by the doctor's recipe at the distemper of the patient, and the true quality of the disease.

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16. Nothing else memorable in this year of a public nature but the foundation of the Merchant-Tailors' School in London;—first founded by the master, warden, and assistants of the company of Merchant-Tailors, whence it had the name, and by them founded for a seminary to St John's in Oxon, built and endowed at the sole costs and charges of one of their livery³. The school kept in a fair large house in the parish of St Laurence Pountney, heretofore called the Manor of Roose⁶, belonging to the Dukes of Buckingham; towards the purchase and accommodating whereof to the present use, five hundred pounds was given by one Richard Hills, who had been once

Foundation
of Mer-
chant-Tai-
lors' and
Sandwich
Schools.

¹ Eliz. vi. 8.

² Comp. Cypr. Anglie. p. 20. The words of the order, and Heylyn's reasoning on them, are inconsistent with the notion which has of late been very confidently propounded,—that the Elizabethan reformers intended to place the Commandments in the chancel-arch, as a substitute for the images which they removed from the screen.

³ Sup. p. 229.

⁴ "The Roose." Stow, Chron. "The Rose." Id. Survey.

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1561. master of the company, and still lives in the charity of so good a work¹. The day of the foundation is affirmed by Stow² to have been the 21st of March, and so may either fall in the year 1560 or 1561, according to the several computations which are now in use; but howsoever within the compass of this third year of the Queen. And it is probable that it may be fixed by him upon that day, either because the purchase of the house doth bear date upon it, or because it was then first opened for a grammar-school. And of this kind, but of a far more private nature, was the foundation of another grammar-school in the town of Sandwich, built at the charge of Sir Roger Manwood, and endowed with 40*l.* per annum, which was a very large allowance as the times then were³.

¹ The name of Hills is familiar to the readers of the Zurich Letters, as a correspondent of Bullinger and other reformers, and a benefactor to the exiles in the reign of Mary.

² Chron. 647. Survey, 64.

³ See Hasted's Hist. of Kent, iv. 273-4; Strype's Parker, 138-9. Manwood was a barrister when he set the design on foot, with the assistance of others, about 1563. His monument, in St Stephen's Church, Hackington, near Canterbury, states that he became a judge of the Queen's Bench in 1567, chief baron of the Exchequer in 1578, and died in 1592. A letter from Parker to Cecil, in favour of the design, dated Aug. 27, 1563, is printed by Ellis, Orig. Letters, 2nd Series, ii. 268.

ANNO REGNI ELIZ. 4.

ANNO DOM. 1561, 1562.

146 I. GREAT preparations had been made in the former year
 318 **G** in order to the holding and continuance of the Council Re-assembly of the Council of Trent.
 of Trent,—many Italian Bishops (which were to be maintained
 at the Pope's charge) being sent before, and the Pope's Legates
 hastening after, to be there in readiness when the Embassadors
 and Prelates of foreign nations should give attendance on the
 same. After long expectation it begins at the last on the 18th
 of January, the Legates having first obtained in a private
 session, that nothing should be discussed in the Council but
 what should be first proposed by them¹; which in effect was to
 subvert the whole hopes of that Reformation which was desired
 by many pious men amongst them. Which day being come,
 a procession was made of the whole Clergy of the city, of the
 Divines and Prelates, (who, besides the Cardinals, were 112
 that did wear mitres) accompanied by their families, and by
 many country people armed, going from St Peter's Church to
 the cathedral, where the Cardinal of Mantua sung the mass of
 the Holy Ghost, and Gasparo del Fosso, Archbishop of Rheggio,
 made the sermon. His subject was the Authority of the Church,
 Primacy of the Pope, and Power of Councils. He said—
 That the Church had as much authority as the Word of God;
 that the Church hath changed the Sabbath, ordained by God,
 into Sunday, and taken away circumcision, formerly commanded
 by [his]² Divine Majesty; and that these precepts are changed,
 not by the preaching of Christ, but by the authority of the
 Church. Turning himself unto the fathers, he exhorted them
 to labour constantly against the Protestants, being assured,
 that, as the Holy Ghost could not err, so neither could they be
 deceived. And, having sung the hymn of "Come, Holy Ghost,"
 the secretary, who was Bishop of Tilesic, read the Bull of the

¹ Sarpi, 469. The words *Proponentibus Legatis*—which gave rise to much fruitless negotiation and discussion—were not agreed to in the preliminary session, but were part of a form drawn up after it, and voted next day, as stated in the text below.

² *Ibid.*

A. N. REG. 4,
1561-2.

Convocation, and the foresaid Archbishop propounded the decree for opening the Council, saying, "Fathers, doth it please you that the general Council of Trent should be celebrated from this day, all suspension whatsoever being removed, to handle with due order that which shall seem fit to the Synod, the Legates and Presidents proposing, to remove the controversies of religion, correct manners, and reconcile the peace of the Church?" to which they answered *Placet*, with so full a vote that there were found no more than four Bishops, and those four all Spaniards, who stumbled at the clause about discussing nothing in the time of that Council but what the Legates should propose; so servile were the rest in prostituting the authority of the Council to the lust of the Pope¹.

2. In the first opening of the Council it was propounded by the Legates amongst other things—"Whether a safe conduct should be given unto those who were fallen into heresy, with a large promise of great and singular elemency, so that they would repent, and acknowledge the power of the Catholic Church²." In the discussing of which point, the Cardinal of Mantua was for the affirmative, being that it was a remedy used by all Princes, in seditions or rebellions, to pardon those whom they could not overcome, because by that means those which were least faulty did retire, and the other did remain more weak³. But as for the safe conduct, after it had been considered of and resolved at Rome, it was again disputed in the Council on the third of March, whether it was to be given by name to the French, English, and Scots; and some spake of the Greeks and other nations of the East⁴. It was presently seen, that these poor men, afflicted in servitude, could not without danger and assistance of money think of Councils; and some said, that, there being a division of the Protestants, it was good to let them alone, and not to name them, alleging the danger of moving ill humours in a body which was then quiet. To give a safe conduct to the Englishmen, which neither they nor any of them did require, would be a great indignity. They were content it should be given to the Scots, because their Queen would demand it; but so as that the demand should first be made. For France there was a doubt made whether the King's Council would take it ill or not,

¹ Sarpi, 469.

² Ibid. 471.

³ Ibid. 475.

⁴ Ibid. 482.

because it would be thought to be a declaration that that King had rebels. Of Germany none would doubt, because it had been formerly granted unto them; and if it were granted to that nation alone, it would seem that the others were abandoned. But at the last, all difficulties were resolved into this conclusion, that the safe conduct should be given unto those of Germany in the same words wherein it formerly had passed, anno 1552; and that the like conduct, in the selfsame words wherein it was given to the Germans, should be given to all of every nation, province, city and place, where anything was preached, taught, and believed, contrary to that which was believed in the Church of Rome¹.

3. But the Legates might have spared themselves the trouble of these considerations, the Protestant Bishops of England not being so forward to venture themselves into that Council on such weak assurance,—considering how ill the safe conduct had been formerly kept to John Hus and Jerom of Prague at the Council of Constance; and as for those of the papal party, though they might have a good will to be gadding thither, yet the Queen kept them safe enough from going abroad: so that there was no hopes for any English Bishops of either party to attend that service. The Queen had absolutely refused to admit the Nuncio, when he was sent on purpose to invite them to it. And some of the most learned of that sacred order had shewn sufficient reasons in their printed Manifest, why no such service or attendance could be looked for from them. One Scipio, a gentleman of Venice, who formerly had some acquaintance with Bishop Jewel when he was a student in Padua, had heard of Martingo's ill success in his negociation; which notwithstanding, he resolved to spend some eloquence in labouring to obtain that point by his private letters which the Nuncio could not gain as a public minister: and to this end he writes his letters of expostulation to his old friend Mr Jewel, preferred not long before to the See of Salisbury,—in which he seemed to admire exceedingly that England should send no embassador, nor message, or letter, to excuse their nation's absence from the general appearance of Christianity in that sacred Council. In the next place, he highly extolled the antiquity and use of general Councils, as the only means to decide

Bishop
Jewel's Letter
to Scipio.

¹ Sarpi. 482.3.

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controversies in religion, and compose the distractions in the Church,—concluding it a superlative sin for any to decline the authority of it¹. But this letter did not long remain unanswered. That learned Prelate was not so unstudied in the nature of councils as not to know how little of a general council could be found at Trent; and therefore he returns an answer to the proposition, so eloquently penned and so elaborately digested, that neither Scipio himself nor any other of that party durst reply upon him; the answer to be found at large in the end of the History of this Council, translated into English by Nathaniel Brent, late warden of Merton College in Oxon, &c.²: which, though it were no other than the answer of one single prelate, and writ on a particular occasion to a private friend, yet since it speaks the sense of all the rest of the Bishops, and to justify the result of the Council-table on the debate about accepting or refusing the Pope's invitation, it will not be amiss to present the sum and substance of it in a short epitome.

¹ These topics are gathered from Jewel's letter.

² This was the first publication of the letter, A.D. 1629, fifty-eight years after the death of Jewel; and no explanation is given as to the source from which it was derived. It appears, however, to be, as Dr Jelf says, "a genuine, though perhaps an unfinished, work of Bp Jewel," (n. in Jewel, viii. 73),—agreeing with his acknowledged writings in style and in sentiment, and closely resembling the "Apology" both in the choice and in the treatment of topics. Dr Wordsworth suggests that "Signor Scipio" may have been "probably Scipione Biondi, the son of Michelangiolo Biondi" (Ecel. Biog. iii. 309); and Dr Jelf adopts the suggestion (viii. 73). But why should we suppose him a real person at all, and, by so doing, encumber the argument for the genuineness of the Epistle with the very questionable position that Jewel once resided at Padua? a circumstance for which no evidence has yet been produced (Jelf, i. Pref. xxviii.), while the cause of his exile from England renders it extremely unlikely that he should have ventured into a country of the Roman obedience. The only passage in Jewel's Works which bears on the subject is in a Letter to P. Martyr, of date Feb. 7, 1562; where, after mentioning the publication of his *Apologia*, he writes—"nos nunc cogitamus *publicare* causas quibus inducti ad concilium non veniamus." (Zur. Lett. i. 60. Lat.) Perhaps he may have thought of executing this design in the form of a letter to an imaginary friend,—to be published (probably) under a fictitious name; and after having drawn up the tract in question, he may have suppressed it—preferring to rest the defence of the Church in the eyes of foreign nations wholly on the "Apology." Dr Jelf supposes the date to have been July 1562.

4. In the first place¹, he signifies to the said Scipio, that a great part of the world professing the name of Christ (as Greeks, Armenians, Abyssines, &c. with all the Eastern Church) were neither sent to nor summoned to this Council. Secondly, that England's absence was not so great a wonder, seeing many other kingdoms and free states (as Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, Princes of Germany, and Hanse-Towns) were not represented in this Council by any of their Embassadors. Thirdly, that this pretended Council was not called according to the ancient custom of the Church, by the imperial authority, but by the papal usurpation. Fourthly, that Trent was a petty place, not of sufficient receipt for such multitudes as necessarily should repair to a General Council. Fifthly, that Pope Pius the Fourth, by whose command the Council was re-assembled, purchased his place by the unjust practices of simony and bribery, and managed it with murder and cruelty. Sixthly, that repairing to Councils was a free act, and none ought to be condemned of contumacy, if it stood more with their conveniency to stay at home. Seventhly, that anciently it was accepted as a reasonable excuse of holy Bishops absenting or withdrawing themselves from any Council, if they vehemently suspected ought would be acted therein prejudicial to the truth, lest their (though not actual) included concurrence might be interpreted a countenancing thereof. Eighthly, That our Bishops were employed in feeding their flocks and governing their Churches, and could not be spared from their charge without prejudice to their consciences. Ninthly, that the members of that Council of Trent, both Bishops and Abbots, were by oath pregedged to the Pope, "to defend and maintain his authority against all the world²." And lastly, he desired to know in what capacity the English Clergy should appear in this Council³?—not as free persons, to debate matters therein, in

¹ The division into heads, and the order in which these are placed, are Fuller's.

² Juramentum Episcopi, in Pontifical. Rom. p. 64. ed. Venet. 1836; Juram. Abbatis, *ibid.* p. 93.

³ "They could not, as free persons, . . . they would not come as offenders, to hear the sentence pronounced against themselves, which they had heard of before." Fuller. The passage here intended is near the beginning of the letter: "Hoc mihi velim responderi, utrum id agat pontifex, ut nobiscum, quos habet pro hæreticis, in Concilio de religione

AN. REG. 4, regard they had been pre-condemned as heretics by Pope Julius
 1562. the Third; not as offenders, to receive the sentence of condemnation, to which they had no reason to submit themselves.

5. Of these refusals and the reasons of them, neither the Pope at Rome, nor the Cardinal-Legates in the Council could pretend to be ignorant: yet still the expectation of the coming of some English Bishops must be kept on foot, partly for the encouragement of such as were there already, and partly for the drawing on of others who came slowly forwards; and sometimes also it was used for an artifice to divert the Prelates when any business was in agitation which seemed dangerous to them. For so it happened, that, some of the Prelates being earnest in the point of residence, none of the Legates could devise a better expedient to put off that question, than to propose that some means should be used to set at liberty the English Bishops which were imprisoned by their Queen, that, coming to the Council, it might be said that that noble nation was present also, and not wholly alienated from the Church. This pleased all, but the common opinion was, that it might sooner be desired than hoped for. They concluded, that, the Queen having refused to receive a Nuncio expressly sent from the Pope, it could not be hoped that she would hearken to the Council; therefore all they could do was, to persuade the Catholic Princes to mediate for them¹. And mediate though they did, as before was said, both for the admitting of the Nuncio, and the restoring of those Bishops to their former liberty, they were not able to prevail, especially as to the licensing of any of them to attend the Council; which if the Queen had yielded to, she must have armed so many of her enemies to disturb her peace, who questionless would have practised with the Embassadors of all Princes and with the Prelates of all nations whom they found there present, to work some notable alteration in the government and affairs of England. Of all the Bishops which were left in England at the end of the Parliament, I find none

deliberet; an potius ut nos ex inferiori loco causam dicamus, et vel statim mutemus sententiam, vel iterum e vestigio condemnemur? Alterum novum est, et prorsus nostrarum partium hominibus jampridem a Julio papa tertio denegatum; alterum ridiculum est, si id putat, Anglos venturos esse ad Concilium, tantum ut accusentur, et causam dicant, apud illum præsertim qui jamdudum non tantum a nostris, sed etiam a suis, gravissimis criminibus accusetur." viii. 75.

¹ Sarpi, 498.

but Pates of Worcester and Goldwel¹ of St Asaph who forsook the kingdom², though possibly many of the rest might have done so also, if they had not either been well watched, or trusted upon their parol to be forthcoming (as the phrase is) upon all occasions. And, though I find the name of Pates subscribed to some of the former sessions, yet it is not be found to this,—the man being of a moderate and gentle spirit, and possibly not willing to engage himself in any counsels which might prove detrimental to his native country³; and as for Goldwel, though his zeal to popery was strong enough to carry him beyond the seas, yet it did not carry him so far as Trent⁴, there being so many retiring places nearer home in which he might repose himself with more contentment.

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6. But leaving the Fathers in Trent to expect the coming of the Holy Ghost in a cloak-bag from Rome, according to the common scorn which was put upon them⁵, we must prepare ourselves for England,—first taking in our way the affairs of France, which now began to take up a great part of the thoughts of the Queen and her Council. The reformed religion had made some entrance in that kingdom during the reign of King Francis the First,—exceedingly dispersed and propagated in most parts thereof, notwithstanding the frequent martyrdoms of particular persons, the great and terrible massacres of whole townships, commonalities, and churches, even by hundreds and thousands, in divers places of the realm⁶. To which increase, the fickle nature of the French, the diligence of their preachers, and the near neighbourhood of Geneva, were of great advantage; all which advantages were much improved by the authority of and reputation which Calvin carried in those churches, and the

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¹ Edd. "Goldnel."

² Fuller states that Scot, Bishop of Chester, went to Louvain.

³ It is said by Phillips, that Pates "assisted at the close of the Council of Trent." Life of Pole, ii. 39. Strype mentions that he was imprisoned in the Tower, A.D. 1563, "perhaps for presuming to sit in the Council of Trent." Ann. i. 144. His name, however, does not appear in the list.

⁴ Goldwell went further—to Rome, where he lived six and twenty years. Rishton, in Sanders, 286. And he is named as the only English bishop who attended the later sessions of the Council. Concil. Trident. Canones, &c. ed. Lips. 1846. pp. 332—9.

⁵ "A blasphemous proverb was generally used,—That the Synod of Trent was guided by the Holy Ghost, sent thither from time to time in a cloak-bag from Rome." Sarpi, 497.

⁶ Davila, 19-20.

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contentment which the people took in a form of government wherein they were to have a share by the rules of their discipline, and thereby draw the management of affairs unto themselves. Being grown numerous in the city of Tours, and not permitted to enjoy the liberty of assembling within the walls, they held their meetings at a village not far off, for their public devotions; the way to which leading through the gate of St Hugo is thought to have occasioned the name of Hugonots¹, which others think to have been given them by reason of their frequent nightly meetings, resembled by the French to the walking of a night-spirit which they called St Hugh; but from what ground soever it came, it grew in short time to be generally given as a by-name to those which professed the reformed religion, (whether in France or elsewhere), after Calvin's platform. Their numbers, not diminished by so many butcheries, gave them the reputation of a party both stout and active, which rendered them the subject of some jealousy to the Roman Catholics, and specially to those of the house of Guise, who laboured nothing more than their extirpation. But this severity sorted to no other effect than to confirm them in their doctrines, and attract many others to them, who disdained to see poor people drawn every day to the stake to be burned, guilty of nothing but of zeal to worship God, and to save their own souls. To whom were joined many others, who, thinking the Guisiards to be the cause of all the disorders in the king-

¹ "There have been several fanciful derivations of the word Huguenot. It is now supposed to have been originally *Eidgenossen*, or *associated by oath*, the name assumed by the Calvinistic party in Geneva, during their contest with the catholics. From Geneva, missionaries penetrated into the south of France, and took with them the appellation of Egnots, or Huguenots." Lingard, vii. 308. It is singular that this German etymology is not given by the writer of the article on the Huguenots in the *Conversations-Lexicon*, who, like Davila, p. 20, derives the name from the gate of St Hugo at Tours. The other derivation mentioned in the text is given by De Thou:—"Cum singule urbes apud nos peculiarium nomina habeant, quibus mormones, lemures, manducos, et cætera hujusmodi monstra inania anilibus fabulis...vulgo indignant, Cæsaroduni [*Tours*] Hugo rex celebratur, qui noctu pomceria civitatis obequitare et obvios homines pulsare ac rapere dicitur. Ab eo Hugonoti appellati, qui ad ea loca ad conciones audiendas ac preces faciendas itidem noctu, quia interdum non licebat, agminatim in occulto conveniebant." Hist. xxiv. 21. (t. i. 827.) So too Beza, quoted by Henry, *Leben Calvins*, i. 48.

dom, judged it an heroic act to deliver it from oppression by taking the public administration out of their hands¹.

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7. But nothing more increased their party than the accession of almost all the Princes of the blood of the House of Bourbon, the chiefs whereof were the Duke of Vendosme, (who called himself King of Navarr in right of his wife), the Prince² of Conde, the Duke of Montpensier; who, finding themselves neglected by the Queen-Mother and oppressed by the Guisiards, retired in no small discontentments from the Court, and, being otherwise unable to make good their quarrels, offered themselves as leaders of the Hugonot faction, who very cheerfully submitted to their rule and conduct. The better to confirm their minds, they caused the principal lawyers of Germany and France, and the most famous Protestant divines, to publish in writing, that, without violating the majesty of the King and the dignity of the lawful magistrate, they might oppose with arms the violent domination of the house of Guise, who did not only labour to suppress the true religion, and obstruct the free passage of justice, but seemed to keep the King in prison³. Having thus formed their party in the minority of King Francis the Second, their first design was, that a great multitude should appear before the King without arms, to demand that the severity of the judgments might be mitigated, and liberty of conscience granted;—intending that they should be followed by gentlemen who should make supplication against the government of the Guisiards. But the purpose being made known to the Court, the King was removed from Bloys, an open town, to the strong castle of Amboise, as if he could not otherwise be safe from some present treason⁴: after which followed a strict inquiry after all those who had a hand in the design, the punishment of some, and the flight of others, with the conclusion taken up by the Guisian faction, to settle the Spanish

¹ Sarpi, 421.

² Edd. 1, 2, "princes."

³ "Licere respondebant vim contra illegitimam Guisianorum dominationem opponere, modo accederet regie stirpis principum, qui in casibus legitimi sint ac nati magistratus, aut unius ex iis, auctoritas, et ex ordinum regni aut majoris ac sanioris eorum partis consensu id fieret: quippe superfluum esse regem ea de re monere, qui ob atatem et nullum rerum usum rebus suis superesse non possit, et a Guisiani quasi captivus teneatur, ut ordinariae juris rationi minime locus sit." Thuan. xxiv. 17. (t. i. p. 318.) Sarpi, 421.

⁴ Thuan. xxiv. 13. (t. i. p. 324.)

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inquisition in the realm of France. To pacify the present troubles, an edict is published by the King on the 18th of March 1560, (in the French account), for the pardoning of all who, simply moved with the zeal of religion, had engaged in the supposed conspiracy, upon condition that they disarmed within twenty-four hours¹; and after that another edict, by which a general pardon was indulged to all Reformatists, but so that all assemblies under the colour of religion were prohibited by it, and a charge laid upon the Bishops to take unto themselves the cognisance of all causes of heresy in their several dioceses². But this so little edified with those of that party, that greater tumults were occasioned by it in Provence, Languedock, and Poictou. To which places the Ministers of Geneva were called, who most willingly came³; by whose sermons the number of Protestants so increased in those provinces, and by their agents in most others, that in this year, 1562, they were distributed into two thousand one hundred and fifty Churches, as appeared upon a just computation of them⁴.

8. But in the midst of these improvements, the power and reputation of the side was shrewdly weakened by the falling off of Anthony, Duke of Vendosme and King of Navarr, who did not only openly forsake the party, but afterwards joined himself in counsel and design against it with the Duke of Guise⁵. The foundering of so great a pillar threatened a quick ruin to the fabric, if some other buttress were not found to support the same. The war was carried on from one place to another, but seemed to aim most at the reduction of Normandy, where the Hugonots had possessed themselves of some towns and castles, by which they might be able to distress the city of Paris, and thereby make a great impression on the rest of the kingdom. It was thereupon advised by Louis Prince of Conde, the Cardinal Chastilion⁶, and other of the principal leaders, that they should put themselves under the protection of the Queen of England, who had not long before

¹ Thuan. xxiv. 19. (t. i. p. 825.)

² Ibid. xxv. 3. (t. ii. p. 5.) Sarpi, 421-2. Dav. 23. ³ Sarpi, 442.

⁴ Thuan. xxix. 17. (t. ii. p. 165.) ⁵ Sarpi, 430; Dav. 51.

⁶ Odo de Coligny, brother of the Admiral. On joining the Reformed, he styled himself Count of Beauvais,—the city of which he was bishop. Davila, 64. He afterwards took refuge in England, and is buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

so seasonably relieved the Scots in the like distress¹. No better counsel being offered, nor any hope of succour to be had elsewhere, the Vidame of Chartresse, governor at that time of the port of Newhaven, together with the bailiff of Rowen, the seneschal of Diep, and others, made their address unto the Queen, in the name of the Prince of Conde, and of all the rest of the confederates who professed the Gospel in that kingdom; they proffered to her the said towns whereof they had charge, if it would please her Majesty to further their proceedings in defence of the gospel, (as they called it), and seemed to justify their offer by a public acknowledgement, that her Majesty was not only true inheritor to those towns, but also to the whole kingdom of France². But neither their coming nor their message was unknown to her, who had been secretly advertised of all passages there by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a vigilant and dexterous man, who, being her Majesty's resident in that kingdom, had driven the bargain beforehand, and made all things in readiness against their coming. Nor was the Queen hard to be intreated to appear in that cause which seemed so much to her advantage. She was not ignorant of the pretensions of the Queen of Scots, and the practices of her uncles of the house of Guise to advance her interest. Who, if they should possess themselves of all the strengths in the Dukedom of Normandy, might from thence find an easy passage into England, when she least looked for them.

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9. On these and other considerations of the like importance, it was agreed upon between them, that the Queen should supply the Prince of Conde and his associates with a sufficient quantity of money, corn, and ammunition, for the service of the French King against the plots and practices of the house of Guise; that she should aid them with her forces both by land and sea, for the taking in of such castles, towns and ports, as were possessed by the faction of the said Duke; that the said Prince of Conde and his associates should not come to any terms of peace with the opposite party, without the privity and approbation of the Queen; and that, as well for securing the payment of all such monies as for the safe going in and out of all such forces as her Majesty should supply them with, the town and port of Newhaven should be put into her Majesty's

The Queen aids the Protestant party in France.

¹ Dav. 69.

² Stow, 650-1.

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hands, to be garrisoned by English soldiers, and commanded by any person of quality whom her Majesty should authorise to keep and defend the same. Immediately on which accord, a manifest¹ was published in the name of the Queen; in which it was declared, how much she had preferred the peace of Christendom before her own particular interest; that, in pursuance of that general affection to the public peace, she had relinquished her claim to the town of Calais for the term of eight years, when as all other Princes were restored by that treaty to their lost estates; that for the same reasons she had undertaken to preserve the Scots from being made vassals to the French, without retaining any part of that kingdom in her own possession after the service was performed; that with the like bowels of commiseration she had observed how much the Queen-mother of France was awed, and the young King himself intrahled, by the Guisian faction, who in their names and under pretence of their authority endeavoured to root out the professors of the reformed religion; that in pursuance of that purpose they had caused such terrible massacres to be made at Vasse, Paris, Sene, Tholouse, Bloys, Towers, Angiers, and other places, that there were thought to be butchered no fewer than one hundred thousand of the natural French, between the 1st of March and the 20th of August then last past; that with like violence and injustice they had treated such of her Majesty's subjects as traded in the ports of Bretagne, whom they caused to be apprehended, spoiled, and miserably imprisoned, such as endeavoured to preserve themselves to be cruelly killed, their goods and merchandise to be seized, without charging any other crime upon them, but that they were Hugonots²; and finally, that, in consideration of the premises, her Majesty could do no less than use her best endeavours for rescuing the French King and his mother out of the power of that dangerous faction, for aiding such of the French subjects as preferred the service of their King and the good of their country before all other respects whatsoever, for preserving the reformed religion from an universal destruction, and the maintaining of her own subjects and dominions in peace and safety.

10. Nor did she only publish the aforesaid manifest, the

¹ Published in Stow, 648—50. Comp. Camden, 76.

² Holinshed, iv. 205.

better to satisfy all those whom it might concern in the reasons of her taking arms upon this occasion, but she gives a more particular account of it to the King of Spain, whom she considered as the chief patron of the Guisian League. And, knowing how unsafe it was for her to appear alone in a cause of that nature and importance, she deals by Knollis and other of her Agents with the Princes of Germany to give their timely assistance to the Prince of Conde, in maintenance of that religion which themselves professed. But howsoever, not expecting the success of those counsels, she proceeds to the supplying of the said Prince and his party with all things necessary for the war, and sends over a sufficient strength of ships, arms, and men, as well to scour the seas as secure the land. The men, amounting to 6000, were divided into two equal parts, of which the one was destined to the defence of Rowen and Diep, then being in the hands of the confederates; the other to take possession of the town of Newhaven, which by the townsmen and inhabitants was joyfully surrendered into the hands of the English¹. The town commodiously seated at the mouth of the Seine, and having the command of a spacious bay, in former times not much observed or esteemed; but, being more carefully considered of by King Francis the First, he caused the bay to be enlarged, the passages into it cleared, and the entrances of it to be strongly fortified; which, falling into the hands of any enemy, might have destroyed the trade of Rowen and Paris, being both built upon the river. Called for this reason Franciscopolis by our Latin writers, Newhaven by the English merchant, and Haver d'Grace (by reason of the beauty of it), amongst the French, it hath been looked on ever since as a place of consequence. For her Commander-in-Chief, she sends over the Lord Ambrose Dudley, the eldest son then living of the late Duke of Northumberland, whom on the 26th of December², she had created Lord Lisle, and Earl of Warwick. And he accordingly, preparing for his

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passage over, took shipping at Portsmouth on the 17th of October, but was so hindered by cross winds, that he could not reach the town till the 29th, where he was solemnly received with a peal of ordnance. On the morrow after he received into the town a troop of light-horsemen, all Scots, and of the

¹ Camd. 76; Dav. 72.

² Stow, 648.

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regiment of Count Montgomery, which were sent to him from the port of Diep, and the next day took the oath of his principal officers, on whose fidelity and courage the safety of the place seemed most to depend. On the fourth of November, a bark belonging to the town brought in four merchants ships of Bretagne, fraughted for the most part with Gascoign wines, as afterwards two more with the like commodity, which proved a great refreshment to the soldiers in it. And on the sixth the Reingrave shewed himself upon the top of the hills with two thousand foot, betwixt whom and the garrison soldiers of Hareflew on the one side, and those of Newhaven on the other, the remainder of the year was taken up in continual skirmishes¹.

Queen Mary
returns from
France to
Scotland.

II. Cross we next over into Scotland, that we may see in what condition our affairs stood there. The death of the late French King had made that kingdom so uncomfortable to the Queen of Scots, that she desired to hasten back into her own. And thereunto she was much animated by the heads of either faction, but on different ends:—her presence earnestly solicited by the Popish party, in hope by her authority to suppress their opposites, and by the Protestants² on some strong presumptions that they could deal better with her when they had her there, than when she was protected by the power of France, and governed by the counsels of the Guisian faction. Before her leaving of that kingdom, she had been pressed by Throgmorton, the English resident, to ratify the pacification made at Edenborough; to which she would by no means yield, till she had advised with the nobility, and other of her subjects of the realm of Scotland³. This makes the Queen of England doubtful that she should be deserted by the Scots of the Congregation, to whom she had done so many good offices in the time of their troubles. But, having dealt with some of the chief amongst them, she found a resolution in them for adhering to her; which so assured her on that side, that she

¹ Stow, 651.

² The statement as to the Protestants is a mistake. They professed, indeed, to desire the Queen's return; but they were at the same time intriguing, in conjunction with Elizabeth, to prevent it. Mary applied to the English Queen for a passport, which was refused. "This proceeding," writes Cecil, "will like the Scots well." Tytler, vi. 230.

³ Spottisw. 177. Camden, 64—7.

feared but little danger from the Queen and her party, whensoever she came. Which notwithstanding, it was held to be the safer course to intercept her, if they could, in her passage thither. And to that end a squadron of ships was sent to sea, but under colour of suppressing some pirates, by whom the trade of merchandise was given out to be hindered¹. But the taking of one of the Scottish ships, with the Earl of Eglington, and other passengers of that nation that² were making home-wards, declared sufficiently that they looked for a far richer prize³. But for the Queen of Scots herself, by reason of a thick fog which hung over the seas, she passed by the English unperceived, and landed at the port of Lieth on the 20th of August, anno 1561. From thence she sends Lethington the younger with letters to the Queen of England, tending especially to express that great love and kindness which she bare to her, as to her dearest friend and sister, and the desire she had to continue in true and sincere friendship with her. At what time she received letters also to the same effect from some of the nobility of that kingdom; in which they signified withal, "That the surest way to continue amity and friendship betwixt them two, were to declare the Queen of Scots to be her next and lawful heir to the kingdom of England⁴."

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12. But this demand, as it was unlooked for, so was it of too high a nature to be hastily answered; so that the Laird of Lethington could prevail no further at that time, than to gain a promise from the Queen, that she would do nothing to the prejudice of the title of her cousin of Scotland⁵. The rest was left to be considered of in a personal conference, appointed to be held at York in the end of June. Which motion first proceeded from the Queen of Scots, who was thought to have been earnest and real in it, partly for making a firm peace with her sister of England, and partly to make herself known to the principal subjects of that country. Neither was the meeting disliked of the better sort, as thinking it would serve, besides the preservation of the common peace, to bring her to a liking of the reformed religion. But they who were popishly set, fearing greatly the conference, spake openly against it,

¹ See Tytler, vi. 230. ² "that" not in Edd. 1, 2. ³ Spottisw. 173.

⁴ "In case she should have no issue." Spottisw. 130.

⁵ Spottisw. 132.

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saying that of such interviews there was never seen any good effect; and that it would not be safe for the Queen of Scots to put herself into the power of her to whose kingdom she had made a claim. But notwithstanding these unprofitable deliberations, the interview was agreed upon, and the numbers on either side determined, and all things provided for the journey, when suddenly the Queen of England by her letters excused herself, desiring that it might be respited till the year next following. Which the Scots Queen was not sorry to hear upon further thoughts, considering how much the French King and her uncles of the House of Guise, might have been dissatisfied on the news of that inter-parleance¹. Neither did Queen Elizabeth want her reasons to decline the meeting, which some believe was never really intended by her, but that she hoped the fail would have been on the other side, which would have given her the same cause of quarrel against the daughter, which King Henry took against the father, on the like disappointment². Others conceived that she might fear a growing less by it in the eyes of her people,—the Queen of Scots having so many advantages above her both in youth and beauty. But it was generally concluded to be against all reason of State to give her rival opportunity of growing gracious with the nobility and gentry of England, and laying the foundation of a faction in the Court itself.

Troubles in
Merton Col-
lege, Oxford.

13. But the Queen had deeper matters to take up her thoughts than any such feminine jealousies and emulations, though these perhaps might also have their place amongst them. A spirit of sedition had begun to shew itself in the year last past, upon the bare noise of the coming of the Nuncio hither. Not much diminished—(if it were not much increased)—by the sitting of the Council of Trent, in which it was believed that some proceedings would be had against her. Which seeds, being sown, began first to shew themselves in a petit rebellion in Merton College in Oxon;—sufficiently discovered by those small beginnings that some design of greater consequence was in agitation. The Wardenship of that house being void by the death of Gervase, one Man is chosen to the place. But his election being questioned, and his admission thereupon opposed by a contrary faction, the government of the College

¹ Spottisw. 185. Camd. 75.

² Sup. i. 22.

devolved of course upon one Hall, a Senior Fellow, sufficiently known to be of Popish inclinations, though for the saving of his place he had conformed, as others did, to the present time. No sooner was he in this power, but he retrieves some old superstitious hymns which formerly had been sung on several festivals in the times of Popery, prohibiting the use of such as had been introduced by Gervase, the late Warden there. This gave encouragement and opportunity to the Popish party to insult over the rest, especially over all those of the younger sort, who had not been trained up in their Popish principles; so that it seemed a penal matter to be thought a Protestant. Notice whereof being given to Archbishop Parker, (the ordinary Visitor of that College, in the right of his see) he summoneth Hall on the 20th of May to appear before him, and caused the citation to be fastened to the gate of the College. But his authority in that case was so little regarded that the seal of the citation was torn off by some of that party. Hereupon followed a solemn visitation of the College by the said Archbishop. The result whereof was briefly this,—that all were generally examined; Man confirmed Warden, Hall justly expelled, his party publicly admonished; the young scholars relieved, the Papists curbed and suppressed, and Protestants countenanced and encouraged in the whole University¹.

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A Conspiracy

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14. But this was only the essay of those greater commotions which were to have ensued upon it; though withal it proved a prognostic of their ill success, which constantly attended the designs of the Romish faction. For presently on the neck of this a far more dangerous conspiracy declared itself in some chief leaders of that party. The present sitting of the Council, the practices of some foreign Ministers, and the Queen's countenancing the French Hugonots, then being in arms against their King, might serve both as encouragements and exasperations to put that party upon dangerous and destructive projects: and it is possible enough that somewhat might be aimed at by them in favour of the title of the Queen of Scots, or of some other of the race of King Henry the Seventh, by Margaret his eldest daughter, married to James the Fourth of Scotland; which may the rather be supposed, because I find the Lady

¹ Fuller, iv. 314-5. Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Oxf. ed. Gutch, iv. 149—151. Strype's Parker, b. ii. c. 11.

AN. REG. 4, Margaret, Countess of Lenox, daughter of the said Queen
 1562. Margaret by her second husband, and mother of Henry Lord Darnley (who was after married to Queen Mary of Scotland) to have been confined unto her house with the Earl her husband, upon suspicion of some practice against the Queen. Certain it is, that many strange whispers were abroad, and no small hopes conceived by those of the Popish faction for suppressing the Protestants in all parts of the kingdom, and setting up their own religion as in former times; a matter neither to be entertained without strong temptations, nor compassed without stronger forces than they could raise amongst themselves, but by intelligence and supply from some foreign Princes. On which account, amongst some others which were found to be of the plot, Arthur Pole, grandchild of Margaret Countess of Salisbury by Geofry her third son, the younger brother unto Reginald Pole, the late Cardinal Legate, was apprehended and arraigned, together with his brother Geofry, Fortescue who had married his sister, and divers others. The substance of their charge—as it is generally in all treasons—was, a design of levying a war against the Queen, and otherwise entertaining many dangerous counsels against the peace and safety of her dominions, with a particular intention of advancing the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England, and Pole himself unto the title of Duke of Clarence. All which they confessed upon the indictment, and did all receive the sentence of death; but were all afterwards pardoned by the Queen's great clemency, out of that great respect which she carried to their royal extraction¹.

Story of
 Lady Katharine
 Grey.

15. And yet it may be possible that there was something in it of state-craft as well as clemency, which might induce the Queen to spare them from the stroke of the axe; which was, to keep them for a balance to the House of Suffolk, of whom she now began to conceive some jealousies. The Lady Katharine Gray, one of the younger daughters of Henry Duke of Suffolk, and sister to the late Queen Jane, had been married to the Lord Henry Herbert, son and heir to the Earl of Pembroke, at such time as the said Queen Jane was married to the Lord Guilford Dudley at Durham-house². But the old Earl, seasonably apprehending how unsafe it was to marry into that family which had given so much trouble to the Queen, took the

¹ Camd. 72-3.

² Sup. i. 293.

advantage of the time, and found some means to procure a sentence of divorce, almost upon the very instant of the consummation¹. And, knowing how well Queen Mary stood affected to the Earl of Shrewsbury, he presently clapped up a marriage for his son with another Katherine, one of the daughters of that Earl, who dying about the beginning of the reign of this Queen, he married him as speedily to Mary Sidney², the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney and of Mary his wife, one of the daughters of John Dudley the late Duke of Northumberland; in which last marriage he as much endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Sir Robert Dudley, who at that time began to grow lord paramount in all Court-favours, as by the first match to insinuate into old Duke Dudley, who did then predominate. In the meantime the Lady Katherine Gray languisheth long under the disgrace of this rejection, none daring to make any particular addresses to her, for fear of being involved in the like calamities as had befallen her father and the rest of that family. But at the last the young Earl of Hartford contracts himself privately unto her, and, having consummated the marriage with her, gets leave to travel into France. But long he had not left the kingdom when the Lady was found to be with child, and, being imprisoned in the Tower, she makes known her marriage, till then kept secret by agreement. The Earl is thereupon called home, and, standing honestly to the marriage, for which he could produce no sufficient witness, is committed prisoner also. The Queen, exceeding jealous of all competitors, refers the cognisance of the cause to the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other delegates, by whom a certain time is set for the bringing in of witnesses to prove the marriage, and on default thereof, a sentence of unlawful copulation is pronounced against them³; during which

¹ Sup. p. 117.

² "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," celebrated by her brother Sir Philip Sidney, and by Jonson.

³ "Hereupon I shall add what I have heard related from persons of great credit; which is, that the validity of this marriage was afterwards brought to a trial at common law; where, the minister who married them being present, and other circumstances agreeing, the jury found it a good marriage." Dugdale, Baronage, ii. 369. Cf. Ellis, Orig. Letters, 2nd Series, ii. 290, in which volume (pp. 272, seqq.) there is much information on the subject of Lady Katherine Grey.

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AN. REG. 4, 1562. troubles and disquiets, the Lady is delivered of the Lord Edward Seimour, her eldest son, in the Tower of London, and conceived after of another by some stolen meetings which she had with the Earl her husband, their keepers on both sides being corrupted to give way unto it. Which practice so incensed the Queen, that, hurried on with jealousy and transported with passion, she caused a fine of five thousand pounds to be set upon him in the Star-Chamber, and kept him close prisoner for the space of nine years; at the end whereof he was restored to liberty by the death of the Lady, who died a prisoner in the Tower¹. And though the Lady Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, might hope to have preserved herself from the like Court-thunder-claps by her obscure marriage with Adrian Stokes², who had been Gentleman of the Horse to the Duke her husband, yet neither could that save her from abiding a great part of the tempest, which fell so heavily upon her and all that family, that William, the nephew of this Earl by Edward Viscount Beauchamp, his eldest son, was prudently advised by some of his friends to procure a confirmation of his grandfather's honours from the hand of King James, which without much difficulty was obtained and granted by his Majesty's Letters Patents, bearing date the 14th of May in the sixth year of his reign³. But such was the fortune of this house, that as this Earl, being newly restored to the title of Hartford by

¹ Camd. 74.

² Camden, 87. It is necessary to distinguish between two Duchesses of Suffolk, who were living at the same time, and both remarried to commoners—the lady here spoken of, widow of Henry Grey, and her step-mother, widow of Charles Brandon, and remarried to Mr Bertie. (Sup. p. 103.) Heylyn is mistaken in supposing (as he appears to do) that the former lady was alive at the time to which the text relates. She died Nov. 20, 1559, although Camden (87), misled by the date of the erection of her monument, places her death in the sixth year of Elizabeth. Strype, Ann. i. 196. Comp. Machyn, 217.

³ The Earl who married Lady Katherine Grey, lived to the year 1621, when he was succeeded by his grandson William, the husband of the Lady Arabella. The patents here mentioned, however, were obtained, not by William, but by his father, Edward, Lord Beauchamp, who died in 1618. Dugdale, Baronage, ii. 369. Earl William was created Marquess of Hertford in 1640, and in reward of his steady loyalty, the Dukedom of Somerset was revived in his favour at the Restoration of Charles II., which he survived only a few months. (See p. 434, below.)

the great goodness of the Queen, incurred her high displeasure, and was thereupon committed prisoner, for his marriage with the Lady Katherine Gray, the only heir then living of Mary the youngest daughter of King Henry the Seventh, so William above mentioned, being confirmed in the expectancy of his grandfather's honours by the like goodness of King James, was committed prisoner by that King for marrying with the Lady Arabella, daughter and heir of Charles Earl of Lenox, descended from the eldest daughter of the said King Henry¹.

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16. Such were the principal occurrences of this present year relating to the joint concernments of Church and State. In reference to the Church alone, nothing appears more memorable than the publishing of an elegant and acute discourse, entituled, "The Apology of the Church of England,"—first writ in Latin by the Right Reverend Bishop Jewel; translated presently into English, French, Italian, Dutch, and at last also into Greek; highly approved of by all pious and judicious men, stomached by none excepting our own English fugitives, and yet not undertook by any of them but by Harding only, who had his hands full enough before in beating out an answer to the Bishop's Challenge². By him we are informed³ (if we may believe him) that two tractates or discourses had been writ against it,—the one by an Italian in the tongue of that country, the other in Latin by a Spanish Bishop of the realm of Naples; both finished, and both stopped as they went to the press, out of a due regard, forsooth, to the Church of England, whose honour had been deeply touched, by being thought to have approved such a lying, unreasonable, slanderous, and ungodly

Publication
of Jewel's
Apology.

¹ Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 369.

² Sup. p. 330.

³ "Two only I hear of that have written against it [the Apology]—the one in Latin, a learned Spaniard, bishop in the kingdom of Naples; the other an Italian, in the Italian tongue. Both books are stayed from print and setting abroad, as it is thought, in regard of our country; whose honour should be overmuch touched, if the whole church of the realm were so openly charged with the approving of such a lying, indiscreet, unreasonable, slanderous, and ungodly writing. For which cause myself thought it more convenient to write this Confutation in English than in Latin," &c. Harding's Address to the Reader. Compare what Bp. Jewel says of these two persons, Def. of Apol. Pt. i. c. 4. div. 2. (quoted below). [For this note I have again to acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. J. Ayre. See p. 316.]

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pamphlet: which were it true, the Church was more beholden to the modesty of those Spaniards and Italians than to our own natural English. But whether it were true or not, or rather how untrue it is in all particulars, the exchange of writings on both sides doth most plainly manifest. In general it was objected, "That the Apology was published in the name of the Church of England, before any mean part of the Church were privy to it, as if the author either were ashamed of it or afraid to stand to it; that the inscription of it neither was directed to the Pope nor Emperor, nor to any Prince, nor to the Church, nor to the General Council then in being, as it should have been; that there was no man's name set to it; that it was printed without the privilege of the Prince, contrary to the law in that behalf; that it was allowed neither by parliament nor proclamation, nor agreed upon by the Clergy in a public and lawful synod, and therefore that the book was to be accounted a famous libel and a scandalous writing¹."

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17. To which it was answered in like generals by that learned prelate, "That the profession of the doctrine contained in it was offered unto the whole Church of God, and so unto the Pope and Council too, if they were any part or member of the Church; that if names be so necessary, he had the names of the whole Clergy of England to confirm that doctrine, and Harding's too amongst the rest in the time of King Edward²; that for not having the Prince's privilege, it might easily be disproved by the printer³; that it was not conceived in such a dark corner as was objected, being afterwards imprinted at Paris in Latin, and having been since translated into the French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish tongues; that, being sent afterwards into France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, Italy, Naples, and Rome itself, it was tendered to the judgment of the whole Church of God; that it was read and seriously considered of in the convent of Trent, and great threats made that it should be answered, and the matter taken in hand by two notable learned Bishops, the one a Spaniard, and the other an Italian, though in fine neither of them did anything in it; and finally, that certain of the English Papists had been nibbling⁴ at it, but such

¹ Harding ap. Jewel, ed. Jelf, iv. 198.

² Jewel, ed. Jelf, iv. 202.

³ *Ib.* 199.

⁴ "gnawing."

as cared neither what they writ, nor was cared by others^{1,2} AN. REG. 4,
1562.
 And so much may suffice in general for this excellent piece, to the publishing whereof that learned prelate was most encouraged by Peter Martyr, (as appears by Martyr's letter of the 24th of August²) with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time when he lived in exile; and happy had it been for the Church of England if he had never done worse offices to it than by dealing with that reverend Bishop to so good a purpose. But Martyr only lived to see the book which he so much longed for,—dying at Zurick on the 12th day of November following, and laid into his grave by the magistrates and people of that town with a solemn funeral.

18. Nothing remains for the concluding of this year, but New Bishops.
 to declare how the three vacant Bishopricks were disposed of; if those may say to be disposed of which were still kept vacant. Gloucester was only filled this year by the preferment of Mr Richard Cheny, Archdeacon of Hereford, and one of the Prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of St Peter in Westminster, who received his episcopal consecration on the 19th of April³. Together with the See of Gloucester, he held that of Bristol *in commendam*, as did also Bullingham, his successor; that is to say, the jurisdiction, with the profits and fees thereof, to be exercised and enjoyed by them, but the temporal revenue of it to continue in the hands of some hungry courtiers, who gnawed it to the very bone; in which condition it remained under the two Bishops, till the year 1589, when the Queen was pleased to bestow the remainders of it, together with the title of Bishop, on Doctor Richard Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, whom afterwards she preferred to the See of London⁴. And as for Oxon, it was kept vacant from the death of King, the first Bishop of it, who died on the 4th of December 1557⁵, till the 14th of October 1567, at which time it was conferred on Dr Hugh Curwyn, Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of the realm of Ireland; who having held it but a year, it was again

¹ Jewel, ed. Jelf, iv. 201-2.

² This letter (Jelf, iv. 3; Zur. Lett. 161) was written on receiving the *published* book, which Jewel had sent off in February. Sup. p. 368.

³ Godwin, 552—564.

⁴ Godwin, 564. Fletcher (father of the dramatist), was preferred to Worcester in 1592, and thence to London in 1594. Richardson, *ibid*.

⁵ Sup. p. 293.

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1562.

kept vacant twenty years together, and then bestowed on Dr John Underhill, who was consecrated Bishop thereof in December 1589; but he dying also shortly after, viz., anno 1592, it was once more kept void till the year 1603, and then took up by Dr John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, rather to satisfy the desires of others than his own ambition¹. So that upon the point, this Church was filled but little more than three years in forty-six. The jurisdiction of it was in the mean time managed by some officers thereunto authorised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the patrimony and revenues of it remaining in the hands of the Earl of Leicester, and after his decease, of the Earl of Essex, by whom the lands thereof were so spoiled and wasted, that they left nothing to the last Bishops but impropriations; by means of which havock and destruction, all the five Bishopricks erected by King Henry the Eighth were so impoverished and destroyed, that the new Bishops were necessitated to require the benevolence of their Clergy at their first coming to them, to furnish their episcopal houses, and to enable them to maintain some tolerable degree of hospitality in their several dioceses; of which we shall hear more hereafter from the pen of an adversary². 157
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¹ Godwin, 545-6.

² The reference is to Rastell, quoted below, viii. 4, as challenging Jewel to shew that in the primitive times any Bishop "gathered a benevolence of his clergy, to set him up in his household."

ANNO REGNI ELIZ. 5.

ANNO DOM. 1562, 1563.

1. **T**HE last year's practices of the Papists, and the dangers New Acts of Parliament. thereby threatening both the Queen and State, occasioned her to call a Parliament on the 12th of January, in which first passed an Act, "For assurance of the Queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions¹." In the body whereof it was provided, "That no man living or residing in the Queen's dominions, under the pains and penalties therein appointed, should from thenceforth, either by word or writing or any other open deed, willingly and advisedly endeavour to maintain the power and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, heretofore claimed and usurped within this realm." And for the better discovery of all such persons as might be popishly affected, it was enacted, "That none should be admitted unto holy orders, or to any degree in either of the Universities, or to be barrister or bencher in any of the Inns of Court, &c., or to practise as an attorney, or otherwise to bear any office in any of the Courts at Westminster Hall, or any other Court whatsoever, till he or they should first take the Oath of Supremacy on the holy Evangelists;" with a power given to every Archbishop and Bishop within this realm and the dominions of the same, "to tender or minister the oath aforesaid to all and every spiritual person in their proper dioceses, as well in places exempt as elsewhere." Of which last clause the reader is to take especial notice, because of the great controversy which ensued upon it, of which more hereafter². And because many of the Popish party had lately busied themselves by conjurations, and other diabolical arts, to inquire into the length or shortness of her Majesty's life, and thereupon had caused some dark and doubtful prophecies to be spread abroad, there passed two other Statutes for suppressing the like dangerous practices, by which her Majesty's person might be endangered, the people stirred to rebellion, or the

¹ 5 Eliz. c. 1.² Eliz. viii. 1—3.

AN. REG. 5, peace otherwise disturbed. For which consult the Acts of Parliament, 5 Eliz. c. 15, 16¹. By which three acts, and one more for the better executing of the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*², the Queen provided very well for her own security, but more provoked the Pope and his adherents to conspire against her in the time to come; against whose machinations, backed by the power and counsels of foreign Princes, nothing was more conducive than her strength at sea; for the increase whereof, and the continual breeding of a seminary of expert mariners, an Act³ was made for adding Wednesday to the number of the weekly fasts, which from thenceforth was called *Jejunium Cecilianum*⁴, as being one of the devices of Sir William Cecil.

The Common Prayer and Homilies translated into Welsh.

2. In reference to religion, and the advancement of the service and worship of God, it had been declared by the Bishops and Clergy, assembled at the same time in their Convocation, to be "a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments, in a tongue not understood by the people⁵." To comply with which pious declaration, and take off all retortion which possibly might be made by those of Rome, when they were charged with the administration of the service and Sacraments in an unknown tongue, it was enacted, "That the Bishops of Hereford, St David's, Bangor, Landaff, and St Asaph, should take care amongst them for translating the whole Bible with the Common Prayer Book into the Welsh or British tongue, on pain of forfeiting 40*l.* apiece in default thereof." And to encourage them thereunto it was ordered, "That one book of either sort, being so translated and imprinted, should be provided and bought of every cathedral or parish-church, as also for all parish-churches and

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¹ c. 15 against prophecies; c. 16, against witchcrafts. Jewel, writing of Mary's reign, Nov. 2, 1559, says, "Magarum et veneficarum numerus ubique in immensum excreverat" (Zur. Letters, i. Lat. 25); and in a sermon preached before Elizabeth (Works, i. 1027-8, ed. Park. Soc.), he speaks of the increase of witchcraft, and urges "that the laws touching such malefactors may be put in due execution." Comp. Haws, Sketches of the Reformation, 216, seqq. ² 5 Eliz. c. 23.

³ 5 Eliz. c. 14. See Neale on Feasts and Fasts, 344.

⁴ Rishton in Sanders, 303. Gardiner had been ridiculed in like manner, for appointing Wednesday to be a fast. Fox, vi. 32.

⁵ Articles of Religion, No. xxiv.

chapels of ease where the said tongue is commonly used ;—the Ministers to pay one half of the price, and the parishioners the other¹.” The like care was also taken for translating the books of Homilies ; but whether it were done by any new order from the Queen, or the piety of the four Welsh Bishops, or that they were considered as a necessary part of the public liturgy, by reason of the rubric at the end of the Nicene creed, I have no where found.

AN. REG. 5,
1562-3.

3. As for the Convocation² which accompanied the present Parliament, it began on the 13th day of January in the Cathedral of St Paul :—the Latin sermon preached by Mr. William Day, then Provost of Eaton College, afterwards Dean of Windsor also, and Bishop of Winchester³ ; which being finished, the Bishop of London presents a list of the several Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, which had been cited to appear ; the catalogue of the Bishops ending with Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster⁴, that of the Deans beginning on another file with Alexander Nowel, Dean of St Paul’s, elected by the Clergy for their Prolocutor. The Convocation after this is adjourned to Westminster for the conveniency of the Prelates, by reason of their attendance on affairs of Parliament. Goodman, the Dean of Westminster, had made his protestation in the Church of St Paul, that, by appearing as a member of the Convocation by virtue of the Archbishop’s mandate, he subjected not himself nor the Church of Westminster to the authority or jurisdiction of the See of Canterbury ; and now, on the Archbishop’s personal coming to the Church of Westminster, he delivers the like protestation in writing for preserving the liberties of the Church : in which it was declared, according to the privilege and just rights thereof, that no Archbishop or Bishop could exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in it, with-

Meeting of
the Convoca-
tion.

¹ 5 Eliz. c. 28.

² Wilkins, iv. 230, seqq. A fuller account in Cardwell, Synodalia, 405, seqq.

³ Brother of George Day, Bishop of Chichester, who has been repeatedly mentioned in the History. He was consecrated to Winchester, Jan. 25, 1595-6, and died in September following. Godwin, 240.

⁴ This cannot, however, imply that the Dean was a member of the Upper House ; for we find him acting as one of those who presented the prolocutor to the Archbishop, and subscribing with the clergy of the Lower House. Wilkins, iv. 232, 237.

AN. REG. 5, out leave of the Dean for the time then being; and therefore
 1562-3. that he could not consent to the holding of a Convocation in
 that place, without some declaration to be made by the Arch-
 bishops and Bishops, that their holding the Convocation in the
 same should not be taken or intended for any violation of the
 rights and privileges that belonged unto it; which was accord-
 ingly performed¹.

4. It was on the 19th day of January that these formalities were transacted; at what time the Archbishops and Bishops, having first had some secret communication amongst themselves about the Articles of Religion established in King Edward's time, required the Prolocutor and six others of the lower house of Convocation to repair unto them; by whom it was signified unto their Lordships, that some of the Clergy had prepared certain bills containing a specification of such matters as were conceived to be amiss in the state of the Church, and that the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the reign of King Edward the Sixth had been delivered unto others to be considered of, corrected, and accommodated, as they found it necessary. Being encouraged in the last, and furthered by the diligence of some of the Bishops who were employed in the same work, the Articles were agreed upon, publicly read before the Bishops in the Chapter-house of Saint Paul, on the 29th of the same month, and by all of them subscribed with great unanimity². The Prelates had observed some deviation from the doctrine of King Edward's reign which had been made by the Calvinian or Zuinglian gospellers, in the articles of Predestination, Grace, Free-will, and final Perseverance: nor could they but take notice with how little reverence the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, and the authority of the Church despised, by too many of the same party also; which they were willing to impute to the want of some known rule amongst them, by which they were to regulate their judgments and conform their actions. To which end it was thought expedient, that the Book of Articles agreed upon in Convocation, anno 1552, should be revised and accommodated to the use of the Church, the Queen's leave being first obtained for their warrant in it. In the managing of which great business, I

The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion approved.

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¹ Comp. Cyp. Ang. p. 423, ed. 1668. The form is still observed.

² See Lamb's Hist. of the Articles, 15, seqq.

know not whether I should more admire their moderation or their wisdom:—their wisdom eminent, in not suffering any outlandish divine who might drive on a different interest from that of the Church, either to vote amongst them, or carry any stroke in their consultations; their moderation no less visible, in declining all unnecessary determinations, which rather tended to the multiplying of controversies and engendering strifes than either unto edification or increase of piety. So that they seemed to have proceeded by those very rules which King James so much approved of in the conference at Hampton Court:—first, in not separating further from the Church of Rome, in points of discipline or doctrine, than that Church had separated from what she was in her purest times¹; secondly, in not stuffing the Book of Articles with all conclusions theological, in which a latitude of judgment was to be allowed, as far as it might be consistent with peace and charity²; and thirdly, in not thrusting into it every opinion or position negative, which might have made it somewhat like Mr Craige's confession in the Kirk of Scotland, "who with his *I renounce*, and *I abhor*, his *detestations* and *abrenunciations*, did so amaze the simple people" (as the King observeth) "that [they], not being able to conceive or understand all those points, utterly gave over all, and fell back to Popery, or else remained in their former ignorance³." Upon which grounds, as they omitted many whole articles, and qualified the expressions of some others in King Edward's Book; so were they generally very sparing in defining any thing which was merely matter of modality⁴, or *de modo* only: as namely, touching the manner of Christ's presence in the holy Eucharist, the manner of effecting grace by the blessed Sacraments, or of the operation of God's grace in a man's conversion. Which rules being carefully observed by all the Bishops, on whose authority and consent the greatest part of the whole work did seem to rest, and all particulars agreed upon amongst themselves, it was no wonder if they passed their votes without contradiction.

5. But in taking the subscriptions of the Lower House there appeared more difficulty. For, though they all testified their

¹ Barlow's account of the Hampton Court Conference, in Cardwell Conferences, 200.

² Ibid. 187.

³ Ibid. 185.

⁴ Qu. "modality?"

AN. REG. 5, consent unto them, on the said 29th of January, either by
1562-3.

words express or by saying nothing to the contrary, which came all to one,—yet when subscription was required, many of the Calvinians or Zuinglian gospellers, possibly some also which inclined rather to their old religion, and who found themselves unsatisfied in some particulars, had demurred upon it. With this demur their Lordships are acquainted by the Prolocutor, on the 5th of February¹. By whom their Lordships were desired, in the name of that house, that such who had hitherto subscribed the Articles might be ordered to subscribe in their own proper house, or in the presence of their Lordships. Which request being easily granted, drew on the subscription of some others, but so that many still remained in their first unwillingness. An order thereupon is made by their Lordships, on the 10th then following, that the Prolocutor should return the names of all such persons who refused subscription, to the end that such further course might be taken with them as to their Lordships should seem most fit. After which we hear no news of the like complaints and informations; which makes it probable (if not concluded) that they all subscribed. And being thus subscribed by all, they were soon after published both in English and Latin, with this following title, that is to say, “Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and establishing consent touching true religion.” But what they were, and wherein they agreed or differed with or from those established by King Edward the Sixth, shall be referred (for the avoiding of all interruptions in the course of this History) to a place more proper². Nothing else brought to a conclusion by them, but the Bill of Subsidy, which, having passed that house, was confirmed in Parliament. 160 332

Other
Proceedings
of the Con-
vocation.

6. Nothing else brought unto³ conclusion, though many things were had in deliberation. On Friday, the 5th of February, the Bishops of Salisbury, Exon, St David’s and Litchfield were appointed by the rest of the Prelates to examine a Catechism which it seems was presented to them. But being by them remitted to the consideration of the Lower House, they were advertised by Day and Sampson, on the 3rd of March,

¹ See Lamb, 19, seqq. ² See the Appendix. ³ Edd. 1, 2, “into.

that the said house unanimously had approved thereof. And there it rested for that time, and for ever after, nothing being done in confirmation of it as a public doctrine, (by whomsoever it was written), nor any further speech made of it in the time succeeding¹. Which fortune also happened to a Book of Discipline², projected amongst some of the Clergy, and tendered to the Bishops by the Prolocutor and ten others of that house, on the 26th of February. To which some additional being made by the first contrivers, it was a second time tendered to them by the Prolocutor, in the name of the Lower House of Convocation, by whom it had been generally and unanimously recommended to them. But the Bishops let this sleep also as they did the other. More was it to the profit of the Clergy generally, to make inquiry into certain Articles, which by the Archbishop, with the consent of all the rest of the Prelates, were delivered in writing³. The tenor of which Articles was,

1. "Whether if the writ of *Melius inquirendum* be sent forth, there be any likelihood that it will return to the Queen's profit?
2. Whether some benefices ratable⁴ be not less than they be already valued?
3. That they inquire of the manner of dilapidations and other spoliations that they can remember to have passed upon their livings, and by whom.
4. To signify how they have been used for the levying of the arrearages of tenths and subsidies, and for how many years past.
5. As also how many benefices they find that are charged with pensions newly imposed⁵ to discharge the pensions of religious persons.
6. And lastly, to certify how many benefices are vacant in every Diocese."

But what return was made upon these inquiries, I find as little in the Acts of this Convocation, as either in allowance of the Catechism or the Book of Discipline.

AN. REG. 5,
1562-3.

7. Religion and the State being thus fortified and secured

Affairs of
Scotland.

¹ The Catechism in question was that of Dean Nowell. The records of the Upper House, as Heylyn states, do not contain any notice of its having been ratified by that house. It was, however, published in 1570, and by the Canons of 1571 was sanctioned for exclusive use in schools,—to be learned in Latin or in English, according to the capacity of the scholar. Collier, vi. 388. Cardwell, Synod. 128, 522.

² Wilkins, iv. 240; Collier, vi. 371.

³ Wilkins, iv. 238. Cardwell, Synod. 513.

⁴ Edd. "ratably."

⁵ The words "newly imposed" do not appear in Wilkins, Cardwell, or Collier. See i. 34; ii. 357.

AN. REG. 5, in England, it will not be amiss to see what they do in Scotland; where the young Queen was graciously inclined to forget all injuries, and grant more liberty to her subjects, in the free exercising and enjoying of their own persuasions, than she could gain unto herself. For in a Parliament held in May, within few months after the end of that in England, the Act for oblivion, formerly condescended to in the treaty at Edenborough, was confirmed and ratified; but without reference to that treaty, the results whereof the Queen by no means would acknowledge to be good and valid¹. And thereupon it was advised that the Lords should supplicate on their knees in the house of Parliament for the passing of it; which was accordingly performed by them, and vouchsafed by her². There also passed some other Acts of great advantage to the Church, as affairs then stood; that is to say, an Act for the repairing and upholding of parish-churches, and the church-yards of the same, for burial of the dead. Another, against letting parsonages, glebes, or houses, into long leases or fee. But this came somewhat of the latest,—a great part of the tithes, houses, and possessions which belonged to the Church having been formerly aliened or demised for a very long term by the popish Clergy, when they perceived they were not likely to enjoy them longer for themselves. But on the other side, no safety or protection could be found for her own religion; no, not so much as in the chapel-royal, or the regal city. In contempt whereof, a force was violently committed in the month of August, in the chapel of the palace of Holy Rood House, (the Whitehal of Edenborough), where certain of the Queen's servants were assembled for their own devotions; the doors broke open, some of the company haled to the next prison, and the rest dispersed,—the priest escaping with much difficulty by a private passage. The Queen was then absent in the North, but questioned Knox at her return as the cause of the uproar. By which expostulation she got nothing from that fiery spirit but neglect and scorn³.

161
333Affairs of
France.

8. Return we back again to France⁴, where we find some alternations of affairs between the French King and the Reingrave on the one side, the English and confederate Princes

¹ Sup. p. 373.² Spottiswoode, 133.³ Ibid.⁴ For this war, see Stow, 651, seqq. Holinsh. iv. 205, seqq.

on the other, but so that fortune seemed most favourable to the English party. The church of Hattivil¹ (a neighbouring vil-
AN.REG. 5,
1563.
 lage to Newhaven) taken and garrisoned by the Reingrave, but presently abandoned, and repossessed by the English. The castle of Tankerville cunningly taken by the English, and soon after regained by the Reingrave. The city and castle of Cane held with a strong garrison by the Marquess d'Elbeuffe, and besieged by the confederate forces, both French and English, and finally surrendered to the Admiral Chastilion², to the use of the Princes, March the 2nd. After which followed the surrendry of Bayeux, Faleise, Saint Lods, and divers other towns and castles. The town of Hareflew on the Seine gallantly taken by the help of the English of Newhaven, on the 10th, and garrisoned by such soldiers and inhabitants as were³ sent from thence. Which fortunate successes so amazed the heads of the Guisian faction, that they agreed unto an edict of pacification, by which the French Princes were restored to the King's favour, the Hugonots to the free exercise of their own religion, and all things settled for the present to their full contentment. But they must buy this happiness by betraying the English whom they had brought into the country, and join their forces with the rest to drive them out of Newhaven, if they would not yield it on demand. Of this the Queen had secret notice, and offereth by Throgmorton to deliver up Newhaven in exchange for Calais. The French resolve to hold the one and recover the other; so that new forces are sent over to make good the town. The French draw toward it in great numbers, under the conduct of the Marshals of Brissack and Mont Morency; followed not long after by the Constable himself, with many other French Lords of the highest quality. The siege grows close, and the service very hot on both sides: but the English had a fiercer enemy within the town than any whom they found without. The pestilence had got in amongst them, and raged so terribly for the time, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead. And, to complete the miseries of the besieged, the Prince of Conde and the Duke of Montpensier shewed themselves openly amongst the rest in the camp of the enemies, that the last act of the tragedy might be played in their presence. All things conspiring thus against them, the

The English lose Newhaven.

¹ Hauteville.

² Gaspard de Coligny.

³ Edd. 1, 2. "was."

AN. REG. 5, English are necessitated to a capitulation, by which they left
 1563. the town behind them on the 29th of July, but carried the plague with them into England¹. Which might by some be looked on as an argument of God's displeasure on this nation, for giving aid unto the rebels of a Christian Prince, though masked with the vizard of religion.

End of the
 Council of
 Trent.

9. Pass we on further towards Trent, where we find the Fathers in high displeasure against Queen Elizabeth;—exasperated by her aiding the French Hugonots against their King, but more for passing the Statute above mentioned², for punishing all those that countenanced and maintained the Pope's authority within her dominions. The Pope hereby so much incensed, that he dispatched a commission to the Fathers of Trent, to proceed to an excommunication of the Queen of England. The Emperor had his aims upon her, being at that time solicitous for effecting a marriage betwixt her and Charles of Inspruch, his second son³; of which his ministers entertained him with no doubtful hopes. In contemplation of which marriage, on the first notice which was given him of this secret purpose, he writ letters both to the Pope and to the Legates: in which he signified unto them, that if the Council would not yield that fruit which was desired, that they might see an union of all Catholics to reform the Church, at least they should not give occasion to the heretics to unite themselves more, which certainly they would do, in case they proceeded so against the Queen of England; by means whereof they would undoubtedly 162
 make a league against the Catholics, which must needs bring 334
 forth many great inconveniences. Nor did this admonition, coming from a person of so great authority, and built on such prudential reasons, want its good effect: insomuch that both the Pope desisted at Rome, and revoked the commission sent before to the Legates in Trent⁴.

10. But the ministers of the King of Spain would not so give over,—the Archbishop of Otrante in the realm of Naples, keeping the game on foot when the rest had left it. And because he thought the proposition would not take, if it were made only in relation to the Queen of England, he proposed a general anathematizing of the heretics, as well dead as living,

¹ Stow, 656. Camden, 80-4.

² P. 389.

³ Camd. 41, 54, 125.

⁴ Sarpi, 727.

Luther and Zuinglius and the rest; which he affirmed to be the practice of all Councils in the primitive times, and that otherwise it might be said that the Council had laboured all this while in vain. To which it was replied by one of the Legates, that “divers times required different counsels; that the differences about religion in those elder times were between the Bishops and the priests; that the people were but as an accessory; that the grandees either did not meddle, or, if they did adhere to any heresy, they did not make themselves heads and leaders. But now all was quite contrary; for now the heretic¹ ministers and preachers could not be said to be heads of the sects, but the Princes rather, to whose interest their ministers and preachers did accommodate themselves; that he that would name the true heads of heretics, must name the Queens of England and Navarr, the Prince of Conde, the Elector Palatine of the Reine, the Elector of Saxonie, and many other Dukes and Princes of Germany; that this would make them unite, and shew they were sensible of it; and that the condemnation of Luther and Zuinglius only would so provoke them that some great confusion would certainly arise; and therefore they must not do what they would, but what they could, seeing that the more moderate resolution was the better².” After which grave and prudent answer, it was not long before the conclusion of the Council (which ended on the 3rd of December) had put an end to all those practices and designs, which otherwise might have much distracted the peace of Chris-

¹ Edd. 1, 2, “hereticks.”

² This is in the main taken verbatim from Brent’s translation of Fra Paolo, 796; but Heylyn has misapprehended the case, and has given a representation of it which is both inaccurate and inconsistent. The proposal made by the Archbishop of Otranto was, that an anathema should be pronounced on “the heretics,”—by which he meant, not *at* heretics, but those in particular against whom the Council had been summoned; and he named “Luther and Zuinglius dead, and their followers alive.” To this the Cardinal of Lorraine made the reply here reported,—that Luther and Zuinglius were not the real heads of the heretics; that to name the princes who were indeed their leaders, was inexpedient; and, “therefore, to do not what they would, but what they could, he thought that [not the *more moderate*, but] the *more universal* resolution was the better;” i. e. that there should not be any naming of particular heresies. The result was a general “anathema cunctis hæreticis.” Conc. Trid. Canones, ed. Lips. 1846. 203.

AN. REG. 5,
1563.

tendom, and more particularly the tranquillity of the realm of England. And so I take my leave of the Council of Trent, without making any other character or censure of it than that which is given by the historian: that is to say,—“That, being desired and procured by godly men to reunite the Church which then began to be divided, it so established the schism, and made the party so obstinate, that the discords are become irreconcilable; that, being managed by Princes for the reformation of Ecclesiastical discipline, it caused the greatest deformation that ever was since Christianity began; that, being hoped for by the Bishops, to regain the episcopal authority, usurped for the most part by the Pope, it made them lose it altogether, and brought them into a greater servitude; and on the contrary, that, being feared and avoided by the See of Rome, as a potent means to moderate the exorbitant power of the Pope, mounted from small beginnings by divers degrees unto an unlimited excess, it hath so established and confirmed the same over that part which remaineth subject to it, that it never was so great, nor so soundly rooted¹.”

¹ Sarpi, p. 2.

ANNO REGNI ELIZ. 6,

ANNO DOM. 1563, 1564.

1. **H**AVING dispatched our business in France and Trent, A Plague rages. we shall confine ourselves for so much of our story as is to come to the Isles of Britain. In the South part thereof, the plague brought out of France by the garrison soldiers of Newhaven had so dispersed itself, and made such desolation in many parts of the realm, that it swept away above 20,000 in the city of London¹; which, though it seemed less than some great plagues which have happened since, yet was it the greatest at that time which any man living could remember.

163 In which regard as Michaelmas term was not kept at all, so
335 Candelmas term then following was kept at Hartford, the houses in London being not well cleansed, nor the air sufficiently corrected for so great a concourse². Under pretence whereof the Council of the King of Spain residing in Brussels commanded proclamation to be made in Antwerp and other places, that no English ship with cloths should come into any ports³ of the Low Countries. Besides which, they alleged some other causes, as namely, the raising of impost upon goods, as well inwards as outwards, as well upon Englishmen as upon strangers⁴, &c. But the true reason of it was, because a statute had been passed in the first year of the Queen, by which divers wares and commodities were forbidden to be brought into this realm out of Flanders and other places, (being the manufactures of those countries,) to the end that our own people might be set on work; as also that no English or stranger might ship out any white cloths undressed, being of price above 4*l.*, without special licence. But at the earnest suit of the merchant-adventurers, the Queen prohibited the transporting of wool unwrought, and the cloth-fleet was sent to Embden, the principal city in East Friezland, about Easter following,

¹ Camden states the number at 21,530 (84). Stow says 20,372 in the city and liberties; 2732 in the out-parishes, (656-7).

² Stow, 656.

³ Edd. "parts."

⁴ Ib. 657.

AN. REG. 6, where it was joyfully received, and where the English kept
 1563. their factory for some years after¹. And though the Hanse
 Towns made such friends in the court of the Emperor that the
 English trade was interdicted under the pretence of being a
 monopoly, yet by the constancy of the Queen, the courage of
 the merchants, and the dexterity of their agents, they prevailed
 at last, and carried on the trade themselves, without any com-
 petitors².

Peace with
 France.

2. The apprehension of this dealing from the Council of
 Spain induced the Queen to hearken the more willingly to
 a peace with France; which she concluded upon terms of as
 good advantage as the times would bear; the demand for Calais
 being waived till the eight years' end, at which it was to be
 restored unto her by the treaty of Cambray³: which peace was
 first proclaimed before her Majesty in the Castle of Windsor,
 the French Ambassador being present; and afterwards at
 London on the 13th of April⁴. And for creating the greater
 confidence and amity between both Princes, it was not long
 before she sent the Lord Henry Hunsdon⁵, accompanied with
 the Lord Strange, and divers knights and gentlemen, to the
 Court of France, to present that King with the collar and
 habit of the Garter, into which noble order he had been elected
 at a general Chapter. Garter the king-at-arms was also sent
 along with them, to invest him in it with all the ceremonies
 and solemnities thereunto belonging, to make it the more
 acceptable in the sight of that people⁶. But notwithstanding
 these courses on the one side, and the indignities put upon
 her by the Hugonot Princes on the other, reason of state pre-
 vailed with her not to lay aside the care of their safety and
 affairs. For well she knew, that, if the Hugonots were not
 encouraged under hand, and the Guisian faction kept in breath
 by their frequent stirrings, they would be either hammering
 some design against her in her own dominions, or animate the
 Queen of Scots to stand to her title and pretensions for the
 Crown of England. Upon which general ground of self-pre-
 servation, as she first aided those of Scotland for the expelling
 of the French, and the French Protestants from being ruined

¹ Stow, 657. ² Camd. 90. ³ Sup. p. 304. ⁴ Stow, 657.

⁵ Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, cousin of the Queen. Sup. p. 274.

⁶ Stow, 657. Camd. 83.

and oppressed by the house of Guise ; so on the same she afterwards undertook the patronage of the Belgic Netherlands against the tyranny and ambition of the Duke of Alva, who otherwise might have brought the war to her own doors, and hazarded the peace and safety of her whole estate.

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1564.

3. Having secured herself by this peace with France, and being at no open enmity with the King of Spain, she resolves to give herself some pleasure, and thereupon prepar-eth for her summer's progress. In the course whereof she bestowed a visit upon Cambridge on the 5th of August, where she was honourably received by Mr Secretary Cecil, being then Chancellor of that University, together with all the Heads of Houses and other students, attired in their academical habits, according to their several and distinct degrees. Her lodging was provided in King's College ; the days of her abode there spent in scholastical exercises of philosophy, physic, and divinity ; the nights in comedies and tragedies, and other pleasing entertainments. On Wednesday the 7th of the same month she rode through the town, and took a view of all the Colleges and Halls—the goodly monuments of the piety of her predecessors, and of so many men and women famous in their generations. Which done, she took leave of Cambridge in a Latin oration, in which she gave them great encouragement to pursue their studies ; not without giving them some hopes, that, if God spared her life and opportunity, she would erect some monument amongst them of her love to learning, which should not be inferior unto any of her royal ancestors¹. In which diversion she received such high contentment, that nothing could have seemed to be equal to it but the like at Oxon, where she was entertained about two years after for seven days together, with the same variety of speeches, interludes, disputations, and other academical expressions of a public joy. In one point, that of Oxford seemed to have the pre-eminence, all things being there both given and taken with so even an hand, that there could be no ground for any emulation, strife, or discord to ensue upon it. But in the midst of those contentments which she had at Cambridge were sown the

The Queen
visits Cam-
bridge.

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¹ Holinshed, iv. 226. Stow, 660. Camd. 91. Fuller, Ch. Hist. iv. 331-2.

A. N. REG. 6,
1564.

Discontent
of Cart-
wright.

seeds of those divisions and combustions with which the Church hath been continually distracted to this very day. For so it happened, that Mr Thomas Preston of King's College, and Mr Thomas Cartwright of Trinity College, were appointed for two of the opponents in a disputation; in which the first, by reason of his comely gesture, pleasing pronunciation, and graceful personage, was both liked and rewarded by her, the other receiving neither reward or commendation; which so incensed the proud man, too much opinionated of himself and his own abilities, that he retired unto Geneva, where, having thoroughly informed himself in all particulars, both of doctrine and discipline, wherein the Churches of that platform differed from the Church of England, he returned home with an intent to repair his credit, or rather to get himself a name, (as did Erostratus in the burning of Diana's temple) by raising such a fire, such combustions in her, as never were to be extinguished (like the fire of Taberah¹) but by the immediate hand of heaven².

Sampson
and others
refuse the
clerical ha-
bits.

4. The Genevians had already began to blow the coals, and brought fuel to them, but it was only for the burning of caps and rochets. The Common Prayer-Book was so fortified by Act of Parliament, that there was no assaulting of it without greater danger than they durst draw upon themselves. And as for the Episcopal Government, it was so interwoven and incorporated with the laws of the land, so twisted in with the prerogative of the Crown and the regal interest, that they must first be in a capacity of trampling on the laws and the Crown together, before they could attempt the destruction of it. But caps and tippets, rochets and lawn sleeves and canonical coats, seemed to be built upon no better foundation than superstitious custom, some old Popish canon, or at the best some temporary injunction of the Queen's devising, which could not have the power and effect of law. This game they had in chase in King Edward's time, which now they are resolved to follow both

¹ Numbers, xi. 1-3.

² Paule's Life of Whitgift, in Wordsw. Eccl. Biog. iii. 559. Fuller, Hist. of Cambridge, 196. copies the story from Paule, but says that Cartwright's friends denied the truth of it. The late biography of Cartwright by Mr B. Brook does not throw any real light on the subject.

with horn and hound, and hunt it to the very last : but as good huntsmen as they were, the came off with loss,—they that sped best in it being torn by the briers and bushes through which the fury of their passion carried them in pursuit of the sport. Amongst which, none sped worse than Sampson, because none had so much to lose in the prosecution ; for resting obstinate in refusing to wear that habit which of right belonged unto his place¹, he was deprived of that place, by the High Commissioners, to which the habit did belong. So eminent a preferment as the Deanery of Christ Church deserved a man of a better temper, and of a more exemplary conformity to the rules of the Church ; both which were found in Dr Thomas Godwin, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, advanced unto this Deanery first, and after to the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells² ; more fortunate in being father to Dr Francis Godwin, a late Bishop of Hereford, never to be forgotten for his Commentaries of the English Bishops, digested with such infinite pains, and no less ingenuity.

5. The obstinacy of these men in matter of ceremony prompted the Bishops to make trial of their orthodoxy in points of doctrine. The Articles of Religion, lately agreed upon in Convocation, had been subscribed by all the Clergy who had voted to them,—subscribed not only for themselves, but in the name of all those in the several dioceses and cathedral churches whom they represented. But the Bishops, not thinking that sufficient to secure the Church, required subscription of the rest in their several places, threatening no less than deprivation to such as wilfully refused and obstinately persisted in that refusal. Many there were who boggled at it³, but did it not so perversely, nor in such great numbers, as when their faction was grown strong and improved to multitudes. Some stumbled at it in regard of the first clause added to the

AN. REG. 6,
1564.

Difficulties
as to sub-
scribing the
Articles.

¹ “ In a letter to Secretary Cecil, Sampson said that at his ordination in 1549 he excepted against the apparel, and by the Archbishop and Bishop Ridley was nevertheless permitted and admitted.” Strype, Cranmer, ii. 130, ed. Eccl. Hist. (where the editor gives an account of Sampson). The fact was but little to the purpose, since the ordination took place while things were in an unsettled state. Comp. Gl. Ridley’s Life of Ridley, 302. For Sampson and Humphrey, see Strype, Ann. i. c. 43 ; Life of Parker, b. ii. c. 23 ; b. iii. c. 1.

² Godwin, 389. ³ Edd. 1, 2, “ who boggled at it, as they all did.”

AN. REG. 6,
1564.

twentieth Article, about the authority of the Church¹, others in reference to the thirty-sixth, touching the consecration of Archbishops and Bishops; some thought they attributed more authority to the Supreme Magistrate over all persons and causes, both ecclesiastical and civil, than could consist with that autocracy and independency which Calvin arrogated unto his presbyteries and other churches of that platform; and others looked upon the Homilies as beggarly rudiments, scarce milk for babes, but by no means to be served in for a stronger stomach. In general, thought by the Genevians and Zuinglian gospellers to have too much in them of the Pope, or too little of Calvin, and therefore not to be subscribed by any who desired the reputation of keeping a good conscience with faith unfeigned. Of which number none so much remarkable as Father John Fox, the martyrologist, who had before appeared in the schism at Franckfort, and left that church, (when Cox had got the better in it), to retire to Geneva². Being now called on to subscribe, that the opinion which was had of his parts and piety might advance the service, he is said to have appeared before the Bishop (but whether before the Archbishop or his own diocesan is not much material) with the New Testament in Greek, —“To this” (said he) “I will subscribe; and if this will not serve, take my prebend of Salisbury, the only preferment which I hold in the Church of England, and much good may it do you³.”

6. This refractory answer—(for it was no better)—might well have moved the Bishop to proceed against him, as he did against some others who had stood on the same refusal; but kissing goes by kindness, as the saying is, and so much kindness was shewed to him that he both kept his resolution and his place together; which whether it might not do more hurt to the Church than that preferment in the Church did advantage him, I think no wise man will make a question; for commonly the exemption or indemnity of some few particulars confirms the obstinacy of the rest, in hope of being privileged with the like indemnity. And therefore it was well observed by

¹ It is needless to say more here as to the history of this clause, than that it appeared in the first printed edition of the Articles, although omitted in many which followed. Lamb, *Hist. of the Articles*, 33. See Vol. i. p. xcii.; Heylyn, *Examen*, 143, seqq.; *Aër. Red.* 231-2, ed. 1672; Laurence, *Bampt. Lectures*, 236.

² Rather to Basel. Sup. 132.

³ Fuller, iv. 323-9.

Bishop Bancroft¹, when King James proposed the writing of a letter to the Bishop of Chester, for respiteing some ministers of his diocese from a present conformity, “That if this purpose should proceed, the copy of those letters would fly over the kingdom, and then others would make the same request for some friends of theirs, and so no fruit would follow of the present conference, but that all things would be worse than before they were.” But Queen Elizabeth was not drawn so easily to the like indulgences; for which she received her own just praises from the pen of an adversary, Harding by name, [who], in his Epistle Dedicatory prefixed before his Answer to the Bishop’s Apology, commends her “earnest zeal and travail, in bringing those disordered ministers into some order of decent apparel, which yet some of them wanted reason to apply themselves to².” And Sanders (who seldom speaks well of her) first informs his reader, “What bickerings there were in England about the rochet, and other vestments of the clergy; that many of the opposite party regarded not the Queen’s judgment in it, but sent for counsel and advice to Germany, France, Savoy, and Switzerland, but specially to Theodore Beza and Peter Martyr; but finally, that, notwithstanding the advice of the one and the addresses of the other, the Queen proceeded vigorously to the deprivation of all such persons as wilfully opposed her order made in that behalf³.”

7. It seems by this that our Genevians, for the greater countenancing of their inconformity, had stirred up the most eminent divines of the Gallie and Helvetian churches to declare in favour of their doings. And it appears also, by remembrances in some authors, that Calvin, apprehending some neglect from Mr Secretary Cecil, in making either no return, or a return which signified nothing, to his first addresses¹, had laid aside his care of the Church of England, for which he could expect no thanks from the Bishops, or had received so little

The Non-conformists correspond with foreign Reformers.

¹ At the Hampton-Court Conference. Cardwell, Conferences, 210-11.

² See p. 316.

³ P. 301. Sanders (Rishton), however, takes occasion to sneer at the assumption of “pontifical power.”

⁴ There is but one letter to Cecil in the collection of Calvin’s Epistles (p. 133, dated Jan. 29, 1559—sup. 335). He was told that the Queen was angry because he was supposed to have agreed with Knox and Goodman in their opinions as to female sovereignty. Zurich Letters, p. 76.

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1564.

from the great men of the Court. But Peter Martyr, while he lived, conceived himself to have some interest in this Church, in which he had enjoyed such a good preferment, but more in some particular persons and members of it, who seemed to depend upon his judgment, and to ask counsel of him as their surest oracle: in which, how much he countenanced that faction in King Edward's time both by his practice and his pen, and what encouragement he gave them in this present reign, hath been shewn before¹; how much outgone by Theodore Beza, who next usurped a superintendency over all the churches of this island, may be seen hereafter². All that shall now be said of either of them, or of all together, shall be briefly this,—that this poor Church might better have wanted³ their best helps in points of doctrine, than have been troubled with their intermeddlings in matter of discipline. More modestly than so dealt Bullinger and Gualter, two divines of Switzerland⁴ as eminent in all points of learning as the best amongst them; who, being solicited by some zealous brethren to signify their judgment in the present controversy about the apparel of the clergy, return an approbation of it, but send the same inclosed in several letters to Sandys, Horn, and Grindal, that they might see that neither of them would engage in the affairs of this Church, without the privity of the governors and rulers of it⁵.

The Queen's
Advertisements is-
sued.

8. To bring this quarrel to an end, or otherwise to render all opponents the more inexcusable, the Queen thought fit to make a further signification of her royal pleasure,—not grounded only on the sovereign power and prerogative royal, by which she published her Injunctions in the first year of her reign⁶, but legally declared by her Commissioners for Causes Eccle-

¹ Sup. i. 195; ii. 335. His death has been recorded, p. 387.

² On Beza's interference, see Aërius Rediv., where quotations from his letters are given, pp. 40—43, and Book vi.

³ Edd. "counted."

⁴ The Zurich Letters contain the correspondence with these divines. Comp. Strype, Ann. i. c. xlii.

⁵ Bullinger's Letter to Sampson, conveying the joint opinion of himself and Gualter, is in the Zurich Letters, p. 214; that to Bp. Horn, *ibid.* 224. The opinions of Martyr and Bucer, given in the matter of Hooper (*sup.* i. 191), were at this time published by order of the Queen's Commissioners. *Ibid.* 227. Comp. Strype, Ann. i. 491-2.

⁶ Sup. p. 293.

siastical, according to the Acts and Statutes made in that behalf¹; for then it was to be presumed, that such as had denied obedience to her sole commands, would at least give it to the laws. The Archbishop is thereupon required to consult together with such Bishops and Commissioners as were next at hand, upon the making of such rules and orders as they thought necessary for the peace of the Church, with reference to the present condition and estate thereof: which being accordingly performed, presented to the Queen, and by her approved, the said rules and orders were set forth and published in a certain book, entituled, “Advertisements, partly for due order in the public Administration of Common Prayers, and using the holy Sacraments; and partly for the apparel of all persons ecclesiastical, by the virtue of the Queen’s Majesty’s letters commanding the same, the 15th day of January²,” &c. And that they might be known to have the stamp of royal authority, a preface was prefixed before them, in which it was expressed, “That the Queen had called to her remembrance how necessary it was for the advancement of God’s glory, &c. for all her loving subjects of the state ecclesiastical³, not only to be knit together in the bonds of uniformity touching the ministration of God’s Word and Sacraments, but also to be of one decent behaviour of outward apparel, that by their⁴ distinct habits they might be known to be of that holy vocation, whereby the greater reverence might be given unto them in their several offices;” that thereupon she “had required the

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¹ Heylyn, it may be observed, speaks of the Advertisements as having the force of law,—considering that they fulfilled the conditions of the clause in the Act of Uniformity, which reserved to the Queen a power, with the advice of her commissioners or of the metropolitan, of “taking other order” as to dress, ceremonies, &c. from that which was prescribed in the Prayer-Book. And this was the view taken down to our author’s time; e. g. by Andrewes (Append. to Nicholls on the Common Prayer, 38), and by Sparrow (Rationale, 311, ed. Oxf. 1840). Many writers of a later date, however,—among whom are Gibson, Nicholls, Strype, Collier, Burn, and Dr Cardwell,—have supposed that the Queen’s sanction was withheld, and, consequently, that the Advertisements had not the authority of law. The older view is very fully and satisfactorily vindicated by Archdeacon Harrison, in his “Historical Inquiry into the Rubric.” Lond. 1845, pp. 80, seqq.

² Wilkins, iv. 247—250.

³ “especially the state ecclesiastical.”

⁴ “in their.”

AN. REG. 6, Metropolitan, by her special letters, that, upon conference had
 1564. with such other Bishops as were authorized by her Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical, some order might be took, whereby all diversities and varieties in the premises might be taken away;” and finally, that, in obedience unto her commands, the said Metropolitan and the rest there named had agreed upon “the rules and orders ensuing, which were by her thought meet to be used and followed.”

9. Now in these Articles or Advertisements, it was particularly enjoined amongst other things, “That all Archbishops and Bishops should continue their accustomed apparel; that all Deans of Cathedral Churches, Masters of Colleges, all Archdeacons and other dignitaries in Cathedral Churches, Doctors, Bachelors of Divinity and Law, having any ecclesiastical living, should wear in their common apparel abroad a side¹ gown with sleeves straight at the hand, without any cut in the same, and that also without any falling cape, and to wear tippets of sarsnet, as was lawful for them by Act of Parliament, 24 Henry VIII.²; that all Doctors of Physic or any other faculty having any living ecclesiastical, or any other that may depend by the Church 100 marks, so³ to be esteemed by the fruits or tenths of their promotions; or all Prebendaries, whose promotions are valued at 20*l.* and upward, do⁴ wear the like habit; that they, or all ecclesiastical persons, or other having any ecclesiastical living, do wear the cap appointed by the Injunctions, and no hats, but in their journeyings; that they in their journeys do wear the cloaks with sleeves put on, and like in fashion to their gowns, without gards, welts, or cuts; that in their private houses or studies they use their own liberty of comely apparel; that all inferior ecclesiastical persons shall wear long gowns of the fashion aforesaid, and caps as before is described; that all poor parsons, vicars, and curates, do endeavour themselves to conform their apparel in like sort, so soon and as conveniently as their abilities will serve for the same; provided that their ability be judged by the Bishop of the diocese; and if their ability will not suffer them to buy them long gowns, of the form afore⁵ prescribed, that then they shall wear their short gowns, as

¹ i. e. long.

² c. 13.—A statute against “excess of apparel.”

³ Edd. Heyl. “he.”

Edd. “to.”

⁵ Edd. Heyl. “aforesaid.”

before expressed; that all such persons as have been or be ecclesiastical, and serve not the ministry, or have not accepted, or shall refuse to accept, the Oath of Obedience to the Queen's Majesty, do from henceforth wear none of the said apparel, but to go as mere laymen, till they be reconciled to obedience; and who shall obstinately refuse to do the same, be presented by the Ordinary to the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, and by them to be reformed accordingly." But this belongs more properly to the year next following¹.

AN. REG. 6,
1564.

10. To return therefore where we left,—the next considerable action which followed on the Queen's reception at Cambridge, but more considerable in the consequents than in the act itself, was the preferring of Sir Robert Dudley, the second son then living to the Duke of Northumberland, to the titles of Lord Denbigh and Earl of Leicester; which honour she conferred on him on Michaelmas day², with all the pomps and ceremonies thereunto accustomed. She had before elected him into the Order of the Garter³, made him the Master of her Horse and Chancellor of the University of Oxon⁴; suffered him to carry a great sway in all affairs both of Court and Council, and given unto him the fair manor of Denbigh, being conceived to be one of the goodliest territories in England, as having more gentlemen of quality which owes suit and service thereunto than any other whatsoever in the hands of a subject. And now she adds unto these honours the goodly castle and manor of Kenilworth, part of the patrimony and possession of the Duchy of Lancaster. Advanced unto which height, he engrossed unto himself the disposing of all offices in Court and State, and of all preferments in the Church; proving in fine so unappeasable in his malice and unsatiable in his lusts, so sacrilegious in his rapines, so false in promises, and treacherous in point of trust, and finally so destructive of the rights and properties of particular persons, that his little finger lay far heavier on the English subjects than the loins of all the

Ascendancy
of Dudley,
Earl of Lei-
cester.

¹ The Advertisements do not appear to have been published until April 1566. Harrison, 123.

² Stow, 657.

³ "Primo regni anno...non sine omnium admiratione." Camd. 56, ed. 1615.

⁴ The Earl of Leicester was elected by the University, in preference to Archbishop Parker. Wood's Hist. and Antiq. ed. Gutch, ii. 100.

AN. REG. 6,
1564.

favourites of the two last kings. And that his monstrous vices (most insupportable in any other than himself) might either be connived at, or not complained of, he cloaks them with a seeming zeal to the true religion, and made himself the head of the Puritan faction, who spared no pains in setting forth his praises upon all occasions, making themselves the Tromperts to this Bragadocio¹. Nor was he wanting to caress them after such a manner as he found most agreeable to those holy hypocrites, using no other language in his speech and letters than pure Scripture phrase, in which he was become as dexterous as if he had received the same inspirations with the sacred penmen. Of whom I had not spoke so much, but that he seemed to have been born for the destruction of the Church of England, as may appear further in the prosecution of the Presbyterian or Puritan history, whensoever any able pen shall be exercised in it.

Obsequies of
the Emperor
Ferdinand.

11. But leaving this Court-meteor to be gazed on by unknowing men, let us attend the obsequies of the Emperor Ferdinand, who died on the [26th] of [July]² in the year now being, leaving the Empire and the rest of his dominions to Maximilian his eldest son, whom he had before made King of the Romans. A Prince he was who had deserved exceeding well of the Queen of England, and she resolved not to be wanting to the due acknowledgment of so great a merit. The afternoon of the second day of October and the forenoon of the third are set apart by her command for this great solemnity, for which there was erected in the upper part of the quire of the said Church a goodly herse, richly garnished and set forth, all the quire being hanged with black cloth, adorned with rich scuteheons of his arms of sundry sorts: at the solemnization of which funeral there were twelve mourners, and one that presented the Queen's person, which was the Marquess of Winchester, Lord Treasurer of England, the other twelve being two Earls, six Lords, and four Knights; the sacred part thereof performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London and Rochester; the funeral sermon being preached by the Bishop of London³, which tended much

¹ See Spenser, *Faëry Queen*, b. ii. canto 3.

² The dates of the day and month are left blank in the old editions.

³ Grindal. The sermon is printed in his *Remains*, ed. Park. Soc. 34.

unto the praise and commendation of that famous Emperor. By which solemnity, as she did no small honour to the dead, so she gave great contentment to the living also; the people being generally much delighted with such glorious pomps, and the Church of England thereby held in estimation with all foreign Princes.

AN. REG. 6,
1564.

12. Nothing else memorable in this year but the coming out of certain books, and the death of Calvin. Dorman, an English fugitive, first publisheth a book for proof of certain of the articles denied in Bishop Jewel's Challenge; encountered first by Alexander Nowel, Dean of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, who first appeared in print against those of Lovain, and is replied upon by Dorman, in a book entitled, "A Discovery of Mr Nowel's Untruths," not published till the year next following¹. But of more consequence to this Church was the death of Calvin², by whose authority so much disorder and confusion was to be brought upon it in the times succeeding;— a name much revered, not only by those of his own party and persuasions, but by many grave and moderate men, who did not look at first into the dangers which ensued upon it. His platform at Geneva made the only pattern by which all reformed Churches were to frame their government; his writings made the only rule by which all students in divinity were to square their judgment. What Peter Lombart was esteemed to be in the schools of Rome, the same was Calvin reckoned in all those Churches which were reformed according to the Zuinglian doctrine in the point of the Sacrament³.

Controversy
between
Dorman and
Nowell.

Death of Cal-
vin.

¹ Sup. 329.

² May 27, ann. æt. 55. Henry, *Leben Calvins*, iii. 592.

³ "Of what account the Master of Sentences was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed Churches Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were judged they which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings. His books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by. French Churches, both under others abroad and at home in their own country, all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The Church of Scotland, in erecting the fabric of their reformation, took the selfsame pattern. Till at length the discipline began now to challenge universal obedience," &c. (Hooker, *Pref. to Eccl. Polity*, ii. 8. Vol. i. p. 173, ed. Keble, 1836.) But it is incorrect and unjust to speak, as Heylyn does, of Calvin's doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist as identical with that

AN. REG. 6, But, *Hic Magister non tenetur*, as the saying was,—he was not
 1564. so esteemed in England, nor was there any reason why it should
 be so ; for, though some zealous brethren of the Presbyterian
 or Puritan faction appeared exceeding ambitious to wear his
 livery, and thought no name so honourable as that of Calvinist,
 yet the sounder members of the Church, the royal and pre- 169
 latical divines, as the others called them, conceived otherwise 341
 of him : and the right learned Adrian Saravia, though by birth
 a Dutchman¹, yet, being once preferred in the Church of Eng-
 land, he stomached nothing more than to be called Calvinian.

of Zwingli. See Moehler, *Symbolik*, 271—4, ed. Mainz, 1843 ; Hagen-
 bach's *Hist. of Doctrines*, transl. by Buch, ii. 296—304, Edinb. 1847 ;
 Henry, *Leben Calvins*, i. 137.

¹ He was a native of Artois, his father being a Spaniard. Keble, n.
 in Hooker, i. 94.

ANNO REGNI ELIZ. 7,

ANNO DOM. 1564, 1565.

1. **WE** shall begin this year with the concernments of the Kirk of Scotland, where Queen Elizabeth kept a stock still going, the returns whereof redounded more to her own security than to the profit and advantage of the Church of England. The Queen of Scots was young, possessed of that kingdom, and next heir to this; first married to the Daulphin of France, and sued to after his decease in behalf of Charles, the younger son of the Emperor Maximilian, as also of the Prince of Conde and the Duke of Bavaria. But Queen Elizabeth had found so much trouble and danger from her first alliance with the French, that she was against all marriage which might breed the like, or any way advance the power of that competitor; but on the contrary, she commended to her the Earl of Leicester, whom she pretended to have raised to those eminent honours, to make him in some sort capable of a Queen's affection¹. Which proposition proved agreeable to neither party,—the Queen of Scots disdaining that unequal offer, and Leicester dealing underhand with Randolph the English resident to keep her still in that averseness. He had foolishly given himself some hopes of marrying with Elizabeth, his own dread mistress, interpreting all her favours to him to proceed from affection, and was not willing that any proposition for that purpose with the Queen of Scots should be entertained. During these various thoughts on both sides, the English began to be divided in opinion concerning the next heir to the Crown Imperial of this realm. One Hales² had writ a discourse in favour of the house of Suffolk, but more particularly in defence of the late marriage between the Earl of Hartford and the Lady Katherine, for which he was apprehended and committed prisoner. The Romish party were at the same time sub-

Projects of
Marriage for
the Queen of
Scots.

¹ Camd. 34, ed. 1615.

² "Joannes Halesius, homo opinosissimus [opinosissimus?], sed eruditione multiplici." Camd. 73. He had been clerk of the Hauaper under Edward, and an exile in the reign of Mary. For the unfor-

AN. REG. 7, 1564. divided, some standing for the Queen of Scots as the next heir-apparent, though an alien born; others for Henry Lord Darnly, eldest son to the Earl of Lenox,—born in the realm, and lineally descended from the eldest daughter of King Henry the Seventh, from whom the Queen of Scots also did derive her claim.

2. The Queen of Scots also at the same time, grown jealous of the practices of the Lord James her bastard-brother, whom she had not long before made Earl of Murrey, and being overpowered by those of the Congregation, was at some loss within herself for finding a fit person, upon whose integrity she might depend in point of counsel, and on whose power she might rely in point of safety. After a long deliberation, nothing seemed more conducive to her ends and purposes than the recalling of Matthew Earl of Lenox to his native country, from whence he had been forced by the Hamiltonians in the time of King Henry¹. Being of great power in the West of Scotland, from the Kings whereof he was extracted, Henry conceived that some good use might be made of him for advancing the so much desired marriage between his only son Prince Edward and the infant Queen. The more to gain him to his side, he bestows upon him in marriage the Lady Margaret Dowglas², daughter of Queen Margaret his eldest sister, by Archibald Dowglas Earl of Angus, her second husband; of which marriage were born Henry Lord Darnly (of whom more anon) and Charles the second son (whom King James created Earl of Lenox) father of Arabella, before remembered³. And that they might support themselves in the nobler equipage, he bestows upon him also the manor of Setrington, with other good lands adjoining, in the county of York,—passing since by the name of Lenox his lands in the style of the people. In England he remained above twenty years, but kept himself constant in all changes to the Church of Rome⁴, which made

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fortunate consequences of his book, see Ellis, Orig. Letters, 2nd Ser. ii. 285. Leicester accused Lord Keeper Bacon of being concerned in it. Bacon denied the charge, and was “ægre et serius” restored to the Queen’s favour by Cecil. Camd. 91. See Strype, Ann. i. 453—6.

¹ Camden, 92.

² A. D. 1544. Herbert, 243. Tytler, Hist. Scot. iv. 305. See i. 241.

³ Sup. p. 335.

⁴ Mr Tytler shews, from a letter of Randolph to Cecil, written about this time, that the Countess of Lenox had exercised a powerful influence

him the more estimable both with his own Queen and the English Papists. Being returned into his country, he found the Queen so gracious to him, and such a handsome correspondence with the chief nobility, that he sends for his two sons to come thither to him, but leaves his wife behind in the Court of England, lest otherwise Queen Elizabeth might take some umbrage or displeasure at it, if they should all remove at once.

AN. REG. 7,
1564-5.

3. It was about the middle of February that the Lord Darnly came to the Court of Scotland; who, being not full twenty years old, of lovely person, sweet behaviour, and a most ingenuous disposition, exceedingly prevailed in short time on the Queen's affections. She had now met with such a man as might please her fancy, and more secure her title to the Crown of England than any of the great Kings in Europe. What then should hinder her from making up a marriage so agreeable to her, so acceptable to the Catholic party in both kingdoms, and which she thought withal of so safe a condition as could create no new jealousies in the breast of Elizabeth? But those of the Leicestrian faction conceived otherwise of it, and had drawn most of the Court and Council to conceive so too. For what could more secure the interest of the Queen of Scots, than to corroborate her own title with that of Darnly? from which two, what children soever should proceed, they would draw to them many hearts in the realm of England, who now stood fair and faithful to their natural Queen. In this great fear (but made much greater of set purpose to create some trouble) it was advised that the Queen should earnestly be intreated to think of marriage, to the end that the succession might be settled in her own posterity; that all Popish justices¹ (whereof there were many at that time) might be put out of commission, and

over the mind of Queen Mary of England—a fact not mentioned elsewhere. Hist. Scotl. vi. 306. For Elizabeth's equivocal behaviour in the matter of Knox's return to Scotland, see that volume, pp. 292, seqq.

¹ Camden, p. 96, says, that it was suggested that the *judges*,—“*judices regni, qui plerique omnes erant pontificii*,”—should be required to take the Oath of Supremacy. After the suppression of the northern rebellion, A. D. 1569, all justices were required to subscribe a profession of conformity to the national Church. Strype, Ann. i. 605, seqq.

AN. REG. 7, none admitted to that office but such as were sincerely affected to the reformed religion; that the old deprived Bishops, which for the most part lived at liberty, might be brought to a more close restraint, for fear of hardening some in their errors, and corrupting others with whom they had the freedom of conversation; that a greater power might be conferred upon the English Bishops, in the free exercise of their jurisdiction, for suppressing all such Popish books as were sent into England, depriving the English fugitives of all those benefices in this kingdom which hitherto they had retained: and all this to be done without incurring the danger of a *præmunire*, with which they were so often threatened by the common lawyers. It was advised also, that, for a counterpoise unto the title of the Queen of Scots, some countenance should be given to the house of Suffolk, by shewing favour to the Earl of Hartford and the Lady Katherine; and that, to keep the balance even with the Romish Catholics, some moderation should be used to such Protestant ministers—(you may be sure the Earl of Leicester had a hand in this)—as hitherto had been opposite in external matters to the rites and ceremonies of the Church here by law established¹.

She marries
the Lord
Darnley.

4. Nor was this marriage very pleasing to the Scots themselves. The chief lords of the Romish party, who faithfully had adhered to their natural Queen in all her former troubles, conceived that some of them might be as capable of the Queen's affections as a young gentleman born in England, and one that never had done any service which might ennoble and prefer him before all the rest. The ministers exclaimed against it in their common preaching, as if it were designed of purpose to destroy religion, and bring them under their old vassalage to the Church of Rome. The noblemen and others of the Congregation, who had sold themselves to Queen Elizabeth, were governed wholly by her counsels, and put themselves into a posture of arms to disturb the match. The Edinburghers do the like, but are quickly scattered and forced to submit themselves to their Queen's good pleasure², who was so bent upon her marriage with this young nobleman that neither threatenings nor persuasions could divert her from it. And that he might appear in some capacity fit for the marriage of a Queen,

¹ Camd. 96.

² Spottiswoode, 190.

she first confers upon him the order of knighthood, and afterwards creates him Baron of Ardamanack¹, Earl of Rosse, and Duke of Rothsay, which are the ordinary titles of the eldest and second sons of Scotland. In May she had convened the Estates of Scotland, to whom she communicated her intention, with the reasons of it; which by the greatest part of the assembly seemed to be allowed of, none but the Lord Ochiltreie opposing what the rest approved². About the middle of July the marriage rites were celebrated in the Royal Chapel by the Dean of Restalrig, and the next day the new Duke was proclaimed King by sound of trumpet, and declared to be associated with the Queen in the public government³. The news whereof being brought unto Queen Elizabeth, she seemed more offended than indeed she was. For well she knew, that both the new King and the Earl his father were men of plain and open natures, not apt to entertain any dangerous counsels to the disturbance of her quiet; that as long as she retained the Countess with her,—(who was the mother of the one, and the wife of the other)—they seemed to stand bound to their good behaviour, and durst act nothing to the prejudice of so dear a pledge; that⁴ by the precipitation of this marriage, the Queen of Scots had neither fortified herself in the love of her people, nor in alliances abroad; and that it could not otherwise be, but some new troubles must break out in Scotland upon this occasion, by which it would be made uncomfortable and inglorious to her⁵. And so it proved in the event; for never was marriage more calamitous to the parties themselves, or more dishonourable to that nation, or finally more scandalous to both religions; in nothing fortunate but in the birth of James the Sixth, born in the palace of Edenborough on the 19th of July, anno 1566, solemnly crowned King of the Scots on the same day of the month, anno 1567, and joyfully received to the Crown of England, on the 14th of March, anno 1602⁶.

AN. REG. 7,
1565.

¹ Ardmanoch. Spottiswoode, 189.

² "Plainly professing that he would never consent to acknowledge a king of the popish religion." Ibid. Knox married the daughter of this lord as his second wife, A. D. 1564. M^cCrie, ii. 109, ed. 2.

³ Spottisw. 191.

⁴ Edd. "but."

⁵ Camden, 97.

⁶ These dates are all erroneous. James was born on the 19th of June, was crowned at Stirling on the 29th of July, and succeeded to the English crown by the death of Elizabeth on the 24th of March, 1602-3.

AN. REG. 7,
1565.

The Margra-
vine of
Baden visits
England.

5. In greater glory and felicity reigned the Queen of England, whose praise, resounding in all kingdoms of the North and West, invited Cæcille, sister to the King of Sweden, and wife of Christopher, Marquess of Baden, to undertake a tedious journey both by land and sea from the furthest places of the North, to see the splendour of her Court, and observe the prudence of her government. Landing at Dover in the beginning of September, they were there received by the Lord Cobham, with a goodly train of knights and gentlemen; at Canterbury by the Lady Cobham, with the like honourable train of ladies and gentlewomen; at Gravesend by the Lord Hunsdon, with the band of Pensioners; at London, on the 11th of September, by the Earl of Sussex and his Countess, who waited on them to the lodging appointed for them. Scarce had she rested there four days, when she fell into a new travel¹, of which she was happily delivered by the birth of a son; whom the Queen christened in her own person, by the name of Edwardus Fortunatus, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk being sureties with her at the font². She called him Edward, with relation to the king her brother, whose memory she dearly loved; and Fortunatus, in regard that he came so luckily into the world, when his mother, after a most painful pilgrimage, was safely come to pay her devotions at that shrine which she so much honoured. Having remained here till the April following, they were dismissed with many rich presents, and an annual pension from the Queen; conducted honourably by the Lord Aburgavenny to the port of Dover, and there shipped for Calais—filling all places in the way betwixt that and Baden with the report of the magnificence of their entertainment in the Court of England. And that the glories of their entertainment might appear the greater, it happened that Rambouillet, a French Ambassador, came hither at that time upon two solemnities;—that is to say, to be installed Knight of the Garter in the place and person of that King, and to present the Order of St Michael (the principal Order of that kingdom) to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Leicester³. The

¹ Sic edd.

² Stow, 659. Camden, 100.

³ Stow, 659. Camden states that Charles IX. requested the Queen to name two noblemen for admission: that she made choice of the Duke

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one performed with the accustomed pomps and ceremonies in the Chapel of St George at Windsor, the other with like state and splendour in the Royal Chapel at Whitehall. Such a well-tempered piety did at that time appear in the devotions of the Church of England, that generally the English papists and the Embassadors of foreign princes still resorted to them.

AN. REG. 7,
1565.

6. But true it is, that at that time some zealots of the Church of Rome had begun to slacken their attendance, not out of any new dislike which they took at the service, but in regard of a decree set forth in the Council of Trent, prohibiting all resort to the churches of heretics. Which notwithstanding, the far greater part continued in their first obedience, till the coming over of that roaring bull from Pope Pius the Fifth¹, by which the Queen was excommunicated, the subjects discharged from their obedience to the laws, and the going or not going to the church made a sign distinctive to difference a Roman Catholic from an English Protestant. And it is possible enough that they might have stood much longer to their first conformity, if the discords brought into the Church by the Zuinglian faction, together with their many innovations both in doctrine and discipline, had not afforded them some further ground for the desertion. For in this year it was that the Zuinglian or Calvinian faction began to be first known by the name of Puritans, if Genebrard, Gualter, and Spondanus (being all of them right good chronologers) be not mistaken in the time². Which name hath ever since been appropriate to them, because of their pretending to a greater purity in the service of God than was held forth unto them (as they gave it out) in the Common Prayer Book; and to a greater opposition to the rites and usages of the Church of Rome than was agreeable to the constitution of the Church of England. But this purity was

Rise of the
name of Pu-
ritans.

of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester,—“hunc ut charissimum, illum ut longe nobilissimum.” 102. But according to a letter of Cecil, printed by Ellis, 2nd Ser. ii. 292, the French king named Leicester, and desired Elizabeth to name the other who should receive the Order.

¹ A. D. 1570. Camd. 179. Wilkins, iv. 260.

² Genebr. Chronographia, Lugd. 1609, p. 749, quoting Sanders De Monarchia Ecclesiastica, v. 4; Spondan. Annal. v. 677, ed. Paris, 1659. I have not observed any notice of the subject in Gualter's Chronology.

AN. REG. 7, accompanied with such irreverence, this opposition drew along with it so much licentiousness, as gave great scandal and offence to all sober men; so that it was high time for those which had the care of the Church to look narrowly unto them, to give a check to those disorders and confusions which by their practices and their preachings they had brought into it, and thereby laid the ground of that woeful schism which soon after followed. And for a check to those disorders, they published the Advertisement[s] before remembered¹, subscribed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Rochester, and other of her Majesty's Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, according to the Statute made in that behalf.

Protestation
exacted of
the Clergy.

7. This was the only present remedy which could then be thought of. And to prevent the like confusions for the time to come, a Protestation² was devised, to be taken by all parsons, vicars, and curates in their several stations, by which they were required to declare and promise, "That they would not preach, nor publicly interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority, without special license of the Bishop under his seal; that they would read the service plainly, distinctly, and audibly, that all the people might hear and understand; that they would keep the register book according to the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions; that they would use sobriety in apparel, and especially in the Church at Common Prayers, according to order appointed; that they would move the parishioners to quiet and concord, and not give them cause of offence; and help to reconcile them that be at variance, to their utmost power; that they would read daily at the least one chapter of the Old Testament, and another of the New, with good advisement, to the increase of their knowledge; that they would in their own persons use and exercise their office and place to the honour of God and the quiet of the Queen's subjects within their charge, in truth, concord and unity; as also observe, keep, and maintain such order and uniformity in all external policy, rites and ceremonies of the Church, as by the laws, good usages and

¹ Sup. p. 408.

² Published at the end of the Advertisements. Wilkins, iv. 250.

orders, are already well provided and established ;” and finally, ^{AN. REG. 7,}
“ that they would not openly meddle with any artificers’ occupa- ^{1565.}—————
173 tions, as covetously to seek a gain thereby, having in ecclesias-
345 tical livings twenty nobles or above by the year.” Which pro-
testation, if it either had been generally pressed upon all the
clergy (as perhaps it was not), or better kept by them that took
it, the Church might questionless have been saved from those
distractions which by the Puritan innovators were occasioned
in it.

AN. REG. 8,
1565-6.

ANNO REG. ELIZ. 8,

ANNO DOM. 1565, 1566.

Suit between
Bishops
Horn and
Bonner.

1. **T**HUS have we seen the public Liturgy confirmed in Parliament, with divers penalties on all those who either did reproach it, or neglect to use it, or wilfully withdrew their attendance from it; the doctrine of the Church declared in the Book of Articles, agreed upon in Convocation, and ratified in due form of law by the Queen's authority; external matters, in officiating God's public service and the apparel of the Clergy, regulated and reduced to their first condition, by the books of Orders and Advertisements. Nothing remaineth but that we settle the episcopal government, and then it will be time to conclude this History. And for the settling of this government by as good authority as could be given unto it by the laws of the land, we are beholden to the obstinacy of Dr Edward Bonner, the late great slaughter-man of London¹. By a Statute made in the last Parliament, for keeping her Majesty's subjects in their due obedience, a power was given unto the Bishops to tender and receive the Oath of Supremacy of all manner of persons dwelling and residing in their several dioceses². Bonner was then prisoner in the Clink or Marshalsea, which being in the Borough of Southwark, brought him within the jurisdiction of Horn, Bishop of Winchester, by whose Chancellor the oath was tendered to him. On the refusal of which oath he is indicted at the King's Bench upon the Statute; to which he appeared in some term of the year foregoing, and desires that counsel be assigned to plead his cause, according to the course of the court. The court assigns him no worse men than Christopher Wray, afterwards Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; that famous lawyer Edmond Ploydon³, whose learned Commentaries do sufficiently set forth his great abilities in that profession; and one Mr Lovelace, of whom we find nothing but the name.

¹ Fuller, iv. 335—8. Strype, Ann. i. 378.

² 5 Eliz. c. 1. Sup. p. 339.

³ Or Plowden. This learned lawyer was himself a Romanist.

2. By them and their advice the whole pleading chiefly is reduced to these two heads,—(to omit the niceties and punctilios of lesser moment);—the first whereof was this,—That Bonner was not at all named in the indictment by the style and title of Bishop of London, but only by the name Dr Edmond Bonner, clerk, Dr of the Laws, whereas at that time he was legally and actually Bishop of London, and therefore the writ to be abated, (as our lawyers phrase it) and the cause to be dismissed out of the court. But Ploydon found here that the case was altered, and that this plea could neither be allowed by Catiline, who was then Chief Justice, nor by any other of the bench, and therefore it is noted by Chief Justice Dyer, who reports the case, with a *non allocatur*¹. The second principal plea was this,—That Horn, at the time when the oath was tendered, was not Bishop of Winchester, and therefore not empowered by the said Statute to make tender of it, by himself or his Chancellor. And for the proof of this, that he was no Bishop, it was alleged, that the form of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, which had been ratified by Parliament in the time of King Edward, had been repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, and so remained at Horn's pretended consecration. The cause, being put off from term to term, comes at the last to be debated amongst the Judges at Serjeants' Inn; by whom the cause was finally put upon the issue, and the trial of that issue ordered to be committed to a jury of the county of Surrey. But then withal it was advised, that the decision of the point should rather be referred to the following Parliament, for fear that such a weighty matter might miscarry by a country² jury, of whose either partiality [or] insufficiency there had been some proof made before, touching the grants made by King Edward's Bishops; of which a great many were made under this³ pretence, that the granters were not actually Bishops, nor legally possessed of their several Sees.

3. According to this sound advice, the business comes under consideration in the following Parliament, which began on the 30th of September; where, all particulars being fully and considerably discoursed upon, it was first declared, That their not restoring of that book to the former power in terms significant and express, was but *Causus omissus*; and secondly,

¹ Dyer's Reports, 234; Bramhall, iii. 79.

² Edd. 1, 2, "contrary."

³ Edd. 1, 2, "his."

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That by the Statute 5th and 6th Edward Sixth¹, it had been added to the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, as a member of it, or at least an appendant to it; and therefore by 1 Eliz. was restored again, together with the said Book of Common Prayer,—intentionally at the least, if not *in terminis*. But, being the words in the said Statute were not clear enough to remove all doubts, they did therefore revive it now; and did accordingly enact, that “all persons that had been, or should 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 book, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers and Deacons, rightly made, consecrate, and ordered, any statute, law, canon, or other² thing to the contrary notwithstanding³.” Nothing else done in this Parliament which concerned the Church, nor anything at all in the Convocation, by which it was of course accompanied, more than the granting of a subsidy of six shillings in the pound out of all their benefices and promotions. And as for Bonner, who was the other party to the cause in question, it was determined that neither he nor any other person or persons should be impeached or molested in regard of any refusal of the said oath heretofore made, and hereafter to be made before the end of that Parliament⁴. Which favour was indulged unto them of the laity, in hope of gaining them by fair means to a sense of their duty; to Bonner and the rest of the Bishops, as men that had sufficiently suffered upon that account, by the loss of their Bishopricks.

Rastell’s
counter-chal-
lenge to
Jewel.

4. By this last Act the Church is strongly settled on her natural pillars of doctrine, government, and worship,—not otherwise to have been shaken, than by the blind zeal of all such furious Sampsons⁵ as were resolved to pull it on their own

¹ Sup. i. 173.

² Edd. Heyl. “any.”

³ 8 Eliz. c. 1.

⁴ These words do not really apply to the refusal, but to the Bishop’s certificate of it. “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.” Gibson, 142.

⁵ Perhaps there is a reference to the puritan of this name. Sup. p. 404.

heads, rather than suffer it to stand in so much glory. And here it will be time to conclude this history, having taken a brief view of the state of the Church, with all the aberrations from its first constitution, as it stood at this time, when the Puritan faction had began to disturb her order; and that it may be done with a greater certainty, I shall speak it in the words of one who lived and writ his knowledge of it at this time,—I mean John Rastel, in his answer to the Bishop's Challenge. Who though he were a Papist, and a fugitive priest, yet I conceive that he hath faithfully delivered too¹ many sad truths in these particulars. Three books he writ within the compass of three years now last past against Bishop Jewel², in one of which he makes this address unto him, viz.

“AND though you, Mr. Jewel, (as I have heard say), do take the bread into your hands when you celebrate solemnly, yet thousands there are of your inferior ministers whose death it is

¹ Edd. 1, 2, “to.”

² The editor has been furnished, by the kindness of his friend the Rev. Charles Rew, Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, with a transcript of Rastell's Challenge, extracted from a pamphlet printed at Antwerp, 1565, (Bodleian Library)—“A copie of a Challenge, taken out of the Confutation of Mr Juell's sermon, made by John Rastell.” The text has been corrected by this, in so far as the quotations are taken from the *Challenge*; and the references to the heads of it are inserted between brackets. The Challenge is in form a parody on Jewel's.—“If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic Doctor or Father, or out of any General Council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved that...I promise that I will give over and subscribe unto him in that point.” But it will be observed how different the topics are in character from those selected by the Bishop (sup. pp. 347-9). Some points apply as much to the Roman system as to that of the Reformed Church; some might be easily answered by the reference to antiquity which Rastell demands; some relate to small and indifferent matters of detail; some to defects and disorders existing in a Church, which, from the difficulties of the time, was as yet imperfectly settled—and these were expressly contrary to the mind of the Church, and to the letter of its laws); some refer to private extravaganees and scandals, in no way chargeable on the system, and very probably either invented or exaggerated by the malice of the writer and his party. As a reply to Jewel, the Counter-challenge is of no force; but it has now a *historical* value, and for this it was that Heylyn quoted it.

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to be bound to any such external fashion ; and your order of celebrating the Communion is so unadvisedly conceived, that every man is left unto his private rule or canon, whether he will take the bread into his hands, or let it stand at the end of the table, the bread and wine being laid upon the table, where it pleases the sexton or parish-clerk to set them, p. 28.

“ In the primitive Church altars were allowed amongst Christians, upon which they offered the unbloody sacrifice of Christ’s body ; yet your company, to declare what followers they are of antiquity, do account it even among one of the kinds of idolatry, if one keep an altar standing. And indeed you follow a certain antiquity, not of the Catholics, but of desperate heretics—Optatus writing of the Donatists, that they did break, raze, and remove the altars of God upon which they offered, p. 34 and 165¹. 175
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“ Where singing is used, what shall we say to the case of the people that kneel in the body of the Church? yea, let them hearken at the chancel-door itself, they shall not be much wiser. Besides, how will you provide for great parishes where a thousand people are, &c.? p. 50.

“ Then to come to the Apostles—where did you ever read that in their external behaviour they did wear frocks or gowns, or four-cornered caps? or that a company of lay-men-servants did follow them, all in one livery? or that at their prayers they sate in sides, or lay on the ground, or fell prostrate, or sung *Te Deum*, or looked toward the South²? or did wear copes of tissue or velvet?” with a thousand more such questions, p. 446.

“ Whereas the Church of God, so well ordered with excellent men of learning and godliness, is constrained to suffer cobblers, weavers, tinkers, tanners, cardmakers, tapsters, fiddlers, jailors, and other of like profession, not only to enter into disputing with her, but also to climb up into pulpits, and to keep the place of priests and ministers, &c., p. 2 . . . [§ 4.] Or that any

¹ The latter of these references is to § 40 of the Challenge,—“ Or that they were not heretics which threw down altars erected unto Christ.”

² This is probably an allusion to the order of the Second and later Prayer-Books, that at the celebration of the holy Communion the priest should “ stand at the north side of the Table,” whereas the Book of 1549 directed that he should be “ standing humbly afore the midst of the Altar.” Edw. VI.’s Liturgies, ed. Park. Soc. 77, 265.

bagpipers, horsecourers, jailors, or ale-basters¹, were admitted then into the Clergy, without good and long trial of their conversation? p. 162. AN. REG. 8,
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[§ 3] “Or that any Bishop then did swear by his honour, when in his visitation abroad in the country he would warrant his promise to some poor prisoner priest under him; [§ 6] or, not satisfied with the prisoning of his adversaries², did cry out, and call upon the Princes³, not disposed that way, to put them to most cruel deaths; [§ 5] or refused to wear a white rochet, or to be distinguished from the laity by some honest priestly⁴ apparel, p. 162; [§ 17] or gathered a benevolence of his clergy, [to marry his daughter to a gentleman or merchant, or] to set him up in his household? p. 163.

[§ 7] “Or that the communion-table (if any then were) was removeable up and down, hither and thither, and brought at any time to the lower parts of the Church, there to execute the Lord’s Supper; [§ 8] or that any Communion was said on Good-Friday⁵; [§ 10] or that the Sacrament was ministered then sometimes in loaf bread, sometimes in wafers, and those rather without the name of Jesus or the sign of the Cross, than with it⁶; [§ 12] or that at the Communion time the Minister should wear a cope, and at all other service a surplice only; or, as at some places it is used, nothing at all besides his common apparel; [§ 14] or that they used a common and profane cup at the Communion, and not a consecrated and hallowed vessel? p. 162, 163.

[§ 15] “Or that a solemn curse should be used on Ash-Wednesday; [§ 16] or that a procession about the fields was used in the Rogation-week⁷, rather thereby to know the bounds and

¹ See edd. 1, 2, “ale-tasters;” ed. 3, “alebastars,” Rastell.

² Edd. Heyl. “adversary.”

³ Edd. Heyl. “Prince.”

⁴ Edd. Heyl. “priests.” This article seems to be an allusion to the case of Hooper, Vol. i. p. 192.

⁵ On this point the Challenge might have been readily met. See Martène De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, iii. 130, ed. Venet. 1783; How shall we conform to the Liturgy? 233.

⁶ That common bread was used in the Eucharist, see Bingham, Antiq. xv. ii. 5. Works, i. 737, ed. 1726.

⁷ This representation is not warranted either by the Homilies for the Rogation-days, or by the Injunction of 1559, which ordered “That the curates in their said common perambulations, used heretofore in the days of Rogations, at certain convenient places shall admonish the people to

AN. REG. 8, borders of every parish, than to move God to mercy, and stir¹
 1566. men's hearts to devotion; [§ 18] or that the man should put
 the wedding ring upon the fourth finger of the left hand of
 the woman², and not on the right, as hath been many hun-
 dred years continued? p. 163³.

[§ 24] "Or that the residue of the Sacrament unreceived was
 taken of the priest or of the parish-clerk, to spread their young
 children's butter thereupon, or to serve their own tooth with it
 at their homely table; [§ 26] or that it was lawful then to
 have but one Communion in one Church in one day, p. 164;
 [§ 35] or that the Lent or Friday was to be fasted for civil
 policy, not for any devotion⁴, p. 165; [§ 44] or that the lay-
 people communicating did take the cup at one another's hands,
 and not at the Priest's [or the Deacon's]? p. 166.

[§ 28] "Or that any Bishop then threw down the images of
 Christ and his Saints, and set up their own, their wives⁵, and
 their children's pictures in their [open] chambers and parlours⁵,
 p. 164; [§ 31] or that [a Bishop], being a virgin at the taking

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 ciii. Psalm,"—as well as that "the same minister shall inculcate these
 or such sentences,—'Cursed be he which translateth the bounds and doles
 of his neighbour,'" &c. Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 187-8. See "How shall
 we conform," &c. 59.

¹ Edd. Heyl. "shew."

² Edd. Heyl. "women."

³ The Greek Church directs that the ring be put on the right hand
 (Schmid, Liturgik. iii. 352, Passau 1842); and such may have been for-
 merly the practice in England, although the direction of the Sarum
 Manual (Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, ii. 213, ed. 2) is by no means clear.
 But the practice of the Roman communion in general agrees with that of
 the reformed Church of England (Schmid, iii. 350—2.). Martène quotes
 from an ancient MS. Pontifical an order that the bridegroom shall place
 the ring on three fingers of the right hand successively, and then on one
 finger of the left, "et ibi relinquat, ut eum deinceps in sinistra [sponsa]
 ferat, ad differentiam gradus episcopalis, ubi annulus in signaculum inte-
 græ et plenæ castitatis in dextera manu publice est portandus." De
 Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, ii. 128.

⁴ This refers to the Act 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 19 (Vol. i. p. 144), and to
 the Homily on Fasting.

⁵ Another point as to images is,—“Or that images were then cut,
 hewed, mangled, and reviled, though it were answered that they are not
 holden for gods and saints, but kept only for memorial sake of Christ
 himself, or any of his faithful.” § 27.

of his office, did afterwards yet commendably take a wife [so AN. REG.S,
1566. to call an harlot] unto him, p. 165; [§ 41] or that [any Bishop] was married on Ash-Wednesday; or that preached it to be all one to pray on a dunghill and in a Church¹; [§ 68] or that any friar of sixty years, obtaining afterwards the room of a Bishop, married a young woman of nineteen years, &c. ?" p. 166².

¹ This article (which may remind us of what is said Vol. i. p. 198). does not appear in the copy furnished to the editor.

² Some further extracts may be here added:—

“§ 1. That there was any dry communion in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ.

§ 2. Or that there should be no celebration of the Lord his Supper, except there be a good number to communicate with the Priest, that is, four or three persons at the least, though the whole parish have but twenty of discretion in it.

§ 11. Or that *Quicumque vult* and Creed of Athanasius was appointed to be sung only upon high days and principal feasts.

§ 13. Or that the words of St Paul, 1 Cor. xi. should be ordinarily read at the time of consecration.

§ 19. Or that any man then did read it in open schools, or preach it out of pulpits, or set it forth in print, that St Peter was never at Rome.

§ 20. Or that in the time of contagious plagues, when, for fear of the infection, none will communicate with the sick person, the minister might alone communicate with him without breach of Christ his institution; and that the decree (of no communion to be made without three at least) should in such cases be forgotten.

§ 21. Or that the people then were called together to Morning Prayer by ringing of a bell.

§ 22. That the Bishop of Rome was called Antichrist within the first vjē [six hundred] years after Christ

§ 23. Or that the people was then taught to believe that the force and strength of their faith made Christ his body present to them in the Sacraments, and not any virtue of words and consecration.

§ 25. Or that whoso had said, in the Sacrament is the true and real body of Christ, and not a figurative body only, or mystical, should be therefore judged a Papist, and brought up before the high Commissioners.

§ 29. Or that our Saviour in his last Supper delivered his body to many more than his twelve Apostles.

§ 30. Or that Judas Machabæus, in causing sacrifice to be offered for the dead, added in that point unto the Law, and offended God, and is no more to be followed in that doing than Loth and David in their incest and adultery.

§ 32. Or that after the first wife's death, which he had before holy orders received, any priest took a second and third unto him, &c.

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1566.
Conclusion.

5. Thus have we seen the Church established on a sure foundation : the doctrine built upon the Prophets and Apostles, according to the explication of the ancient Fathers ; the government truly apostolical, and (in all essential parts thereof) of Divine institution ; the Liturgy an extract of the primitive forms ; the ceremonies few, but necessary, and such as tended only to the preservation of decency and increase of piety. And we have seen the first essays of the Puritan faction,—beginning low, at caps and surplices and episcopal habits ; but aiming at the highest points—the alteration of the Government both in Church and State, the adulterating of the doctrine, and the subversion of the Liturgy and form of worship, here by law established¹. But the discovery of those dangerous doctrines, and those secret plots and open practices, by which they did not only break down the roof and walls of this goodly building,

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§ 34. Or that it was at those days the right way to knowledge, every man to read by himself the Scriptures, and neglect all kind of tradition.”

[§ 36-7-8, relate to the ceremonies used at Christmas, Candlemas, St John Baptist's day, and Michaelmas.]

“§ 39. Or that they should use the sign of the Cross in Baptism only, and not at the consecrating of Christ his Body.

§ 42. Or that any Goodman [see above, p. 120] then did write that the government of women was monstrous.

§ 43. Or that *Est* in these words, *Hoc est Corpus meum*, is to be taken for *significat*.

§ 45. Or that there was any controversy then in Religion, which being decided by the Bishop of Rome, the contrary part was not taken for Heresy, and the maintainers of it accounted Heretics.

§ 46. Or that any then was put in the Calendar for a Martyr, which was hanged by just judgment, not for any cause and matter of faith, but for evident and wicked felony*.

§ 47. Or that any ecclesiastical persons were deprived then of their benefices, or excommunicated out of Church and Living, for that they refused to swear against the authority of the Bishop of Rome ; or that any such oath was used to be put unto any man at that time.

§ 50. Or that any but Heretics refused to subscribe to a General and Lawful Council, gathered and confirmed by the Bishop of Rome his authority.”

¹ The remaining part of this paragraph, and the “Advertisement” which follows, are not in the first or second edition.

* Perhaps this refers to the insertion of the *beheading* of Protector Somerset (Jan. 22) among the memorable events recorded at the bottom of the page in the Calendar. See Clay, Liturg. Eliz. (Park. Soc.) 444.

but digged up the foundation of it, will better fall within the compass of a Presbyterian or Aërian History; for carrying on of whose designs since the days of Calvin, they have most miserably embroiled all the estates and kingdoms of these parts of Christendom—the realms and churches of Great Britain more than all the rest. Let it suffice for the present, if I have set the Church on its proper bottom, and shewed her to the world in her primitive lustre, that we may see how strangely she hath been unsettled, how monstrously disfigured by unquiet men, whose interest is as incompatible with the rights of monarchy as with distinction of apparel, the government of Bishops, all set forms of prayer, and whatsoever else¹ they contend against; and therefore I will here conclude my History of the Reformation, as not being willing to look further into those disturbances, the lamentable effects of which we feel to this very day.

¹ Ed. "also."

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THE reader is to be informed of a mistake occurring in *fol.* 120¹, where it is said that no care had been taken for translating the English Liturgy into the Irish tongue for the use of that Church, from that day to this; whereas it hath been since translated into that language, and recommended to the people for God's public service, though not so generally made use of as it ought to be: neither the Bible² nor the Book of Homilies being yet translated, which makes the Liturgy imperfect, and the whole service of the Church defective in the main parts of it. The reader also is to know, that since these sheets were upon the press, the Lord Marquess of Hartford, mentioned folio 5,³ was made Duke of Somerset⁴, and Doctor William Juxon, Bishop of London, mentioned folio 254,⁵ is preferred to Canterbury.

¹ Vol. i. p. 260. (The reference to the old edition ought to have been p. 122.)

² The translation of the New Testament into Irish has been mentioned, i. 160, note 2. The first attempt at translating the Old Testament was made under the superintendence of Bp. Bedel. It was completed, and arrangements had been made for printing it, when the breaking out of the Rebellion put a stop to the undertaking. *Mant.* i. 463.

³ Vol. i. p. 3.

⁴ The Duke died Oct. 24, 1660—four days after the date of Heylyn's Preface, vol. i. p. xvi.

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 229.

AN
APPENDIX

TO THE FORMER

BOOK:

CONTAINING,

The Articles of Religion agreed upon in Convocation Anno 1562. compared with those which had been made and published in the Reign of King Edward the 6th. Anno 1552¹.

¹ The old Title of the Appendix promises in addition “2. Notes on the former Articles, concerning the particulars in which they differed, and the reasons of it.” But, as is stated in the following page, the idea of appending Notes was abandoned by the Author.

A Preface to the following ARTICLES.

THE Lutherans having published that famous Confession of their Faith which takes name from Ausberge, at which city it was tendered to the consideration of Charles the Fifth, and the Estates of the Empire there assembled, anno 1530, in tract of time all other Protestant and Reformed Churches followed that example; and this they did, partly to have a constant rule amongst themselves, by which all private persons were to frame their judgments, and partly to declare that consent and harmony which was betwixt them and the rest of those National Churches which had made an open separation from the Popes of Rome. Upon which grounds the Prelates of the Church of England, having concurred with the godly desires of King Edward the Sixth, for framing one uniform order to be used in God's public worship, and publishing certain pious and profitable sermons in the English tongue for the instruction of the people, found a necessity of holding forth some public rule, to testify as well their orthodoxy in some points of doctrine, as their abhorrencey from the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and the extravagancies of the Anabaptists and other sectaries. This gave the first occasion to the Articles of Religion published in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, anno 1552, as also of the review thereof by the Bishops and Clergy assembled in their Convocation under Queen Elizabeth, anno 1562. Which, being compared with one another, will appear most plainly neither to be altogether the same, nor yet much different,—the later being rather an explication of the former, where the former seemed to be obscure, or not expressed in such full and significant terms as they after were, than differing from them in such points wherein they dissented from the Romanists and some modern heretics. But what these differences were, both for weight and number, the reader may observe by seeing the Articles laid before him in their several columns, (as hereafter followeth); wherein the variations are presented in a different character, or otherwise marked out by their several figures in the line and margin: which was first done with reference to some annotations intended once upon the same, for shewing the reason of those additions, subtractions, and other alterations which were thought necessary to be made to and in King Edward's Book by the Bishops and Clergy in their Convocation, anno 1562. But that design being laid aside, as not so compatible with the nature of our present History, the Articles shall be laid down plainly as they are in themselves, leaving the further consideration of the differences which occur between them to the reader's care.

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51 Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned men (1) In the Convocation held at London, in the year 1552, for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and stablishing consent touching true Religion :

Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Proviaces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the year 1562, for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinious, and stablishing consent touching true Religion :

Published by the King's Authority*.

Published by the Queen's Authority†.

I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there are three Persons, [of] one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II.

The Word of God made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the (2) Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man; who truly

I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

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II.

Of the Word or Son of God which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, *begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father,* (2) took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, &c.

* The copy here given appears to be a translation of the Latin book of 1552, made by the help of the English Articles of 1562, but altogether independent of the English book of 1552, (which is reprinted in Cardwell's Synodalia, pp. 18—33). The more considerable differences are noticed in the notes.

† These Articles agree rather with the later copies (from 1571) than with that published at the time when they were composed, (for which see Cardwell, 53—70).

(1552).

suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into hell: (3) *For his body lay in the grave till his resurrection, but his soul, being separate from his body, remained with the spirits which were detained in prison, that is to say, in hell, and there preached unto them, as witnesseth that place of Peter.*

IV.

The Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth till he return to judge all* men at the last day.

(5)

V.

The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that what-

(1562).

III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into hell.

IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, &c.

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V.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance†, majesty and glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

VI.

Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that what-

* "All"—not in Lat. or Eng. of 1551; in Eng. but not in Lat., 1562.

† "Essence," 1562.

(1552).

soever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, *although sometimes it may be admitted (6) by God's faithful people, as pious and conducing unto order and decency*, yet is not to be required of any man that it should be (7) believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

(1562).

soever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought necessary or requisite* to salvation.

In the name of the Holy Scripture (7) we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to say,

Genesis	Joshua
Exodus	Judges
Leviticus	Ruth
Numbers	First of Samuel
Deuteronomy	Second of Samuel,
	&c.

And the other Books (as Hierom saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine: such are these following,

The Third of *Esdras*
 The Fourth of *Esdras*
 The Book of *Tobias*
 The Book of *Judith*
 The rest of the Book of *Hester*
 The Book of *Wisdom*, &c.

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.

VI.

The Old Testament is not to be rejected.

The Old Testament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Forasmuch

VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, for both in the Old and the New Testament everlasting life is offered [to] mankind by Christ, &c.

* "Requisite necessary," 1562, 1571.

(1552).

as in the Old Testament, as in the New, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard who feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises.

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(8)

Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any Commonwealthe; yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.*

VII.

The Three Creeds.

The three Creeds, Nice Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of the holy Scripture.

VIII.

Of the Three Creeds.

The three Creeds, Nice Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

VIII.

Original Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk, *and at this day is affirmed by the Anabaptists*) (9), but it is the fault and corruption of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from† ori-

IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk) but is the fault and the corruption of the nature of every man, &c.

* Compare Art. XIX. of 1552.

† Edd. 1, 2, "Very far from God, from original righteousness."

(1552).

(1562).

ginal righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth
 182 God's wrath and damnation. And this
 354 infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated*, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

IX.

Of Free Will.

10 We have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

X.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, (10) that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable unto God, &c.

X.

Of Grace.

11 The Grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost which is given by him, (11) doth take from man the heart of stone, and giveth him a heart of flesh. And though it rendereth us willing to do those good works which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil works

* The English of 1552 has "baptized," here, as below. The Latin in both places is "renatis."

(1552).

4

(1562).

which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; so that no man when he hath sinned can excuse himself, as if he had sinned against his will, or upon constraint, and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account.

XI.

Of the Justification of Man. (12)

12 Justification by faith only in Jesus Christ, in that sense wherein it is set forth in the Homily of Justification, is the most certain and most wholesome doctrine for a Christian man*.

XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by faith is a most wholesome doctrine, and very† full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XII.

Of good Works.

Albeit the good works which are the fruits of faith, (13) and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable unto God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

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13

XII.

Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in

XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, &c.

* "A most certain and wholesome doctrine for Christian men." "Certissima et saluberrima Christianorum doctrina." 1552.

† "Very," not in 1562.

(1552).

Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school-authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIII.

Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety*; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, "When you have done all that is† commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants."

XIV.

None but Christ without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in his spirit: He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made‡ should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as Saint John saith) was not in him: but all we the rest (although baptized and born [again] in Christ) yet [we all§] offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

* So edd. Heyl. "Iniquity,"—Eng. of, 1552, in Cardw. Synod. 22, and Collier, ix. 282; (possibly by a misprint, as the Latin is "impietate.") † Edd. Heyl. "are."

‡ "Made once for ever."—1552.

§ So Eng. 1552. Lat. "Omnes."

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XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides over and above God's Commandments, which they call works of Supererogation, &c.

XV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except &c.

(1552).

XV.

Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance* is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say, They can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny *the place of penance** (14) to such as truly repent.

XVI.

The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost †.

The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is then committed (15) when any man out of malice and hardness of heart doth wilfully reproach, and persecute in an hostile manner, the truth of God's Word, manifestly made known unto him. Which sort of men, being made obnoxious to the curse, subject themselves to the most grievous of all wickednesses; from whence this kind of sin is called unpardonable, and so affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

(1562).

XVI.

Of Sin after Baptism.

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable, &c.

And therefore they are to be condemned which say, They can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny *the place of forgiveness* to such as truly repent.

* "The place for penitentes," 1552; "locus penitentiae," Lat.

† "Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is, when a man of malice and stubbornness of mind doth rail upon the truth of God's word manifestly perceived, and being enemy thereunto persecuteth the same; and because such be guilty of God's curse, [*quia maledicto sunt obnoxii*], they entangle [*adstringunt*] themselves with a most grievous and heinous crime, whereupon this kind of sin is called and affirmed of the Lord unpardonable." 1552.

(1552).

XVII.

Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination unto life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret unto us, to deliver from curse and damnation those (16) whom he hath chosen out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season; they through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, they are made sons by adoption, they are made like the image of the only begotten* Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination and Election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things,—as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God:—so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the

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XVII.

Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination unto life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret unto us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he *hath chosen in Christ* (16) out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation.

... they are made the sons of *God* by adoption, they be made like the image of *his* only begotten Son Jesus Christ, &c.

* "God's only begotten Son," 1552. "Unigeniti Jesu Christi," Lat.

(1552).

sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchedness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

17 Furthermore, *though the decrees of Predestination be unknown to us, (17)* yet must we receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture; and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

XVIII.

Everlasting Salvation to be obtained only in the Name of Christ.

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature: for holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XIX.

18 *All men are bound to keep the Precepts of the Moral Law, (18)*.*

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called moral. Wherefore

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Furthermore, we must receive God's 186 promises in such wise as they be ge- 358 nerally set forth to us, &c.

XVIII.

Of obtaining eternal Salvation [only] by the Name of Christ.

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, &c.

* See Art VII. of 1562.

(1552).

19 they are not to be heard (19) which teach that the Holy Scriptures were given to none but to the weak, and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend that all whatsoever they preach is suggested to them*, though manifestly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

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XX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch hath † erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living ‡, and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

XXI.

Of the Authority of the Church.

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another; wherefore, although the Church be a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

XIX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, &c.

XX.

Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, (20§). It is not lawful for the Church, &c.

* "A quo sibi quae praedicant, suggeri asserunt," Lat. "Of whom (they say) they have learned such things as they teach," Eng. 1552.

† Ed. Heyl. "have."

‡ Ed. Heyl. "livings."

§ See above, p. 406.

(1552).

XXII.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God), they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God*. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

XXIII.

Of Purgatory.

The doctrine of the schoolmen concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather *perniciously* repugnant to the word of God.

XXIV.

No Man to minister in the Church except he be called.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by

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XXI.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes, &c.

XXII.

Of Purgatory.

The Romish doctrine † concerning Purgatory, &c.

XXIII.

Of Ministering in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, &c.

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* "Not only in worldly matters, but also in things pertaining to God," 1552. The Latin, both of 1552 and of 1562 is, "Etiam in his que ad normam pietatis pertinent."

† So the English of 1562 reads, and the Latin, "*Doctrina Romanensium*," agrees with it. Heylyn reads here, as in the parallel passage, "The doctrine of the schoolmen."

(1552).

men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

XXV.

All things to be done in the Congregation in such a tongue as is understood by the People.

It is most fit, and most agreeable
21 to the word of God, (21) that nothing be read or rehearsed in the congregation, in a tongue not known unto the people; which Paul hath forbidden to be done, unless some be present to interpret.

XXVI.

Of the Sacraments.

22 Our Lord Jesus Christ gathered
23 his people into a society†, (22) by sacraments very few in number, most
189 easy to be kept, and of most excellent
361 signification, that is to say‡, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation, not, as some say, "Ex opere operato§." 24 (24) Which terms, as they are strange and utterly unknown to the Holy
25 Scripture, so do they yield a sense

(1562).

XXIV.

Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the People understandeth.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church*, to have public prayer in the Church or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood by the people.

XXV.

Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ (23) be not only badges and tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good-will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, (25) that is to say, Confir-

* "Et primitivæ Ecclesiæ consuetudini," Lat. 1562; but there are no corresponding words in the English, as printed by Dr Cardwell.

† "Hath knit together a company of new people," 1552. "Societatem novi populi colligavit," Lat.

‡ "As is baptism," 1552. "Sicuti est," Lat.

§ "And yet not that of the work wrought, as some men speak; which word, as it is strange and unknown to Holy Scripture, so it engendereth no godly, but a very superstitious sense." 1552.

(1552).

which savoureth of little piety, but of much superstition: but they that receive them unworthily receive* to themselves damnation, [as St Paul saith.]

The Sacraments ordained by the word of God be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, effectual signs of grace and God's good-will toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

XXVII.

The wickedness of the Ministers takes not away the efficacy of divine institutions.

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the Word and Sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the Word of God and in receiving of the Sacraments; neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts† diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the

(1562).

mation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed on or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as St Paul saith.

XXVI.

Of the unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinder not the effect of the Sacraments.

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled, &c.

* "Purchase," "acquirunt," 1552, 1562, 1571.

† "Gods of gifts," Edd. 1, 2.

(1552).

190 Sacraments ministered unto them ;
362 which be effectual, because of Christ's
institution and promise, although they
be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the
discipline of the Church, that inquiry
be made after them*, and that they
be accused by those that have know-
ledge of their offences; and finally,
being found guilty by just judgment,
be deposed.

XXVIII.

Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of pro-
fession, and mark of difference where-
by Christian men are discerned from
others, that be not christened; but it
is also a sign of regeneration, or new
birth, whereby, as by an instrument,
they that receive Baptism rightly are
grafted into the Church; the promises
of forgiveness of sin, and of our adop-
tion to be the sons of God, by the
Holy Ghost † are visibly signed and
sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace
increased, by virtue of prayer unto
God. The custom of the Church,
26 (26) for baptizing young children, is
both to be commended, and by all
27 means to be retained in the Church.

XXIX.

Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only
a sign of the love that Christians
ought to have amongst themselves
one to another; but rather it is a sa-
crament of our redemption by Christ's
death. Insomuch that to such as
rightly, worthily, and with faith re-

* "Of such," 1552.

† "Per Spiritum Sanctum," Lat. of 1552; but no corresponding words in Eng.

(1562).

.....that inquiry be made after *evil
ministers*, &c.

XXVII.

Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of pro-
fession, and mark of difference, &c.

.....*The baptism of young children
is in any wise to be retained in the
Church, as most agreeable to the insti-
tution of Christ, (27).*

XXVIII.

Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only
a sign of the love, &c.

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ceive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) [into the substance of Christ's body and blood*] in the Supper of the Lord cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

Since the very being of human nature doth require (29) that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since, as the Holy Scriptures testify, Christ hath been taken up into Heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world; it becometh not any of the faithful to believe† or profess that there is a real or corporal presence (as they phrase it) of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

(1562).

....but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, *overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, (28) and hath given occasion to many superstitions.* 191 36R

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner (30); and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance, &c.

XXIX. ‡

Of the Wicked, which eat not the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper (31).

The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do ear-

* 1552, which omits "in the Supper of the Lord." The Latin is, "Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia."

† "Either to believe or openly to confess," 1552. "Vel credere vel profiteri," Lat.

‡ This Article is not in the Book of 1562, although it was in Archbishop Parker's draught.

(1552).

(1562).

nally and visibly press with their teeth (as St Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX.

Of both Kinds (32).

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people; for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian people* alike.

XXX.

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364 *Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*

The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation †, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone; wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt ‡, were fables and dangerous deceits.

XXXI.

A single life is imposed on none by the Word of God.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's law, either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from marriage ||.

The number of Articles in that Book was thirty-eight. The Article was inserted in 1571. Short's Hist. of the Church of England, 1st Ed. i. 489-90.

† "The pacifying of God's displeasure," 1552.

* "Men," 1562, 1571.

‡ "Forged," Eng.; "Blasphema," Lat. 1562. "Blasphemous," 1571.

|| "Are not commanded to vow the estate of single life without marriage, neither by God's law are they compelled to abstain, &c." 1552.

XXXI.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

The offering of Christ once made is [for ever] the perfect redemption, &c.

.....were *blasphemous* § *fables* and (33) dangerous deceits.

XXXII.

Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's law, &c.

(1552).

XXXII.

Excommunicated Persons are to be avoided.

That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a judge which hath authority thereunto.

XXXIII.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times*, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like), as he that offendeth against the common order of the 35 Church, and hurteth the authority

(1562).

XXXIII.

Of Excommunicated Persons, how they are to be avoided.

That person which by open denunciation of the Church, &c.

XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies, &c.

Every particular or National Church (35) hath authority to ordain,

* This word ought not to be in the Articles of 1552. In the revision of 1562, "After *pro regionum*, was added *temporum*; the former word having been naturally suggested at the Conference held with the foreign Reformers in 1538, and the latter resulting naturally from the changes which the English divines had themselves witnessed." Cardwell, Synod. 37.

(1552).

of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

XXXIV.

Of the Homilies.

36 The *Homilies lately delivered* (36) and commended to the Church of England by the King's Injunctions, do contain a godly and wholesome doctrine*, and fit to be embraced by all men; and for that cause they are diligently, plainly, and distinctly to be read to the people.

(1562).

change, or abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

XXXV.

Of Homilies.

The Second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for the times†; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth‡: and therefore we judge them to be read in the Churches by the Ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood§ of the people.

The Names of the Homilies.

Of the right use of the Church.
Of repairing [and keeping clean of] Churches.
Against the peril of Idolatry.
Of Good Works, &c.

XXXV.

194 *Of the Book of Common Prayer, and*
366 *other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.*

The Book lately || delivered to the Church of England, by the authority
37 of the King and Parliament (37), containing the Manner and Form of Public Prayer and the Ministration of
38 the Sacraments in the said Church of England: as also the Book published

XXXVI.

Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of (38) Archbishops and Bishops, and Order-

* "Be godly and wholesome, containing doctrine to be received of all men," 1552.
"Pia sunt atque salutare, doctrinamque ab omnibus amplectendam continent," Lat.

† "For this time," 1562; "for these times," 1571.

‡ "As doth the former book which was set forth at London under Edward the Sixth." 1562.

§ "Understanded," 1562, 1571.

|| "Of very late time," 1552. "Nuperrime," Lat.

(1552).

by the same authority for Ordering Ministers in the Church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of doctrine* in nothing contrary but agreeable to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, which they do very much promote and illustrate. And for that cause they are by all faithful members of the Church of England, but chiefly of the Ministers of the Word, with all thankfulness and readiness of mind to be received, approved, and commended to the people of God.

XXXVI.

Of the Civil Magistrates.

39 *The King of England is after Christ (39) the Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland.*

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The Civil Magistrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore are to be obeyed, not only for fear of wrath ‡, but [also] for conscience sake.

(1562).

ing of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of [the most noble†] King Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly; and therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the aforementioned King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magistrates.

The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this Realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil §, in all cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government (40), by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our Princes || the ministry either of God's Word or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify: but that only prerogative

* "Are godly, and in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel, but agreeable thereto," 1552. "Pii sunt, et salutari doctrinæ Evangelii in nullo repugnant, sed congruant," Lat.

† 1562; "of Edward the Sixth," 1571.

§ 1571; "Ecclesiastical or no," 1562.

‡ "Punishment," 1552. "Iram," Lat.

|| Edd. Heyl. "Princess."

(1552).

195 Civil or temporal laws may punish
367 Christian men with death, for heinous
and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars*.

XXXVII.

The goods of Christians are not common.

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXVIII.

It is lawful for a Christian to take an Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle, so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

(1562).

which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all estates committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal†, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The Laws of this Realm may punish Christian men with death, &c.

XXXVIII.

Of Christian men's goods, which are not common.

The riches and goods of Christian men are not common, &c.

XXXIX.

Of a Christian man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men, &c.

* "Lawful wars," 1552. "Justa bella," Lat. † 1571; "Ecclesiastical or no." 1562.

(1552).

(1562)

XXXIX.

41 *The Resurrection of the Dead is not
past already, (41).*

The Resurrection of the dead is not past already, as if it belonged only to the soul, which by the grace of Christ is raised from the death of sin, but is to be expected by all men in the last day*: for at that time, as the Scripture doth most apparently testify, the dead shall be restored to their own bodies, flesh and bones†, to the end that the whole‡ man, according as either righteously or wickedly he hath passed this life, may, according to his works, receive rewards or punishments.

XL.

42 *The souls of men deceased do neither
perish with their bodies, (42), [nor
sleep idly.]*

They who maintain that the souls of men deceased do either sleep without any manner of sense§ to the day of judgment, or affirm that they die together with the body, and shall be raised therewith at the last day, do wholly differ from the right faith and orthodox belief||, which is delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

XLI.

43 *Of the Millenarians¶, (43).*

They who endeavour to revive the

* "But is to be looked for at the last day," 1552. "Extremo die, quoad omnes qui obierunt, expectanda est," Lat.

† "To all that be dead, their own bodies, flesh and bone, shall be restored" 1552; with which the Latin agrees.

‡ "That the wicked man," Edd. 1, 2. "That man," Ed. 3.

§ "Without all sense, feeling, or perceiving," 1552. "Absque omni sensu," Lat.

|| "From the right belief," 1552. "Ab orthodoxa fide," Lat.

¶ "Hereticks called Millenarii," 1552. "Millenarii," Lat. Archbishop Laurence

(1552.)

fable of the Millenarians*, are therein contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and cast themselves down headlong into Jewish dotages †.

(1562).

XLII.

44 *All men not to be saved at last, (44).*

They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavour ‡ to restore that pernicious opinion, that all men, though never so ungodly, shall at last be saved; when for a certain time, appointed by the Divine justice, that they have endured punishment for their sins committed.

FINIS.

(Bampt. Lectures, 220,) remarks it as a curious circumstance, that, while the Millenarian opinion is thus condemned in the Articles of 1552, it was asserted in the Catechism of the same date, which was usually (see i. 258) printed with them—"Adhuc non est occisus Antichristus, quo sit [fit] ut nos desideremus et precemur, ut id tandem aliquando contingat et impleatur, utque solus Christus regnet cum suis sanctis, secundum divinas promissiones, utque vivat et dominetur in mundo." (In Petit. Domin. Orat. "Adveniat regnum tuum.") But it may, perhaps, be questioned whether the passage of the Catechism, if more fully quoted, ought to be understood as is here supposed. The Latin is as follows:—"Adhuc impleatur; utque solus Christus regnet cum suis sanctis, secundum divinas promissiones; utque vivat et dominetur in mundo, juxta sancta evangelii decreta, non autem juxta traditiones et leges hominum, et voluntatem tyrannorum mundi."—(Liturgies, &c. of Edw. VI. ed. Park. Soc., p. 567.) The English is,—“For this cause do we long for, and pray that it may at length come to pass and be fulfilled, that Christ may reign with his saints, according to God’s promises: that he may live and be Lord in the world, according to the decrees of the holy Gospel: not after the traditions and laws of men, nor pleasure of worldly tyrants.” (Ib. p. 520.)

* “To renew the fable of the heretics called Millenarii,” 1552. “Millenariorum fabulam,” Lat.

† “A Jewish dotage,” 1552. “Judaica deliramenta,” Lat.

‡ “At this time,” 1552. “Hodie,” Lat.

The following Tables are added, as likely to be useful to the Reader.

I.

REGNAL YEARS OF ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS.

From Sir N. H. Nicolas' *Chronology of History*, pp. 350-1.

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Year of Reign.	Began.	Year of Reign.	Began.	Year of Reign.	Began.
1 - -	22 April, 1509	14 - -	22 April, 1522	27 - -	22 April, 1535
2 - -	— 1510	15 - -	— 1523	28 - -	— 1536
3 - -	— 1511	16 - -	— 1524	29 - -	— 1537
4 - -	— 1512	17 - -	— 1525	30 - -	— 1538
5 - -	— 1513	18 - -	— 1526	31 - -	— 1539
6 - -	— 1514	19 - -	— 1527	32 - -	— 1540
7 - -	— 1515	20 - -	— 1528	33 - -	— 1541
8 - -	— 1516	21 - -	— 1529	34 - -	— 1542
9 - -	— 1517	22 - -	— 1530	35 - -	— 1543
10 - -	— 1518	23 - -	— 1531	36 - -	— 1544
11 - -	— 1519	24 - -	— 1532	37 - -	— 1545
12 - -	— 1520	25 - -	— 1533	38 - -	— 1546
13 - -	— 1521	26 - -	— 1534		

EDWARD THE SIXTH.

1 - -	23 Jan. 1547*	4 - -	23 Jan. 1550	6 - -	23 Jan. 1552
2 - -	— 1548	5 - -	— 1551	7 - -	— 1553
3 - -	— 1549				

MARY.

1 - -	6 July, 1553	3 - -	6 July, 1555	5 - -	6 July, 1557
2 - -	— 1554	4 - -	— 1556	6 - -	— 1558

(The reckoning by years of *Philip and Mary* is not used by Heylyn.)

ELIZABETH.

1 - -	17 Nov. 1558	4 - -	17 Nov. 1561	7 - -	17 Nov. 1564
2 - -	— 1559	5 - -	— 1562	8 - -	— 1565
3 - -	— 1560	6 - -	— 1563	9 - -	— 1566

* Or, 1546—7 ; and so throughout the reign.

II.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

(From Heeren's *History of the Political System of Europe*. Oxford, 1834. Vol. II.)

POPES.				KINGS OF SCOTLAND.			
			End of Reign.				End of Reign.
Julius II.	-	-	1503 to 1513	James IV.	-	-	1488 to 1513
Leo X.	-	-	- 1521	James V.	-	-	- 1542
Adrian VI.	-	-	- 1523	Mary			
Clement VII.	-	-	- 1534	KINGS OF FRANCE.			
Paul III.	-	-	- 1549	Louis XII.	-	-	1498 to 1515
Julius III.	-	-	Mar. 22, 1555	Francis I.	-	-	- 1547
Marcellus II.	-	-	Apr. 30, 1555	Henry II.	-	-	- 1559
Paul IV.	-	-	- 1559	Francis II.	-	-	- 1560
Pius IV.	-	-	- 1565	Charles IX.			
Pius V.	-	-	- -	KINGS OF SPAIN.			
EMPERORS OF GERMANY.				Ferdinand and Isabella	-	-	{ 1516
Maximilian I.	-	-	1492 to 1519	Charles I. (the Emperor Charles V.)			{ 1504
Charles V.	-	-	- 1558	Philip II.			1556
Ferdinand I.	-	-	- 1564				
Maximilian II.							

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

Page xvi. *Insert in the List* :—

Hayward's First Four Years of Elizabeth, ed. Bruce, (Camden Soc.)
Lond. 1840, 4to. (See Vol. II. p. 266).

Heylyn's *Aërius Redivivus*, or History of the Presbyterians. Lond.
1670, fol.

— xxvi, l. 2, *for they read it*

— cii, l. 11, *for stangers read strangers*

— clix, l. 5 from bottom, There can be little doubt as to the correctness
of the reading introduced in the late edition of Fuller's Appeal, &c.
—“ Let me, therefore, tender you an expedient, in tendency to our
mutual agreement.”

— vi, l. 20, *for happened read happeneth*

— 31, l. 2, The saying here quoted is in Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*,
(p. 133 of the reprint in the Phenix, Vol. I.)

— 108, l. 19 of note, *after 1214 add*, And so it is stated in the Statute of
Provisors, 25 Edw. III. c. vi. § 3.

— 141. *For note 6 substitute the following* :—“ Quasi non hodie
quoque plurimi sacerdotes habeant matrimonia.” Hieron. adv. Jovin.
l. i. (Opp. t. iv. ii. 165, ed. Paris, 1695—1706.) Jewel, ed. Park.
Soc. ii. 393.

— 234, l. 4. The young noblemen were students of Cambridge, but
they died in the Bishop of Lincoln's palace at Buckden. See Nichols,
note on Machyn's Diary, 318.

VOL. II.

— 54, l. 3, *for Rhenee read Rhinee*

— 96, *all but the first line of note 1 ought to be transferred to note 2.*

— 103, l. 2, *for 300 read 300*

— 115, l. 23, *dele* and

— 123, note 2, *for Mar. read 1 Mar.*

— 164, l. 12, *for lordships, read lordships'*

— 219, l. 5, Scambler's name was really Edmund

— 234, l. 6, *for style of title read style and title*

— 269, note 3, *for 136 read 13*

— 335, note 1, Calvin's advice to Elizabeth was conveyed, not in a
private letter, but in the dedication of his Commentary on Isaiah,
(Opp. iii. pars. 2.)

— 332, l. 20, *for levying a war read levying war*

— 392, margin, *dele* Thirty-nine.

— 414, l. 1, The marginal caution *Hic Magister non tenetur*, (which
Jewel ii. 177, ed. Park. Soc. translates “ Here our Doctor is no
Doctor”), was placed opposite to certain passages in the works of
Peter Lombard.

— 419, 3d line of notes, *for Knox read Lenox.*

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printed between the Life of Heylyn and the History.

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