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The First Part  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REFORMATION.

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*Whitehall. May 23. 1679.*

**T**HIS Book, entituled [*The History of the Reformation of the Church of ENGLAND*] having been perused and approved by Persons of eminent Quality, and several Divines of great Piety and Learning, who have recommended it as a Work very fit to be made publick, as well for the Usefulness of the Matter, as for the Industry and Integrity the Author hath used in compiling of it; the Honourable Mr. Secretary *Coventry* doth therefore allow it to be Printed and Published.

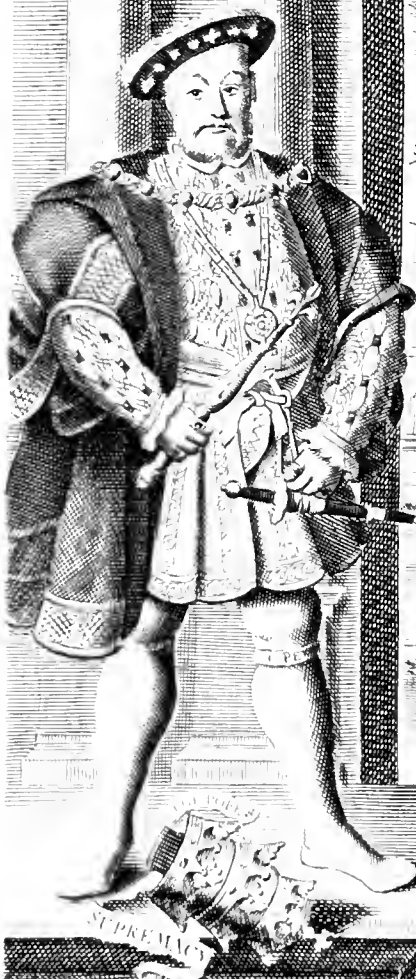
*JO. COOKE.*

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THE  
Historie of the  
**REFORMATION**  
of the  
CHURCH of ENGLAND



LONDON  
Printed for Ric. Chiswell

*R. White Sculptor*

T H E  
O F T H E  
**REFORMATION**  
O F T H E

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I N T W O P A R T S.

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**The First Part.**

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O F T H E  
Progress made in it during the Reign  
O F

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By *GILBERT BURNET*, D. D.  
Now Lord Bishop of *SARUM*.

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*The FOURTH EDITION, with Additions, Alterations, and  
Amendments; communicated to the Author by several Hands.*

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Printed for *J. Walthoe* and *B. Tooke*, in *Fleetstreet*; *J. Nicholson*, in *Little-Britain*; *D. Midwinter* and *B. Cowse*,  
in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. MDCCXV.



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TO THE  
K I N G.

S I R,



THE first step that was made in the *Reformation* of this Church, was the restoring to Your Royal Ancestors the Rights of the Crown, and an entire Dominion over all their Subjects; of which they had been disseised by the craft and violence of an unjust Pretender: to whom the Clergy, though your Majesties Progenitors had enriched them, by a Bounty no less profuse than ill-managed, did not only adhere, but drew with them the Laity, over whose Consciences they had gained so absolute an Authority, that our Kings were to expect no Obedience from their People, but what the Popes were pleased to allow.

It is true, the Nobler part of the Nation did frequently in Parliament, assert the Regal Prerogatives against those Papal invasions; yet these were but faint endeavours; for an ill-executed Law is but an unequal match to a Principle strongly infused into the Consciences of the People.

But how different was this from the teaching of Christ and his Apostles? They forbid men to use all those Arts by which the Papacy grew up and yet subsists:

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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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fists: They exhorted them to obey Magistrates, when they knew it would cost them their Lives: They were for setting up a Kingdom, not of this World, nor to be attained, but by a holy and peaceable Religion. If this might every where take place, Princes would find Government both easie and secure: It would raise in their Subjects the truest Courage, and unite them with the firmest Charity: It would draw from them Obedience to the Laws, and Reverence to the Persons of their Kings. If the Standards of Justice and Charity, which the Gospel gives, of doing as we would be done by, and loving our Neighbours as our selves, were made the measures of Men's Actions, how steadily would Societies be governed, and how exactly would Princes be obeyed.

The design of the *Reformation*, was to restore Christianity to what it was at first, and to purge it of those Corruptions, with which it was over-run in the latter and darker Ages.

GREAT SIR, This Work was carried on by a slow and unsteady Progress under King *Henry* the VIII. it advanced in a fuller and freer course under the short, but blessed Reign of King *Edward*; was Sealed with the Blood of many Martyrs under Queen *Mary*; was brought to a full Settlement in the happy and glorious days of Queen *Elizabeth*; was defended by the Learned Pen of King *James*; but the established frame of it, under which it had so long flourished, was overthrown with your Majesties blessed Father, who fell with it, and honoured it by its unexempld Suffering for it; and was again restored to its former beauty and order, by Your Majesties happy Return.

What

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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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What remains to compleat and perpetuate this Blessing, the composing of our differences at home, the establishing a closer Correspondence with the Reformed Churches abroad, the securing us from the restless and wicked Practices of that Party, who hoped so lately to have been at the end of their Designs ; and that which can only entitle us to a Blessing from God, the Reforming of our Manners and Lives, as our Ancestors did our Doctrine and Worship ; all this is reserved for Your Majesty, that it may appear, that Your Royal Title of Defender of the Faith is no empty Sound, but the real Strength and Glory of Your Crown.

For attaining these ends, it will be of great use to trace the steps of our first Reformers ; for if the Land-marks they set be observed, we can hardly go out of the way. This was my chief design in the following Sheets, which I now most humbly offer to Your Majesty, hoping that as You were graciously pleased to command that I should have free access to all *Records* for composing them, so You will not deny Your Royal Patronage to the History of that Work, which God grant Your Majesty may live to raise to its Perfection, and to compleat in Your Reign the Glory of all Your Titles. This is a part of the most earnest as well as the daily Prayers of,

*May it please Your Sacred Majesty,*

Your Majesty's most Loyal,

most Faithful, and most

Devoted Subject and Servant,

G. BURNET.

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OF THIS  
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THE



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# THE P R E F A C E.



Here is no part of History better receiv'd than the Account of great Changes, and Revolutions of States and Governments, in which the Variety of unlooked-for Accidents and Events, both entertains the Reader, and improves him.

Of all Changes, those in Religion that have been sudden and signal, are inquired into by the most searching Curiosity: where the Salvation of Souls being concern'd, the better sort are much affected; and the Credit, Honour and Interest of Churches and Parties draw in those, who though they do not much care for the Religious Part, yet make noise about it to serve other ends. The Changes that were made in Religion in the last Century have produced such Effects every where, that it is no wonder if all Persons desire to see a clear account of the several steps in which they advanced, of the Counsels that directed them, and the Motives both Religious and Political that inclined Men of all Conditions to concur in them. Germany produceth a Sleidan, France a Thuanus, and Italy a Friar Paul, who have given the World as full Satisfaction in what was done beyond Sea as they could desire. And though the two last lived and died in the Communion of the Church of Rome, yet they have delivered things to Posterity, with so much Candour, and Evenness, that their Authority is disputed by none but those of their own Party.

But while Foreign Churches have such Historians, ours at home have not had the like good Fortune: for whether it was, that the Reformers at first, presumed so far on their Legal and calm Proceedings, on the continued Succession of their Clergy, the Authority of the Law, and the Protection of the Prince, that they judged it needless to write an History, and therefore employed their best Pens, rather to justify what they did, than to deliver how it was done; or whether by a meer neglect the thing was omitted, we cannot determine. True it is, that it was not done to any degree of Exactness, when matters were so fresh in Mens Memories, that things might have been opened with greater Advantages, and vouched by better Authority, than it is to be expected at this distance.

They were soon after much provok'd by Sanders's History, which he published to the World in Latin: yet either despising a Writer, who did so impudently deliver Falshood, that from his own Book many of them may be disproved, or expecting a Command from Authority, they did not then set about it; the best Account I can give of their Silence is, that most of Sanders's Calumnies being levelled at Queen Elizabeth, whose Birth and Parents he designed chiefly to disgrace, it was thought too tender a Point by her Wise Counsellors to be much enquired into: it gave too great Credit to his Lies, to answer them; an Answer would draw forth a Reply, by which those Calumnies would still be kept alive; and therefore it was not without good reason thought

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better to let them lie unanswered and despised. From whence it is come that in this Age that Author is in such Credit, that now he is quoted with much Assurance: most of all the Writers in the Church of Rome rely on his Testimony as a good Authority. The Collectors of the General History of that Age, follow his thread closely, some of them transcribe his very Words. One Pollini a Dominican, published an History of the Changes that were made in England, in Italian, at Rome, Anno 1594. which he should more ingenuously have called a Translation, or Paraphrase of Sanders's History: and of late more candidly, but no less maliciously, one of the best Pens of France has been employed to translate him into their Language, which has created such prejudices in the Minds of many there, that our Reformation, which generally was more modestly spoken of, even by those who wrote against it, is now look'd on by such as read Sanders, and believe him, as one of the foulest things that ever was.

Fox for all his Voluminous Work, had but few things in his Eye when he made his Collection, and designed only to discover the Corruptions and Cruelties of the Roman Clergy, and the Sufferings and Constancy of the Reformers. But his Work was written in haste, and there are so many defects in it, that it can by no means be called a Compleat History of these times; though I must add, that having compared his Acts and Monuments with the Records, I have never been able to discover any Errors or Prevarications in them, but the utmost Fidelity and Exactness. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, designed only in his account of the British Antiquities, to do justice and honour to his See, and so gives us barely the Life of Cranmer, with some few and general hints of what he did. Hall was but a superficial Writer, and was more careful to get full Informations of the Cloaths that were worn at the Interviews of Princes, Justs, Tournaments, and great Solemnities, than about the Counsels, or secret Transactions of the time he lived in. Holingshead, Speed, and Stow, give bare relations of things that were Publick, and commit many Faults. Upon their scent most of our later Writers have gone, and have only collected and repeated what they wrote.

The Lord Herbert judged it unworthy of him to trifle as others had done, and therefore made a more narrow search into Records and Original Papers, than all that had gone before him; and with great Fidelity and Industry, has given us the History of King Henry the Eighth. But in the Transactions that concern Religion, he dwells not so long as the matter required, leaving those to Men of another Profession, and judging it perhaps not so proper for one of his Condition to pursue a full and accurate Deduction of those Matters.

Since he wrote, two have undertaken the Ecclesiastical History, Fuller and Heylin. The former got into his hands some few Papers, that were not seen before he published them; but being a Man of Fancy, and affecting an odd way of writing, his Work gives no great Satisfaction. But Doctor Heylin wrote smoothly and handsomly, his Method and Stile are good, and his Work was generally more read than any thing that had appeared before him: but either he was very ill informed, or very much led by his Passions; and being wrought on by most violent Prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner, and so strangely, that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the Church of Rome, though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular Conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused, That he never vouch'd any Authority for what he Writ, which is

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not to be forgiven any who write of Transactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what Grounds he wrote a great deal of his Book we can only Conjecture, and many in their guesses are not apt to be very favourable to him.

Things being delivered to us with so much alloy and uncertainty, those of the Church of Rome do confidently disparage our Reformation. The short History of it, as it is put in their Mouths, being, That it was begun by the Lusts and Passions of King Henry the Eighth, carried on by the Ravenousness of the Duke of Somerset, under Edward the Sixth, and confirmed by the Policy of Queen Elizabeth and her Council to secure her Title. These things being generally talked and spread abroad in Foreign Parts, especially in France, by the new Translation of Sanders, and not being yet sufficiently cleared, many have desired to see a fuller and better account of those Transactions than has yet been given; so the thing being necessary, I was the more encouraged to set about it by some Persons of great Worth and Eminence, who thought I had much Leisure and other good Opportunities to go through with it, and wished me to undertake it. The Person that did engage me chiefly to this Work, was on many accounts much fitter to have undertaken it himself, being the most indefatigable in his Industry, and the most Judicious in his Observations, of any I know, and is one of the greatest Masters of Style now living. But being engaged in the Service of the Church, in a Station that affords him very little Leisure, he set me on to it, and furnished me with a curious Collection of his own Observations. And in some sort this Work may be accounted his, for he corrected it with a Critical Exactness; so that the first Materials, and the last finishing of it, are from him. But after all this I lie under such restraints from his Modesty, that I am not allowed to publish his Name.

I had two Objections to it, besides the knowledge of my own unsuitness for such a Work. One was my Unacquaintedness with the Laws and Customs of this Nation, not being born in it: the other was the Expence, that such a Search as was necessary, required, which was not easie for me to bear. My acquaintance with the most ingenious Master William Petyt, Counsellor of the Inner Temple, cleared one Difficulty, he offering me his Assistance and Direction, without which I must have committed great Faults. But I must acknowledge my self highly obliged by the favour and bounty of the Honourable Master of the Rolls, Sir Harebottle Grimstone, of whose Worth and Goodness to me I must make a large Digression, if I would undertake to say all that the Subject will bear: The whole Nation expressed their value of him, upon the most Signal Occasion, when they made him their Mouth and Speaker in that Blessed Assembly which called home their King, after which real Evidence all little Commendations may be well forborn. The Obligations he has laid on me are such, that as the Gratitude and Service of my whole Life, is the only equal return I can make for them; so as a small Tribute I judge my self obliged to make my acknowledgments in this manner, for the leisure I enjoy under his Protection, and the Support I receive from him; and if this Work does the World any Service, the best part of the Thanks is due to him, that furnished me with particular Opportunities of carrying it on. Nor must I conceal the Nobleness of that Renowned Promoter of Learning Mr. Boyle, who contributed liberally to the Expence this Work put me to.

Upon these Encouragements I set about it, and began with the Search of all Publick Records and Offices, the Parliament and Treaty-Rolls, with all the Patent-

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Patent-Rolls, and the Registers of the Sees of Canterbury and London, and of the Augmentation-Office. Then I laid out for all the MSS. I could hear of, and found things beyond my Expectation in the famous Cotton Library, where there is such a Collection of Original Papers relating to these times, as perhaps the World can shew nothing like it. I had also the favour of some MSS. of great Value, both from the Famous and Eminently Learned Doctor Stillington, who gave me great Assistance in this Work, and from Mr. Petyt and others. When I had look'd these over, I then used all the Endeavours I could, to gather together the Books that were printed in those Days, from which I not only got considerable hints of matters of Fact, but (that which I chiefly look'd for) the Arguments upon which they managed the Controversies then on Foot, of which I thought it was the part of an Ecclesiastical Historian to give an Account, as I could recover them, that it may appear upon what Motives and Grounds they proceeded.

The three chief Periods of Henry the Eighth his Reign, in which Religion is concerned, are, First, from the beginning of his Reign, till the Process of his Divorce with Queen Katherine commenced. The Second is from that, till his total breaking off from Rome, and setting up his Supremacy over all Causes and Persons. The Third is from that, to his Death.

When I first set about this Work, I intended to have carried on the History of the Reformation to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which it was finished and fully settled; but I was forced to change that Resolution. The chief reason, among many others, was, that I have not yet been able to discover such full Informations of what passed under the succeeding Reigns as were necessary for a History; and though I have searched the publick Registers of that time, yet I am still in the Dark my self in many particulars. This made me resolve on publishing this Volume first, hoping that those in whose hands any Manuscripts or Papers of that time, will from what is now performed, be encouraged to communicate them: or if any have made a considerable Progress in those Collections, I shall be far from envying them the Honour of such a Work, in which it had been inexcusable Vanity in me to have medled, if the desires of others, who have great Power over me, had not prevailed with me to set about it, and therefore, though I have made a good Advance in the following part of the Work, I shall most willingly resign it up to any who will undertake it, and they shall have the free use of all my Papers. But if none will set about it, who yet can furnish Materials towards it, I hope their zeal for carrying on so desired a Work, will engage them to give all the help to it that is in their Power.

There is only one Passage belonging to the next Volume, which I shall take notice of here, since from it I must plead my Excuse for several Defects, which may seem to be in this Work. In the search I made of the Rolls and other Offices, I wondred much to miss several Commissions, Patents, and other Writings, which by clear Evidence I knew were granted, and yet none of them appeared on Record. This I could not impute to any thing but the Omission of the Clerks, who failed in the enrolling those Commissions, though it was not likely that matters of so high Concernment should have been neglected, especially in such a critical Time, and under so severe a King. But as I continued down my search to the Fourth Year of Queen Mary, I found in the Twelfth Roll of that Year, a Commission, which cleared all my former Doubts, and by which I saw what was become of the things I had so anxiously searched after. We have heard of the Expurgation of Books practi-  
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fed in the Church of Rome, but it might have been imagined, that publick Registers and Records would have been safe; yet least these should have been afterwards Confessors, it was resolved they should then be Martyrs; for on the 29th of December, in the 4th Year of her Reign, a Commission was issued out under the Great Seal to Bonner Bishop of London, Cole Dean of St. Pauls, and Martine a Doctor of the Civil Law, which is of that Importance, that I shall here insert the material words of it: Whereas it is come to our Knowledge, that in the time of the late Schism divers Compts, Books, Scrolls, Instruments, and other Writings were practised, devised, and made, concerning Professions against the Popes Holiness, and the See Apostolick, and also sundry infamous Scrutinies taken in Abbeyes and other Religious Houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good Religion and Religious Houses, than for any truth contained therein: Which being in the Custody of divers Registers, and we intending to have those Writings brought to knowledge, whereby they may be considered and ordered according to our Will and Pleasure; thereupon, those three, or any two of them are impowered to cite any Persons before them, and examine them upon the Premises upon Oath, and to bring all such Writings before them, and certifie their Diligence about it to Cardinal Pool, that further order might be given about them.

When I saw this, I soon knew which way so many Writings had gone: And as I could not but wonder at their boldness, who thus presumed to raze so many Records; so their ingenuity in leaving this Commission in the Rolls, by which any who had the Curiosity to search for it, might be satisfied how the other Commissions were destroyed, was much to be commended. Yet in the following Work, it will appear that some few Papers escaped their Hands.

I know it is needless to make great Protestations of my Sincerity in this Work. These are of course, and are little considered, but I shall take a more effectual way to be believed, for I shall vouch my Warrants for what I say, and tell where they are to be found. And having copied out of Records and MSS. many Papers of great Importance, I shall not only insert the substance of them in the following Work, but at the end of it shall give a Collection of them at their full Length, and in the Language in which they were originally Written: From which as the Reader will receive full Evidence of the Truth of this History; so he will not be ill pleased, to observe the Genius and way of the Great Men in that Time, of which he will be better able to judge, by seeing their Letters, and other Papers, than by any Representation made of them at second Hand. They are digested into that Order, in which they are referred to it in the History.

It will surprize some to see a Book of this Bigness, written of the History of our Reformation, under the Reign of King Henry the Eighth: Since the true beginnings of it, are to be reckoned from the Reign of King Edward the 6th in which the Articles of our Church, and the Forms of our Worship, were first compiled and set forth by Authority. And indeed in King Henry's Time the Reformation was rather conceived than brought forth, and two Parties were in the last 12 Years of his Reign struggling in the Womb, having now and then Advantages on either side, as the unconstant Humour of that King changed, and as his Interests, and often as his Passions swayed him.

Cardinal Wolsey had so dissolved his mind into Pleasures, and puffed him up with Flattery and servile Compliances, that it was not an easie thing to serve him; for being boistrous and impatient naturally, which was much

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heightned by his most extravagant Vanity, and high conceit of his own Learning and Wisdom, he was one of the most uncounsellable Persons in the World.

The Book which he wrote, had engaged him deep in these Controverses, and by perpetual flatteries, he was brought to fancy it was written with some degrees of Inspiration. And Luther in his Answer had treated him so unmannerly, that it was only the Necessity of his Affairs, that forced him to any Correspondence with that Party in Germany.

And though Cranmer and Cromwell improved every Advantage, that either the King's Temper, or his Affairs offered them, as much as could be; yet they were to be pitied, having to do with a Prince, who upon the slightest Pretences threw down those whom he had most advanced; which Cromwell felt severely, and Cranmer was sometimes near it.

The Faults of this King being so Conspicuous, and the severity of his Proceedings so unjustifiable, particularly that heinous Violation of the most sacred Rules of Justice and Government, in condemning Men without bringing them to make their Answers; most of our Writers have separated the Concerns of this Church from his Reign: And imagining that all he did, was founded only on his Revenge upon the Court of Rome, for denying his Divorce, have taken little care to examine how matters were transacted in his Time.

But if we consider the great things that were done by him, we must acknowledge that there was a signal Providence of God, in raising up a King of his Temper, for clearing the Way to that blessed Work that followed: And that could hardly have been done, but by a Man of his Humour; so that I may very fitly apply to him the witty Simile of an ingenious Writer, who compares Luther to a Postilion in his waxed Boots and oiled Coat, lashing his Horses through thick and thin, and bespattering all about him.

This Character befits King Henry better (saving the Reverence due to his Crown) who as the Postilion of Reformation, made way for it through a great deal of Mire and Filth. He abolished the Pope's Power, by which not only that Tyranny was destroyed, which had been long an heavy burthen on this oppressed Nation; but all the Opinions, Rites, and Constitutions, for which there was no better Authority than Papal Decrees, were to fall to the Ground; the Foundation that supported them being thus sapped. He suppressed all the Monasteries; in which though there were some inexcusable Faults committed, yet he wanted not Reason to do what he did. For the Foundation of those Houses being laid on the superstitious Conceit of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, by saying Masses for them; they whose Office that was, had by counterfeiting Relicks, by forging of Miracles, and other like Impostures, drawn together a vast Wealth, to the enriching of their Saints, of whom some perhaps were damn'd Souls, and others were never in Being. These Arts being detected, and withal their great Viciousness in some Places, and in all, their great Abuse of the Christian Religion, made it seem unfit they should be continued. But it was their dependance on the See of Rome, which, as the state of things then was, made it necessary that they should be suppressed. New Foundations might have done well, and the scantness of those, considering the Number and Wealth of those which were suppressed, is one of the great Blemishes of that Reign. But it was in vain to endeavour to amend the old ones. Their Numbers were so great, their Riches and Interests in the Nation so considerable, that a Prince of ordinary Metal would not have attempted such a Design, much less have compleated it in five Years Time.

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*Time. With these fell the Superstition of Images, Reliques, and the Redemption of Souls out of Purgatory. And those extravagant Addresses to Saints that are in the Roman Offices were thrown out, only an Ora pro nobis was kept up, and even that was left to the Liberty of Priests, to leave it out of the Litanies as they saw Cause. These were great Preparations for a Reformation. But it went further, and two things were done, upon which a greater change was reasonably to be expected. The Scriptures were translated into the English Tongue, and set up in all Churches, and every one was admitted to read them, and they alone were declared the Rule of Faith. This could not but open the Eyes of the Nation, who finding a profound Silence in these Writings about many Things, and a direct Opposition to other things that were still retained, must needs conclude, even without deep Speculations or nice Disputing, that many things that were still in the Church had no Ground in Scripture, and some of the rest were directly contrary to it. This Cranmer knew well would have such an Operation, and therefore made it his chief Business to set it forward, which in Conclusion he happily effected.*

*Another thing was also established, which opened the way to all that followed: That very National Church was a compleat Body within it self, so that the Church of England, with the Authority and Concurrence of their Head, and King, might examine and reform all Errors and Corruptions, whether in Doctrine or Worship. All the Provincial Councils in the Ancient Church were so many Precedents for this, who condemned Heresies, and reformed Abuses as the occasion required. And yet these being all but parts of one Empire, there was a less reason for their doing it, without staying for a General Council, which depended upon the Pleasure of one Man (the Roman Emperor) than could be pretended, when Europe was divided into so many Kingdoms: By which a common Concurrence of all these Churches was a thing scarce to be expected; and therefore this Church must be in a very ill Condition, if there could be no endeavours for a Reformation, till all the rest were brought together.*

*The Grounds of the new Covenant between God and Man in Christ, were also truly stated, and the terms on which Salvation was to be hoped for, were faithfully opened according to the New Testament. And this being in the strict Notion of the Word, the Gospel, and the glad Tidings preached through our Blessed Lord and Saviour, it must be confessed that there was a great Progress made, when the Nation was well instructed about it; though there was still an alloy of other Corruptions, embasing the Purity of the Faith. And indeed in the whole Progress of these Changes, the Kings Design seemed to have been to terrifie the Court of Rome, and cudgel the Pope into a Compliance with what he desired: For in his Heart he continued addicted to some of the most extravagant Opinions of that Church, such as Transubstantiation and the other Corruptions in the Mass, so that he was to his lives end more Papist than Protestant.*

*There are two Prejudices, which Men have generally drunk in against that time. The one is, from the Kings great Enormities, both in his personal Deportment and Government, which make many think, no good could be done by so ill a Man, and so cruel a Prince. I am not to defend him, nor to lessen his Faults. The vastness and irregularity of his Expence procured many heavy Exactions, and twice extorted a publick Discharge of his Debts, embased the Coin, with other Irregularities. His proud and impatient Spirit occasioned many cruel Proceedings. The taking so many lives, only for denying his Supremacy, particularly Fisher's and More's, the one being extream old,*  
*and*

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and the other one of the Glories of his Nation, for Probity and Learning : The taking advantage from some Irruptions in the North, to break the Indemnity he had before proclaimed to those in the Rebellion, even though they could not be proved guilty of those second Disorders : His Extream severity to all Cardinal Pool's Family : His cruel using, first Cromwel, and afterwards the Duke of Norfolk and his Son, besides his unexampl'd Proceedings against some of his Wives ; and that which was first of all, the laying a precedent for the Subversion of Justice, and oppressing the clearest Innocence, by attainting Men without hearing them : These are such remarkable Blemishes, that as no Man of Ingenuity can go about the whitening them ; so the poor Reformers drunk so deep of that bitter Cup, that it very ill becomes any of their Followers to endeavour to give fair Colours to those red and bloody Characters, with which so much of his Reign is stained.

Yet after all this sad Enumeration, it was no new nor unusual thing in the Methods of God's Providence, to employ Princes who had great Mixtures of very gross Faults, to do signal things for his Service. Not to mention David and Solomon, whose sins were expiated with a severe Repentance ; it was the bloody Cyrus that sent back the Jews to their Land, and gave them leave to rebuild their Temple. Constantine the Great is by some of his Enemies charged with many Blemishes both in his Life and Government. Clovis of France, under whom that Nation received the Christian Faith, was a Monster of Cruelty and Perfidiousness, as even Gregory of Tours represents him, who lived near his Time, and nevertheless makes a Saint of him. Charles the Great, whom some also make a Saint, both put away his Wife for a very slight Cause, and is said to have lived in most unnatural Lusts with his own Daughter. Irene, whom the Church of Rome magnifies, as the Restorer of their Religion in the East, did both contrary to the Impressions of Nature, and of her Sex, put out her own Son's Eyes, of which he died soon after, with many other execrable Things. And whatever Reproaches those of the Church of Rome cast on the Reformation, upon the account of this Kings Faults may be easily turned back on their Popes, who have never failed to court and extol Princes that served their Ends, how Gross and Scandalous soever their other Faults have been. As Phocas, Brunichild, Irene, Mathildis, Edgar of England, and many more. But our Church is not near so much concerned in the Persons of those Princes, under whom the Reformation began, as theirs is in the Persons of their Popes, who are believed to have far higher Characters of a Divine Power and Spirit in them, than other Princes pretend to. And yet if the Lives of those Popes, who have made the greatest Advances in their Jurisdiction be examined, particularly Gregory the Seventh, and Boniface the Eighth, vices more Eminent, than any can be charged on King Henry, will be found in them. And if a leud and wicked Pope may yet have the Holy Ghost dwelling in him, and directing him infallibly ; why may not an ill King do so good a Work as set a Reformation forward ? And if it were proper to enter into a Dissection of Four of those Popes, that sate at Rome during this Reign, Pope Julius will be found beyond him in a vast Ambition, whose bloody Reign did not only embroil Italy, but a great part of Christendom. Pope Leo the Tenth was as extravagant and prodigal in his Expence, which put him on baser Shifts, than ever this King used, to raise Money ; not by embasing the Coin, or raising new and heavy Taxes, but by embasing the Christian Religion, and prostituting the Pardon of Sin in that foul Trade of Indulgences. Clement the Seventh



## THE PREFACE.

*Seventh was false to the highest degree; a vice which cannot be charged on this King. And Paul the third was a vile and lowd Priest, who not only kept his Whore, but gloried in it, and raised one of his Bastards to an high Dignity, making him Prince of Parma and Piacenza; and himself is said to have lived in Incest with others of them. And except the short Reign of Hadrian the Sixth, there was no Pope at Rome all this while, whose example might make any other Prince blush for his faults; so that Guicciardine, when he calls Pope Clement a good Pope, adds, I mean not Goodness Apostolical; for in those days he was esteemed a good Pope that did not exceed the wickedness of the worst of Men.*

*In sum, God's Ways are a great Deep, who has often shewed his Power and Wisdom, in raising up unlikely and unpromising Instruments, to do great services in the World; not always employing the best Men in them, lest good Instruments should share too deep in the Praises of that, which is only due to the Supream Creator and Governour of the World. And therefore he will stain the Pride of all Glory, that such as Glory may only Glory in the Lord. Jehu did an acceptable Service to God, in destroying the Idolatry of Baal, though neither the way of doing it be to be imitated, being grossly insincere, nor was the Reformation compleat, since the Worshipping the two Calves was still kept up; and it is very like, his chief design in it, was to destroy all the Party that favoured Ahab's Family; yet the thing was good, and was rewarded by God: So whatever this Kings other faults were, and how defective soever the Change he made was, and upon what ill motives soever it may seem to have proceeded; yet the things themselves being good, we ought not to think the worse of them because of the Instrument, or manner by which they were wrought; but are to adore and admire the paths of the Divine Wisdom, that brought about such a Change in a Church, which being subjected to the See of Rome, had been more than any other part of Europe, most tame under its Oppressions, and was most deeply drenched in Superstition: And this by the means of a Prince, who was the most devoted to the Interest of Rome of any in Christendom, and seemed to be so upon knowledge, being very learned; and continued to the last much leavened with Superstition, and was the only King in the World whom that See declared, Defender of the Faith. And that this should have been carried on so far, with so little Opposition, some risings though numerous and formidable being scattered and quietted without Blood; and that a mighty Prince, who was Victorious almost in all his undertakings, Charles the 5th. and was both provoked in point of Honour and Interest, yet could never find one spare season to turn his Arms upon England, are great Demonstrations of a particular Influence of Heaven in these Alterations, and of its watchful care of them.*

*But the other prejudice touches the Reformation in a more vital and tender part; and it is, That Cranmer and the other Bishops, who promoted the Reformation in the Succeeding Reign, did in this comply too servilly with King Henry's humours, both in carrying on his frequent Divorces, and in retaining those Corruptions in the Worship, which by their throwing them off in the beginning of King Edward's Reign, we may conclude were then condemned by them; so that they seem to have prævaricated against their Consciences in that Compliance.*

*It were too faint a way of answering so severe a Charge, to turn it back on the Church of Rome, and to shew the base Compliances of some, even of the best of their Popes, as Gregory the Great, whose Congratulations to*

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## THE PREFACE.

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*the Usurper Phocas, are a strain of the meanest, and undecentest flattery that ever was put in writing. And his Complements to Brunichild, who was one of the greatest Monsters both for Lust and Cruelty that ever her Sex produced, show that there was no person so wicked that he was ashamed to flatter: but the blemishing them will not (I confess) excuse our Reformers, therefore other things are to be considered for their Vindication. They did not at once attain the full knowledge of Divine Truth, so that in some particulars, as in that of the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, both Cranmer and Ridley were themselves then in the dark. Bertram's Book first convinced Ridley, and he was the chief Instrument in opening Cranmer's eyes: So if themselves were not then enlightned, they could not instruct others. As for other things, such as the giving the Cup to the Laity, the Worshipping God in a known Tongue, and several Reformatiōns about the Mass, though they judged them necessary to be done as soon as was possible; yet they had not so full a perswasion of the necessity of these, as to think it a sin not to do them. The Prophets words to Naaman the Syrian, might give them some colour for that mistake, and the practice of the Apostles, who continued not only to worship at the Temple, but to Circumcise and to offer Sacrifices (which must have been done by St. Paul, when he purified himself in the Temple) even after the Law was dead, by the appearing of the Gospel, seemed to excuse their Compliance. They had also observed, that as the Apostles were all things to all Men, that so they might gain some; so the Primitive Christians had brought in many rites of Heathenism into their Worship: Upon which inducements they were wrought on to comply in some uneasie things, in which if these excuses do not wholly clear them, yet they very much lessen their Guilt.*

*And after all this, it must be confessed they were men, and had mixtures of fear and Humane infirmities with their other excellent Qualities. And indeed Cranmer was in all other points so extraordinary a Person, that it was perhaps fit, there should be some ingredients in his Temper, to lessen the Veneration, which his great worth might have raised too high, if it had not been for these feeblenesses, which upon some occasions appeared in him. But if we examine the failings of some of the greatest of the Primitive Fathers, as Athanasius, Cyril, and others, who were the most zealous asserters of the Faith, we must conclude them to have been nothing inferiour to any that can be charged on Cranmer; whom if we consider narrowly, we shall find as eminent vertues, and as few faults in him, as in any Prelate that has been in the Christian Church for many Ages. And if he was prevailed on to deny his Master through fear, he did wash off that stain by a sincere Repentance and a patient Martyrdom, in which he expressed an eminent resentment of his former frailty, with a pitch of Constancy of mind above the rate of modern Examples.*

*But their vertues as well as their faults are set before us for our instruction; and how frail soever the Vessels were, they have conveyed to us a treasure of great value, The pure Gospel of our Lord and Saviour: which if we follow, and govern our lives and hearts by it, we may hope in easier and plainer paths to attain that Blessedness, which they could not reach but through scorching flames: and if we do not improve the Advantages, which this light affords, we may either look for some of those trials, which were sent for the exercise of their Faith and Patience, and perhaps for the punishment of their former Compliance; or if we escape these, we have cause to fear the worse in the Conclusion.*





*W. Alcock pinxit*



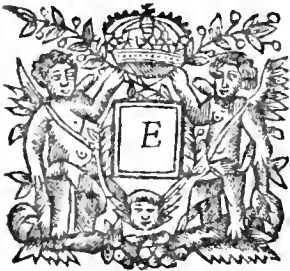
Natus 1491  
Jun 28  
Patri Successit  
in Regno  
1509 Apr. 22

Obijt 1547  
Jan 28  
Anno Aetat  
57

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**REFORMATION**  
 OF THE  
**Church of England.**

BOOK I.

*A Summary View of King Henry the Eighth's Reign, till the Process of his Divorce was begun, in which the State of England, chiefly as it related to Religion, is opened.*



ENGLAND had for a whole Age felt the Miseries of a long and cruel War between the Two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; during which time, as the Crown had lost great Dominions beyond Sea, so the Nation was much impoverished, many Noble Families extinguisht, much Blood shed, great Animosities every where raised, with all the other Miseries of a lasting Civil War: But they now saw all these happily composed when the Two Families did unite in King *Henry* the Eighth. In his Fathers Reign they were rather cemented and joyned than united; whose great Partiality to the House of *Lancaster*, from which he was Descended, and severity to the Branches of the House of *York*, in which even his own Queen had a large share, together with the Impostors that were set up to disturb his Reign, kept these heats alive, which were now all buried in his Grave: and this made the Succession of his Son so univerversally acceptable to the whole Nation, who now hoped to revive their former pretensions in *France*, and to have again a large share in all the Affairs of *Europe*, from which their Domestick Broils had so long excluded them.

There was another thing, which made his first coming to the Crown no less acceptable; which was, that the same Day that his Father died, \* he ordered *Dudley* and *Empson* to be committed to the Tower: His Father whether out of Policy, or Inclination, or both, was all his life much set on the gathering of Treasure, so that those Ministers were most acceptable, who could fill his Coffers best, and though this occasioned

King *Henry's* Succession to the Crown. Apr. 22. 1509.

He proceeds against *Dudley* and *Empson*.

\* *Hall* says the same day.

*L. Herber* says the day following

some

some Tumults, and disposed the People to all those Commotions, which fell out in his Reign; yet he being successful in them all, continued in his course of heaping up Money.

Towards the end of his Life, he found out those two Instruments, who out-did all that went before them, and what by vexatious Suits upon Penal but obsolete Laws, what by unjust Imprisonments, and other violent and illegal proceedings, raised a general *odium* upon the Government; and this grew upon him with his years, and was come to so great a height towards the end of his Life, that he died in good time for his own quiet: For as he used all possible endeavours to get Money, so what he got, he as carefully kept, and distributed very little of it among those about him; so that he had many Enemies and but few Friends. This being well considered by his Son, he began his Government with the disgrace of those Two Ministers, against whom he proceeded according to Law; all the other inferiour Officers whom they had made use of were also imprisoned.

When they had thus fallen, many and great Complaints came in from all parts against them; they also apprehending the danger they were like to be in upon their Masters Death, had been practising with their Partners to gather about them all the Power they could bring together, whether to secure themselves from popular Rage, or to make themselves seem considerable, or formidable to the new King. This and other Crimes being brought in against them, they were found guilty of Treason in a legal Trial. But the King judged this was neither a sufficient Reparation to his Oppressed People, nor satisfaction to Justice: Therefore he went further, and both ordered Restitution to be made by his Fathers Executors of great Sums of Money, which had been unjustly extorted from his Subjects; and in his first Parliament which he Summoned to the Twenty first of *January* following, he not only delivered up *Empson* and *Dudley* with their Complices to the Justice of the Two Houses, who attainted them by Act of Parliament, and a little after gave order for *their Execution*; but did also give his Royal Assent to those others Laws by which the Subject was secured from the like Oppressions for the future: and that he might not at all be suspected of any such Inclinations as his Father had to amass Treasure, he was the most magnificent in his Expence of any Prince in Christendom, and very bountiful to all about him; and as one extream commonly produces another, so his Fathers Covetousness led him to be Prodigal; and the vast Wealth which was left him, being reckoned no less than 1800000*l.* was in Three years dissipated, as if the Son in his expence had vied Industry with his Father in all his Thrift.

*Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, (afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*) to shew how compliant he was to the Humours of the Princes whom he served, as he had been Lord-Treasurer to the Father the last Seven years of his Life, so being continued in the same Office by this King, did as dexterously comply with his Prodigality, as he had done formerly with his Fathers sparingness.

But this in the beginning of the Princes Reign did much endear him both to the Court and Nation: there being a freer Circulation of Money by which Trade was encouraged; and the Courtiers tasted so liberally of the Kings bounty, that he was every where much magnified, though his Expence proved afterwards heavier to the Subject, than ever his Fathers Avarice had been.

Another

Hall.

He holds a  
Parliament.  
Jan. 21. 1510:

His great  
Expence:

Another thing that raised the Credit of this King was, the great Esteem he was in beyond Sea, both for his Wisdom and Power; so that in all the Treaties of Peace and War he was always much considered; and he did so exactly pursue that great Maxime of Princes, of  *Holding the Balance*, that still as it grew heavier, whether in the Scale of  *France*, or  *Spain*, he governed Himself and Them as a wise  *Arbitrer*. His first Action was against  *France*, which by the Accession of the Dutchy of  *Britain*, through his Fathers over-sight, was made greater and more formidable to the Neighbouring Princes; therefore the  *French* Successes in  *Italy* having United all the Princes there against them,  *Spain* and  *England* willingly joyned themselves in the Quarrel. The Kingdom of  *Spain* being also then United, conquered  *Navairre*, which set them at great ease, and weakened the King of  *France* on that side. Whose Affairs also declining in  *Italy*, this King finding him so much lessened, made Peace with him; having first managed his share of the War, with great Honour at Sea and Land: For, going over in Person, he did both defeat the  *French* Army, and take  *Terwin* and  *Tourney*; the former he demolished, the latter he kept: and in these Exploits he had an unusual Honour done him, which though it was a slight thing, yet was very pleasant to him;  *Maximilian* the Emperor taking Pay in his Army, amounting to a Hundred Crowns aday, and upon all publick Solemnities giving the King the precedence.

His Affairs beyond Sea.

A War with France.

Aug. 24. & Octob. 2. 1512.

Aug. 7. 1514.  
A Peace, and a Match with France. Oct. 9.  
Lewis dies Jan. 1. 1515.

The Peace between  *England* and  *France* was made firmer by  *Lewis* the  *French* King's Marrying  *Mary* the King's Sister; but he dying soon after, new Counsels were to be taken.  *Francis*, who succeeded, did in the beginning of his Reign, court this King with great Offers to renew the Peace with him, which was accordingly done. Afterward  *Francis* falling in with all his Force upon the Dutchy of  *Milan*, all endeavours were used to engage King  *Henry* into the War, both by the Pope and Emperor, this last feeding him long with hopes of resigning the Empire to him, which wrought much on him; insomuch that he did give them a great Supply in Money, but he could not be engaged to divert  *Francis* by making War upon him: and  *Francis* ending the War of  *Italy* by a Peace, was so far from resenting what the King had done, that he courted him into a straiter League, and a Match was agreed between the  *Dolphin* and the Lady  *Mary* the King's Daughter, and  *Tourney* was delivered up to the  *French* again.

Lady Mary Betrothed to the Dolphin. Octob. 8. 1518.

But now  *Charles*, Arch-Duke of  *Austria* by his Father, and Heir to the House of  *Burgundy* by his Grand-mother, and to the Crown of  *Spain* by his Mother, began to make a great Figure in the World; and his Grand-father  *Maximilian* dying,  *Francis* and He were Cotrivals for the Empire: but  *Charles* being preferred in the Competition, there followed, what through personal Animosities, what through reason of State, and a desire of Conquest, lasting Wars between them; which though they were sometimes for a while closed up, yet were never clearly ended. And those two great Monarchs as they eclipsed most other Princes about them, so they raised this King's glory higher, both courting him by turns, and that not only by earnest and warm Addresses, but oft by unusual Submissions; in which they, knowing how great an Ingredient Vanity was in his temper, were never deficient when their Affairs required it. All which tended to make him appear greater in the eyes of his own People. In the Year 1520. there was an Interview agreed on between the  *French* King and Him; but the Emperor, to prevent

Emperordies, Jan. 12. 1519.  
Charles Elected, June 28.

1520.

The Emperor  
comes to Eng-  
land, May 26.

vent the Effects he feared from it, resolved to out-do the *French* King in the Complement, and without any Treaty or previous Assurances came to *Dover*, and solicited the King's friendship against *Francis*: and to advance his design gained Cardinal *Wolsey*, who then Governed all the King's Counsels, by the promise of making him Pope; in which he judged he might for a present Advantage, promise a thing that seemed to be at so great a distance, (Pope *Leo* the Tenth being then but a young Man) and with rich Presents, which he made both to the King, the Cardinal, and all the Court, wrought much on them. But that which prevailed most with the King was, that he saw, though *Charles* had great Dominions, yet they lay at such a distance, that *France* alone was a sufficient Counterpoise to him; but if *Francis* could keep *Milan*, recover *Naples*, *Burgundy*, and *Navarre*, to all which he was then preparing, he would be an uneasie Neighbour to himself; and if he kept the footing he then had in *Italy*, he would lie so heavy on the Papacy, that the Popes could no longer carry equally in the Affairs of Christendom, upon which much depended, according to the Religion of that time. Therefore he resolved to take part with the Emperor, till at least *Francis* was driven out of *Italy*, and reduced to juster terms: so that the following Interview between *Francis* and him, produced nothing but a vast Expence and high Complements: and from a second Interview between the King and the Emperor, *Francis* was full of jealousy, in which what followed justified his apprehensions; for the War going on between the Emperor and *Francis*, the King entred into a League with the former, and made War upon *France*.

June 7.

July 10.  
A second War  
with *France*.

Leo 10. dies,  
Dec. 1. 1521.

Adrian chosen  
Pope, Jan. 9.  
1522.

He died Sep-  
temb. 14. 1523.

Clement the  
7th chosen,  
Novemb. 19.

1522.

Emperor Lan-  
ded at *Dover*,  
May 26.  
The Emperor  
contracted to  
the King's  
Daughter,  
June 19.

But the Pope dying sooner than it seems the Emperor look'd for, Cardinal *Wolsey* claimed his promise for the Papacy; but before the Messenger came to him, *Adrian* the Emperor's Tutor was chosen Pope: yet to feed the Cardinal with fresh hopes, a new promise was made for the next vacancy, and in the mean while he was put in hope of the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*. But two years after, that Pope dying, the Emperor again broke his Word with him; yet though he was thereby totally alienated from him, he concealed his Indignation, till the publick Concerns should give him a good opportunity to prosecute it upon a better colour; and by his Letters to *Rome*, dissembled his resentments so artificially, that in a Congratulation he wrote to Pope *Clement*, He protested his Election was matter of such joy both to the King and himself, that nothing had ever befallen them which pleased them better, and that he was the very Person, whom they had wished to see raised to that Greatness. But while the War went on, the Emperor did cajole the King with the highest Complements possible, which always wrought much on him, and came in person into *England* to be installed Knight of the *Garter*, where a new League was concluded, by which, beside mutual assistance, a Match was agreed on between the Emperor and the Lady *Mary*, the King's only Child by his Queen, of whom he had no hopes of more Issue. This was sworn to on both hands, and the Emperor was obliged, when She was of Age, to marry Her, *Per verba de Presenti*, under pain of Excommunication and the forfeiture of 100000 Pounds.

The War went on with great success on the Emperors part, especially after the Battle of *Pavia*, in which *Francis* his Army was totally defeated, and himself taken Prisoner and carried into *Spain*. After which the Emperor being much offended with the Pope for joyning with *Francis*, turned



turned his Arms against him, which were so successful, that he besieged and took *Rome*, and kept the Pope Prisoner six Months.

May 6. 1527.

The Cardinal finding the publick Interests concur so happily with his private Distastes, engaged the King to take part with *France*, and afterwards with the Pope against the Emperor, his Greatness now becoming the Terror of Christendom; for the Emperor lifted up with his success, began to think of no less than an Universal Empire. And first, that he might unite all *Spain* together, he preferred a Match with *Portugal*, to that which he had before contracted in *England*; and he thought it not enough to break off his sworn Alliance with the King, but he did it with an heavy Imputation on the Lady *Mary*: for in his Council it was said that she was illegitimate, as being born in an unlawful Marriage, so that no Advantage could be expected from her Title to the Succession, as will appear more particularly in the Second Book. And the Pope having dispensed with the Oath, he Married the *Infanta of Portugal*. Besides, though the King of *England* had gone deep in the Charge, he would give him no share in the Advantages of the War; much less give him that Assistance which he had promised him, to recover his Ancient Inheritance in *France*. The King being irritated with his manifold ill usage, and led on by his own Interests, and by the offended Cardinal, joyned himself to the Interests of *France*. Upon which there followed not only a firm Alliance, but a personal Friendship, which appeared in all the most obliging expressions that could be devised. And upon the King's threatening to make War on the Emperor, the *French* King was set at liberty, though on very hard terms, if any thing can be hard that sets a King out of Prison; but he still acknowledged he owed his Liberty to King *Henry*.

Mar. 13. 1526.

Then followed the famous *Clementine League* between the Pope and *Francis*, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, by which the Pope absolved the *French* King from the Oath he had sworn at *Madrid*, and they all united against the Emperor, and declared the King of *England* Protector of the League. This gave the Emperor great distaste, who complained of the Pope as an ungrateful and perfidious Person. The first beginning of the storm fell heavy on the Pope; for the *French* King, who had a great mind to have his Children again into his own Hands, that lay Hostages in *Spain*, went on but slowly in performing his part. And the King of *England* would not openly break with the Emperor, but seemed to reserve himself to be Arbiter between the Princes. So that the *Colonna's* being of the Imperial Faction, with 3000 Men entered *Rome*, and sack'd a part of it, forcing the Pope to Fly into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and to make Peace with the Emperor. But as soon as that fear was over, the Pope returning to his old Arts complained of the Cardinal of *Colonna*, and resolved to deprive him of that Dignity, and with an Army entred the Kingdom of *Naples*, taking divers places that belonged to that Family. But the Confederates coming slowly to his Assistance, and he hearing of great Forces that were coming from *Spain* against him, submitted himself to the Emperor, and made a Cessation of Arms; but being again encouraged with some hopes from his Allies, and (by a Creatinn of 14 Cardinals for Money) having raised 300000 Duckats,

The Clementine League,  
May 22. 1526.

September 20.

1527.

more taken  
and sack'd,  
1527.

which himself received his mortal wound, the City was taken by Storm, and plundered for several days, about 5000 being killed. The Pope with 17 Cardinals fled to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, but was forced to render his person, and to pay 400000 Duckats to the Army.

July 11.

This gave great offence to all the Princes of Christendom, except the *Lutherans* of *Germany*; but none repented it more loudly than this King, who sent over Cardinal *Wolsey* to make up a new Treaty with *Francis*, which was chiefly intended for setting the Pope at liberty. Nor did the Emperor know well how to justify an Action which seemed so inconsistent with his Devotion to the See of *Rome*; yet the Pope was for some Months detained a Prisoner, till at length the Emperor having brought him to his own Terms, ordered him to be set at Liberty: but he being weary of his Guards escaped in a disguise, and owned his Liberty to have flowed chiefly from the King's endeavours to procure it. And thus stood the King as to Foreign Affairs: He had infinitely obliged both the Pope and the *French* King, and was firmly united to them, and engaged in War against the Emperor when he began first to move about his Divorce.

Decemb. 9.

The King's fac-  
cets against  
Scotland.

As for *Scotland*, the near Alliance between him and *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, did not take away the standing Animosities between the two Nations, nor interrupt the Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*. And therefore when he made the first War upon *France* in the Fourth year of his Reign, the King of *Scotland* came with a great Army into the North of *England*, but was totally defeated by the Earl of *Surrey* in *Floudon* Field. The King himself was either killed in the Battle, or soon after; so that the Kingdom falling under Factions, during the Minority of the new King, the Government was but feeble, and scarce able to secure its own quiet. And the Duke of *Albany*, the chief Instrument of the *French* Faction, met with such opposition from the Parties that were raised against him by King *Henry's* means, that he could give him no disturbance. And when there came to be a lasting Peace between *England* and *France*, then, as the King needed fear no trouble from that Warlike Nation, so he got a great Interest in the Government there. And at this time Money becoming a more effectual Engine than any the War had ever produced, and the discovery of the *Indies* having brought great Wealth into *Europe*, Princes began to deal more in that Trade than before: so that both *France* and *England* had their Instruments in *Scotland*, and gave considerable yearly Pensions to the chief Heads of Parties and Families. In the search I have made, I have found several Warrants for Sums of Money, to be sent into *Scotland*, and divided there among the Favourers of the *English* Interest; and 'tis not to be doubted but *France* traded in the same manner; which continued till a happier way was found out for extinguishing these Quarrels, both the Crowns being set on one Head.

His Councils  
at home.

Having thus shewed the State of this King's Government as to Foreign Matters, I shall next give an account of the Administration of Affairs at home, both as to Civil and Spiritual Matters. The King upon his first coming to the Crown, did chuse a wise Council, partly out of those whom his Father had trusted, partly out of those that were recommended to him by his Grand mother, the Countess of *Richmond* and *Derby*, in whom was the Right of the House of *Lancaster*, though she willingly devolved her pretensions on her Son, claiming nothing to her self, but the Satisfaction of being Mother to a King. She was a Wife  
and

and Religious Woman, and died soon after her Grand-son came to the Crown. There was a Faction in the Council between *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Lord Treasurer, which could never be well made up, though they were oft reconciled: *Fox* always complaining of the Lord Treasurer, for squandering away so soon that vast Mass of Treasure, left by the King's Father; in which the other justified himself, that what he did, was by the King's Warrants which he could not disobey: but *Fox* objected that he was too easie to answer, if not to procure these Warrants, and that he ought to have given the King better advice. In the King's first Parliament things went as he desired upon his delivering up *Empson* and *Dudley*, in which his preventing the severity of the Houses, and proceeding against them at the Common Law, as it secured his Ministers from an unwelcome Precedent, so the whole honour of it fell on the King's Justice.

His next Parliament was in the third year of his Reign, and there was considered the Brief from Pope *Julius* the Second to the King, complaining of the Indignities and Injuries done to the Apostolick See and the Pope by the *French* King, and entreating the King's assistance with such cajoling words as are always to be expected from Popes on the like occasions. It was first read by the Master of the Rolls in the House of Lords, and then the Lord Chancellor (*Warham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) and the Lord Treasurer, with other Lords, went down to the House of Commons and read it there. Upon this and other Reasons they gave the King Subsidies towards the War with *France*. At this time *Fox*, to strengthen his party against the Lord Treasurer, finding *Thomas Wolsey* to be a likely Man to get into the King's favour, used all his endeavours to raise him, who was at that time neither unknown nor inconsiderable, being Lord Almoner; he was at first made a Privy Councillor, and frequently admitted to the King's Presence, and waited on him over to *France*. The King liked him well, which he so managed that he quickly engrossed the King's favour to himself, and for 15 years together was the most absolute Favourite that had ever been seen in *England*; all Foreign Treaties and Places of Trust at home were at his Ordering; he did what he pleased, and his Ascendant over the King was such, that there never appeared any Party against him all that while. The great Artifice by which he insinuated himself so much on the King, is set down very plainly by one that knew him well, in these Words. *In him the King conceived such a loving Fancy, especially for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the Council to advance the King's only Will and Pleasure, having no respect to the case; and whereas the Ancient Councillors would according to the Office of good Councillors, divers times perswade the King to have sometime a recourse unto the Council, there to hear what was done in weighty Matters, the King was nothing at all pleased therewith; for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do any thing contrary to his pleasure, and that knew the Almoner very well, having secret insinuations of the King's Intentions; and so fast as the others Counsell'd the King to leave his pleasures, and to attend his Affairs, so busily did the Almoner perswade him to the contrary, which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the Almoner.* Having got into such Power, he observed the King's Inclinations exactly, and followed his Interests closely: for though he made other Princes retain him with great Presents and Pensions, yet he never engaged the King into any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage. For Affairs

Jan. 21. 1512.

Feb. 4. 1512.

Cardinal Wolsey's rising.

Caused a case of Wolsey's MSS. in Biblioth. N. A. D. G. Hieropolit.

fairs at home, after he was established in his Greatness, he affected to Govern without Parliaments; there being from the seventh year of his Reign, after which he got the great Seal, but one Parliament in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> year, and no more till the One and Twentieth, when matters were turning about: But he raised great Sums of Money by Loans and Benevolences. And indeed if we look on him as a Minister of State, he was a very extraordinary Person; but as he was a Churchman, he was the disgrace of his Profession. He not only served the King in all his secret pleasures, but was lewd and vicious himself; so that his having the *French Pox* (which in those days was a matter of no small infamy) was so publick, that it was brought against him in Parliament when he fell in disgrace: he was a man of most extravagant vanity, as appears by the great State he lived in; and to feed that, his Ambition and Covetousness were proportionable.

08bb. 1513.

\* Rest. temp.

4 March 5.

Regni 1 part

Rot. pat.

2 Novemb. 6.

Regni, 1 part.

R. P.

3 Aug. 28 10.

Regni, 1 part.

R. P.

4 Decemb. 7.

13. Regni 3.

part. R. P.

5 April 30. 15.

Reg. 2 part.,

R. P.

6 May 4. 20.

Reg. 2 part.

R. P.

He was first made Bishop of *Tourney*, when that Town was taken from the *French*; then he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, which was the first Bishoprick that fell void in this Kingdom; after that, upon Cardinal *Bembridge* his death, he parted with *Lincoln* and was made Arch-bishop of *York*; then *Hadrian*, that was a Cardinal and Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, being deprived, that *See* was given to him; then the Abbey of *St. Albans* was given to him in *Commendam*; he next parted with *Bath* and *Wells*, and got the Bishoprick of *Duresme*, which he afterwards exchanged for the Bishoprick of *Winchester*: But besides all that he had in his own hands, the King granted him a full Power of disposing of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices in *England* (which brought him in as much Money as all the Places he held) for having so vast a Power committed to him both from the King and the Pope as to Church-preferments, it may be easily gathered what advantages a man of his Temper would draw from it. *Warham* was Lord Chancellor the first seven years of the King's Reign, but retired to give place to this aspiring Favourite, who had a mind to the Great Seal, that there might be no interfering between the Legantine and Chancery Courts. And perhaps it wrought somewhat on his vanity, that even after he was Cardinal, *Warham* as Lord Chancellor took place of him, as appears from the Entries made in the Journals of the House of Peers in the Parliament held the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the King's Reign, and afterwards gave him place, as appears on many occasions, particularly, in the Letter written to the Pope 1530. set down by the Lord *Herbert*, which the Cardinal subscribed before *Warham*. We have nothing on Record to shew what a Speaker he was, for all the Journals of Parliament from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup> year of this King are lost, but it is like he spoke as his Predecessor in that Office, *Warham*, did, whose Speeches as they are entred in the Journals, are Sermons begun with a Text of Scripture; which he expounded and applyed to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the King that was possible.

The next in Favour and Power was the Lord Treasurer, restored to his Father's Honour of Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom his Son succeeded in that Office as well as in his hereditary Honours; and managed his Interest with the King so dextrously, that he stood in all the Changes that followed, and continued Lord Treasurer during the Reign of this King, till near the end of it, when he fell through Jealousie rather than Guilt; this shewed how dexterous a Man he was, that could stand so long in that employment under such a King.

But

But the chief Favourite in the King's pleasures, was *Charles Brandon*, a gallant graceful Person, one of the strongest Men of the Age, and so a fit Match for the King at his Justs and Tiltings, which was the manly diversion of that time, and the King taking much pleasure in it, being of a robust Body, and singularly expert at it, he was so able to second him in these Courses, grew mightily in his Favour so that he made him first Viscount *Lisle*, and some Months after Duke of *Suffolk*. Nor was he less in the Ladies Favours, than the King's; for his Sister the Lady *Mary* liked him, and being but so long Married to King *Lewis* of *France*, as to make her Queen Dowager of *France*, she resolved to choose her second Husband her self, and cast her Eye on the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was then sent over to the Court of *France*. Her Brother had designed the Marriage between them, yet would not openly give his Consent to it; but she by a strange kind of Wooing, prefixed him the Term of four days to gain her Consent, in which she told him if he did not prevail, he should for ever lose all his hopes of having her, though after such a Declaration he was like to meet with no great difficulty from her. So they were Married, and the King was easily pacified and received them into Favour; neither did his Favour die with her, for it continued all his life: but he never meddled much in business, and by all that appears was a better Courtier than States-Man. Little needs be said of any other Person more than will afterwards occur.

May 15. 5th  
Reg. 1. Part  
Rot. pat.

April 1515.

Lady Mary  
died Jun. 23.  
1533.

The King loved to raise mean Persons, and upon the least distaste to throw them down: and falling into disgrace, he spared not to sacrifice them to publick discontents. His Court was magnificent, and his Expence vast; he indulged himself in his pleasures: and the hopes of Children (besides the Lady *Mary*) failing by the Queen, he who of all things desired Issue most, kept one *Elizabeth Blunt*, by whom he had *Henry Fitz-roy*, whom in the 17th year of his Reign he created Earl of *Nottingham*, and the same day made him Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, and intended afterwards to have put him in the Succession of the Crown after his other Children; but his death prevented it.

Jun. 17. 18.  
Reg. Rot. Pal.  
Duke Rich.  
died, Jun. 22.  
1536.

As for his Parliament he took great care to keep a good understanding with them, and chiefly with the House of Commons, by which means he seldom failed to carry Matters as he pleased among them: only in the Parliament held in the 14th and 15th of his Reign, the Demand of the Subsidy towards the War with *France*, being so high as 800000 l. the fifth of Mens Goods and Lands to be paid in four years, and the Cardinal being much hated, there was great Opposition made to it: for which the Cardinal blamed Sir *Thomas More* much, who was then Speaker of the House of Commons; and finding that which was offered, was not above the half of what was asked, went himself to the House of Commons, and desired to hear the Reasons of those who opposed his Demands, that he might answer them: but he was told the Order of their House was to reason only among themselves, and so went away much dissatisfied. It was with great difficulty that they obtained a Subsidy of 3 s. in the lib. to be paid in four years. This disappointment it seems did so offend the Cardinal, that as no Parliament had been called for seven years before, so there was none summoned for seven years after. And thus stood the Civil Government of *England* in the 19th year of the King's Reign, when the Matter of the Divorce was first moved. But I shall next open the State of Affairs in Reference to Religious and Spiritual Concerns.

He was bred a Scholar.

King *Henry* was bred with more care than had been usually bestowed on the Education of Princes for many Ages, who had been only trained up to those Exercises that prepared them to War; and if they could read and write, more was not expected of them. But Learning began now to flourish; and as the House of *Medici* in *Florence* had great Honour by the Protection it gave to learned Men, so other Princes every where cherished the Muses. King *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup>, though illiterate himself, yet took care to have his Children instructed in good Letters. And it generally passes current that he bred his second Son a Scholar, having designed him to be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, but that has no foundation; for the Writers of that time tell, that his Elder Brother Prince *Arthur* was also bred a Scholar. And all the Instruction King *Henry* had in Learning, must have been after his Brother was dead, when that Design had vanished with his life. For he being born the 28<sup>th</sup> of *June* 1491. and Prince *Arthur* dying the second of *April* 1502. he was not full eleven years of Age, when he became Prince of *Wales*; at which Age Princes have seldom made any great progress in Learning. But King *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup> judging either that it would make his Sons Greater Princes, and fitter for the Management of their Affairs, or being jealous of their looking too early into business, or their pretending to the Crown upon their Mother's Title, which might have been a dangerous competition to him, that was so little beloved by his Subjects, took this Method for amusing them with other things: thence it was, that his Son was the most learned Prince that had been in the World for many Ages; and deserved the Title *Beau-Clerke*, on a better account than his Predecessor that long before had carried it. The Learning then in credit, was either that of the Schools, about abstruse Questions of Divinity, which from the days of *Lombard* were debated and descanted on with much subtlety and nicety, and exercised all Speculative Divines; or the Study of the Canon-Law, which was the way to Business and Preferment. To the former of these the King was much addicted, and delighted to read often in *Thomas Aquinas*; and this made Cardinal *Wolsey* more acceptable to him, who was chiefly conversant in that sort of Learning. He loved the purity of the Latin Tongue, which made him be so kind to *Erasmus* that was the great Restorer of it, and to *Polydore Virgil*; though neither of these made their Court dextrously with the Cardinal, which did much intercept the Kings Favour to them; so that the one left *England*, and the other was but courtesly used in it, who has sufficiently revenged himself upon the Cardinals Memory. The Philosophy then in fashion was so intermixed with their Divinity, that the King understood it too; and was also a good Musician, as appears by two whole Masses which he composed. He never wrote well, but scrawled so that his hand was scarce legible.

Being thus inclined to Learning, he was much courted by all hungry Scholars, who generally over *Europe* dedicated their Books to him, with such flattering Epistles, that it very much lessens him, to see how he delighted in such Stuff. For if he had not taken pleasure in it, and rewarded them, it is not likely that others should have been every year writing after such ill Copies. Of all things in the World Flattery wrought most on him; and no sort of Flattery pleased him better than to have his great Learning and Wisdom commended. And in this, his Parliaments, his Courtiers, his Chaplains, Foreigners and Natives, all seemed

seemed to vie who should exceed most, and came to speak to him in a Style which was scarce fit to be used to any Creature. But he designed to entail these Praises on his Memory, cherishing Church-men more than any King in *England* had ever done; he also courted the Pope with a constant submission, and upon all occasions made the Popes Interests his own, and made War and Peace as they desired him. So that had he died any time before the 19<sup>th</sup> year of his Reign, he could scarce have escaped being Canonized, notwithstanding all his faults; for he abounded in those vertues, which had given Saintship to Kings for near 1000 years together, and had done more than they all did, by writing a Book for the *Roman* Faith.

*England* had for above 300 years been the tamest part of Christendom to the Papal Authority, and had been accordingly dealt with. But though the Parliaments and two or three High-spirited Kings, had given some interruption to the cruel exactions and other illegal proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, yet that Court always gained their designs in the end. But even in this Kings days, the Crown was not quite stript of all its Authority over Spiritual Persons. The Investitures of Bishops and Abbots, which had been originally given by the delivery of the Pastoral Ring and Staff, by the Kings of *England*, were after some opposition wrung out of their hands; yet I find they retained another thing, which upon the matter was the same. When any See was vacant, a Writ was issued out of the Chancery for seizing on all the Temporalities of the Bishoprick, and then the King recommended one to the Pope, upon which his Bulls were expeded at *Rome*, and so by a Warrant from the Pope he was consecrated, and invested in the Spiritualities of the See; but was to appear before the King either in Person or by Proxy, and renounce every clause in his Letters and Bulls, that were or might be prejudicial to the Prerogative of the Crown, or contrary to the Laws of the Land, and was to swear Fealty and Allegiance to the King. And after this a new Writ was issued out of the *Chancery*, bearing that this was done, and that thereupon the Temporalities should be restored. Of this there are so many Precedents in the Records, that every one that has searched them must needs find them in every year; but when this began, I leave to the more Learned in the Law to discover. And for proof of it the Reader will find in the Collection the fullest Record which I met with concerning it in *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup> his Reign, of Cardinal *Adrian's* being invested in the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*. So that upon the matter the Kings then disposed of all Bishopricks, keeping that still in their own hands which made them most desired in those Ages; and so had the Bishops much at their Devotion.

But King *Henry* in a great degree parted with this, by the above-mentioned Power granted to Cardinal *Wolsey*, who being Legate as well as Lord Chancellor, it was thought a great error in Government, to lodge such a trust with him which might have past into a Precedent, for other Legates pretending to the same Power; since the Papal greatness had thus risen, and oft upon weaker Grounds, to the height it was then at. Yet the King had no mind to suffer the Laws made against the suing out of Bulls in the Court of *Rome* without his leave to be neglected; for I find several Licences granted to sue Bulls in that Court, bearing for their Preamble the Statute of the 16 of *Richard* the Second against the Pope's pretended Power in *England*.

The Kings  
Prerogative in  
Ecclesiastical  
matters.

Custodia Tem-  
poralitatũ.

Restitutio Tem-  
poralitatũ.

Collect.  
Numb. 1.

Licence to the  
Prior of Pe-  
terburg. No-  
vemb. 3. 1 part.  
5<sup>to</sup> Reg. Rob.  
Pat.

But the immunity of Ecclesiastical Persons was a thing that occasioned great complaints. And good cause there was for them. For it was ordinary for Persons after the greatest Crimes, to get into Orders; and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any Crime after Holy Orders given, till they were first degraded; and till that was done they were the Bishop's Prisoners. Whereupon there arose a great dispute in the beginning of this King's Reign, of which none of our Historians having taken any notice, I shall give a full account of it.

A Contest about the Ecclesiastical Immunity. Killway's Reports.

King *Henry* the Seventh in his Fourth Parliament did a little lessen the Privileges of the Clergy, enacting that Clerks convicted should be burnt in the Hand. But this not proving a sufficient restraint, it was Enacted in Parliament in the Fourth year of this King, that all Murderers and Robbers should be denied the benefit of their Clergy. But though this seemed a very just Law, yet to make it pass through the House of Lords, they added two Proviso's to it, the one for excepting all such as were within the Holy Orders of *Bishop*, *Priest*, or *Deacon*; the other that the Act should only be in force till the next Parliament. With these Proviso's it was unanimously assented to by the Lords on the 26 *Jan.* 1513. and being agreed to by the Commons, the Royal Assent made it a Law: Pursuant to which many Murderers and Felons were denied their Clergy, and the Law passed on them to the great Satisfaction of the whole Nation. But this gave great offence to the Clergy, who had no mind to suffer their Immunities to be touched or lessened. And judging that if the Laity made bold with Inferiour Orders, they would proceed further even against Sacred Orders; therefore as their Opposition was such, that the Act not being continued, did determine at the next Parliament (that was in the fifth year of the King,) so they not satisfied with that, resolved to fix a censure on that Act as contrary to the Franchises of the Holy Church. And the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* being more forward than the rest, during the Session of Parliament in the 7th year of this King's Reign, in a Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, said openly, That that Act was *contrary to the Law of God, and to the Liberties of the Holy Church, and that all who assented to it, as well Spiritual as Temporal Persons, had by so doing incurr'd the Censures of the Church.* And for Confirmation of his Opinion, he published a Book to prove, that all Clerks, whether of the greater or lower Orders, were sacred, and exempted from all Temporal Punishments by the Secular Judge, even in Criminal Cases. This made great noise, and all the Temporal Lords, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, desired the King to suppress the growing Insolence of the Clergy. So there was a hearing of the Matter before the King, with all the Judges and the King's Temporal Council. Doctor *Standish*, Guardian of the Mendicant Friars in *London* (afterwards Bishop of *Saint Asaph*) the chief of the King's Spiritual Council, argued, That by the Law, Clerks had been still convened and judged in the King's Court for Civil Crimes, and that there was nothing either in the Laws of God, or the Church, inconsistent with it; and that the publick good of the Society, which was chiefly driven at by all Laws, and ought to be preferred to all other things, required that Crimes should be punished. But the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* being Counsel for the Clergy, excepted to this and said, *There was a Decree made by the Church expressly to the contrary, to which all ought to pay Obedience under the pain of Mortal sin; and that*

*therefore*



therefore the trying of Clerks in the Civil Courts was a sin in it self. Standish upon this turned to the King and said, God forbid that all the Decrees of the Church should bind. It seems the Bishops think not so, for though there is a Decree that they should reside at their Cathedrals all the Festivals of the year, yet the greater part of them do it not; Adding, That no Decree could have any force in England, till it was received there; and that this Decree was never received in England, but that as well since the making of it, as before, Clerks had been tryed for Crimes in the Civil Courts. To this the Abbot made no Answer, but brought a place of Scripture to prove this Exemption to have come from our Saviour's words, *Nolite tangere Christos meos*, Touch not mine Anointed; and therefore Princes ordering Clerks to be arrested and brought before their Courts, was contrary to Scripture, against which no custom can take place. Standish replied, these words were never said by our Saviour, but were put by David in his Psalter 1000 years before Christ; and he said these words had no relation to the Civil Judicatories, but because the greatest part of the World was then wicked, and but a small number believed the Law, they were a Charge to the rest of the World, not to do them harm. But though the Abbot had been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made no Answer to this. The Laity that were present being confirmed in their former opinion by hearing the Matter thus argued, moved the Bishops to order the Abbot to renounce his former opinion, and recant his Sermon at Paul's Cross. But they flatly refused to do it, and said they were bound by the Laws of the Holy Church to maintain the Abbot's opinion in every point of it. Great heats followed upon this during the sitting of the Parliament, of which there is a very Partial Entry made in the Journal of the Lords House; and no wonder, the Clerk of the Parliament, Doctor Tylor Doctor of the Canon-Law, being at the same time Speaker of the Lower House of Convocation. The entry is in these Words. *In this Parliament and Convocation there were most dangerous Contentions between the Clergy and the Secular Power, about the Ecclesiastical Liberties, one Standish a Minor Frier being the Instrument and Promoter of all that Mischief.* But a passage fell out, that made this matter be more fully prosecuted in the Michaelmas-Term. One Richard Hunne a Merchant-Taylor in London, was questioned by a Clerk in Middlesex for a Mortuary, pretended to be due for a Child of his that died five Weeks old. The Clerk claimed the beering sheet, and Hunne refusing to give it; upon that he was sued, but his Counsel advised him to sue the Clerk in a *Præmunire*, for bringing the King's Subjects before a Foreign Court; the Spiritual Court sitting by Authority from the Legate. This touched the Clergy so in the quick, that they used all the Arts they could to fasten Heresie on him; and understanding that he had Wickliff's Bible, upon that he was attached of Heresie, and put in the Lollard's Tower at Paul's, and examined upon some Articles objected to him by Fitz-James then Bishop of London. He denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged he had said some Words founding that way, for which he was sorry, and asked God's Mercy, and submitted himself to the Bishop's Correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoined Penance and set at Liberty; but he persisting still in his Sute in the King's Courts, they used him most cruelly. On the Fourth of December he was found hanged

Made Clerk,  
Octob. 29. 1.  
Reg. Rot. Pat.  
Part 1.  
Journal Pro-  
cerum 7 Hen.8.  
Dissolutum &  
finitum fuit hoc  
Parliamentum  
22 Dec. 1515.  
Johanne Tylor  
Javis Pontificij  
Doct. Clerico  
Parliamentor-  
rum Domini  
Regis: & ea-  
dem tempore  
Prolocutore  
Convocationis  
Cleri quod raro  
accidit In hoc  
Parlamento  
& Convocatio-  
ne periculosissi-  
ma seditiones  
excitata sunt in-  
ter Clerum &  
Secularem po-  
testatem super  
libertatibus  
Ecclesiasticis,  
quodum Fratre  
Minore, nomine  
Standish, om-  
nium malorum  
ministro ac sti-  
mulatore.  
Hall, and Fox

\* *Hunne* hang-  
ed in Prison,

in the Chamber where he was kept \* Prisoner. And Doctor *Horsey* Chancellor to the Bishop of *London*, with the other Officers who had the charge of the Prison, gave it out that he had hang'd himself. But the Coroner of *London*, coming to hold an Inquest on the dead Body, they found him hanging so loose, and in a silk Girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they also found his Neck had been broken as they judged, with an Iron Chain, for the Skin was all fretted and cut; they saw some streams of Blood about his Body, besides several other evidences which made it clear he had not murdered himself; whereupon they did acquit the dead Body, and laid the Murder on the Officers that had the charge of that Prison: and by other proofs they found the Bishop's Sumner and the Bell-ringer guilty of it, and by the deposition of the Sumner himself it did appear, that the Chancellor and he, and the Bell-ringer, did Murder him, and then hang him up.

And his body  
burned.  
Dec. 20. 1514.

But as the Inquest proceeded in this Trial, the Bishop began a new Process against the dead body of *Richard Hunne*, for other points of Heresie; and several Articles were gathered out of *Wickliff's* Preface to the Bible with which he was charged. And his having the Book in his Possession being taken for good evidence, he was judged an Heretick, and his Body delivered to the Secular Power. When judgment was given, the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Lincoln*, with many Doctors both of Divinity and the Canon-Law sat with the Bishop of *London*; so that it was look'd on as an Act of the whole Clergy, and done by common consent. On the 20th of *December* his body was burnt at *Smithfield*.

But this produced an effect very different from what was expected, for it was hoped that he being found an Heretick no body should appear for him any more: whereas on the contrary, it occasioned a great outcry, the Man having lived in very good Reputation among his Neighbours; so that after that day the City of *London* was never well affected to the Popish Clergy, but declined to follow any body who spoke against them, and every one lookt on it, as a cause of common Concern. All exclaimed against the Cruelty of their Clergy, that for a Man's suing a Clerk according to Law, he should be long and hardly used in a severe Imprisonment, and at last cruelly murdered; and all this laid on himself to defame him, and ruin his Family. And then to burn that body which they had so handled, was thought such a complication of Cruelties, as few Barbarians had ever been guilty of. The Bishop finding that the Inquest went on, and the whole matter was discovered, used all possible endeavours to stop their proceedings; and they were often brought before the King's Council, where it was pretended that all proceeded from Malice and Heresie. The Cardinal laboured to procure an Order to forbid their going any further, but the thing was both so foul and so evident that it could not be done; and that opposition made it more generally believed. In the Parliament there was a Bill sent up to the Lords by the Commons for restoring *Hunne's* Children, which was passed, and had the Royal Assent to it; but another Bill being brought in about this Murder, it occasioned great heats among them. The Bishop of *London* said that *Hunne* had hanged himself, that the Inquest were false perjured Caitiffs, and if they proceeded further he could not keep his House for Hereticks; so that the Bill which was sent up by the Commons was but once read in the House of Lords,

April 3.

for

for the Power of the Clergy was great there. But the Trial went on, and both the Bishop's Chancellor and the Sumner were indicted as Principals in the Murder.

The Convocation that was then sitting, finding so great a stir made, and that all their Liberties were now struck at resolved to call Doctor *Standish* to an Account for what he had said and argued in that matter; so he being summoned before them, some Articles were objected to him by word of Mouth, concerning the judging of Clerks in Civil Courts; and the day following they being put in writing, the Bill was delivered to him, and a day assigned for him to make Answer. The Doctor perceiving their intention, and judging it would go hard with him if he were tried before them, went and claimed the King's Protection, from this trouble that he was now brought in, for discharging his Duty as the King's Spiritual Council. But the Clergy made their excuse to the King, that they were not to question him for any thing he had said as the King's Council; but for some Lectures he read at *St. Paul's* and elsewhere, *contrary to the Law of God, and Liberties of the holy Church, which they were bound to maintain*; and desired the King's Assistance according to his *Coronation Oath*, and as he would not incur the Censures of the holy Church. On the other hand the Temporal Lords and Judges, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, addressed to the King, to maintain the Temporal Jurisdiction according to his *Coronation Oath*, and to protect *Standish* from the Malice of his Enemies.

This put the King in great perplexity, for he had no mind to lose any part of his Temporal Jurisdiction, and on the other Hand was no less apprehensive of the dangerous effects that might follow on a breach with the Clergy. So he called for Doctor *Veysey*, then Dean of his Chappel, and afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, and charged him upon his Allegiance to declare the truth to him in that matter: which after some study he did, and said, upon his *Faith, Conscience, and Allegiance*, he did think that the convening of Clerks before the Secular Judge, which had been always practised in *England*, might well consist with the Law of God and the *true Liberties of the Holy Church*. This gave the King great Satisfaction; so he commanded all the Judges, and his Council both Spiritual and Temporal, and some of both Houses, to meet at *Black-Friers*, and to hear the matter argued. The Bill against Doctor *Standish* was read, which consisted of Six Articles that were objected to him. First, *That he had said that the lower Orders were not sacred*. Secondly, *That the Exemption of Clerks was not founded on a Divine Right*. Thirdly, *That the Laity might coerce Clerks when the Prelates did not their duty*. Fourthly, *that no positive Ecclesiastical Law binds any but those who receive it*. Fifthly, *That the Study of the Canon-Law was needless*. Sixthly, *That of the whole Volume of the Decretum, so much as a Man could hold in his fist, and no more, did oblige Christians*. To these Doctor *Standish* answered, *That for those things exprest in the Third, the Fifth, and the Sixth Articles he had never taught them; as for his asserting them at any time in discourse, as he did not remember it, so he did not much care, whether he had done it or not*. To the First he said, *Lesser Orders in one sence are Sacred, and in another they are not Sacred*. For the Second and Fourth, he confessed he had taught them, and was ready to justifie them. It was objected by the Clergy, that as by the Law of God, *no man could judge his Father*, it being contrary to that Commandment, *Honour thy Father*: So Church-men being *Spiritual Fa-*  
*thers,*

*thers*, they could not be judged by the Laity who were their *Children*. To which he answered, That as that only concluded in favour of *Priests*, those in Inferiour Orders not being *Fathers*; so it was a mistake to say a Judge might not sit upon his Natural Father, for the Judge was by another Relation above his Natural Father: And though the Commandment is conceived in general Words, yet there are some exceptions to be admitted; as though it be said, *Thou shalt not kill*, yet in some cases we may lawfully kill; so in the case of Justice a Judge may lawfully sit on his Father.

But Doctor *Veysey's* Argument was that which took most with all that were present. He said, it was certain that the Laws of the Church *did not bind any but those who received them*. To prove this, he said, that in old times all Secular Priests were Married; but in the days of *St. Augustine*, the Apostle of *England*, there was a Decree made to the contrary, which was received in *England*, and in many other places, by vertue whereof the Secular Priests in *England* may not Marry: but this Law not being universally received, *the Greek Church never judged themselves bound by it*, so that to this day the Priests in that Church have Wives as well as other Secular Men. If then the Churches of the *East*, not having received the Law of the Celebate of the Clergy, have never been condemned by the Church, for not obeying it; then the convening Clerks having been always practised in *England*, was no sin, notwithstanding the Decree to the contrary, which was never received here. Nor is this to be compared to those Privileges that concern only a Private Mans Interest, for the Common-wealth of the whole Realm was chiefly to be look'd at, and to be preferred to all other things.

When the Matter was thus argued on both sides, all the Judges delivered their Opinions, in these Words. *That all those of the Convocation who did award the Citation against Standish, were in the case of a Præmunire facias*; and added somewhat about the Constitution of the Parliament, which being foreign to my business, and contrary to a received Opinion, I need not mention, but refer the Reader to *Keilway* for his Information, if he desires to know more of it: And thus the Court broke up. But soon after, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with many of the House of Commons, and all the Judges and the King's Council, were called before the King to *Baynard's Castle*; and in all their presence the Cardinal kneeled down before the King, and in the Name of the Clergy said, *That none of them intended to do any thing that might derogate from his Prerogative, and least of all himself who owed his advancement only to the King's Favour. But this matter of Convening of Clerks, did seem to them all to be contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain according to their Power*; Therefore in their Name he humbly begged, *That the King to avoid the Censures of the Church, would refer the Matter to the decision of the Pope and his Council, at the Court of Rome*. To which the King answered, *It seems to us that Doctor Standish, and others of our Spiritual Council, have answered you fully in all points*. The Bishop of *Winchester* replied, *Sir, I warrant you Doctor Standish will not abide by his Opinion at his Peril*. But the Doctor said, *What should one poor Frier do alone, against all the Bishops and Clergy of England?* After a short silence the Arch bishop of *Canterbury* said, *That in former times divers Holy Fathers of the Church had opposed the execution of that Law,*  
and

and some of them suffered Martyrdom in the Quarrel. To whom *Fincux* Lord Chief Justice said, *That many Holy Kings had maintained that Law, and many holy Fathers had given Obedience to it, which it is not to be presumed they would have done, had they known it to be contrary to the Law of God:* and he desired to know by what Law Bishops could judge Clerks for Felony, it being a thing only determined by the Temporal Law; so that either it was not at all to be tryed, or it was only in the Temporal Court; so that either Clerks must do as they please, or be tryed in the Civil Courts. To this no Answer being made, the King said these words: *By the Permission and Ordinance of God we are King of England, and the Kings of England in times past had never any Superiour, but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the Right of our Crown, and of our Temporal Jurisdiction as well in this, as in all other Points, in as ample manner as any of our Progenitors have done before our time. And as for your Decrees we are well assured that you of the Spirituality go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been shewed you by some of our Council; and you interpret your Decrees at your pleasure, but we will not agree to them more than our Progenitors have done in former times.* But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* made most humble Instance, that the Matter might be so long respited, till they could get a Resolution from the Court of *Rome*, which they should procure at their own Charges; and if it did consist with the Law of God, they should conform themselves to the Law of the Land. To this the King made no answer: but the Warrants being out against Doctor *Horsley* the Bishop of *London's* Chancellor, he did Abscond in the Arch-bishops House; though it was pretended he was a Prisoner there, till afterwards a temper was found that *Horsley* should render himself a Prisoner in the King's Bench and be tryed. But the Bishop of *London* made earnest Applications to the Cardinal that he would move the King to command the Attorney-General to confess the Indictment was not true, that it might not be referred to a Jury; since he said the Citizens of *London* did so favour Heresie, that if he were as innocent as *Abel*, they would find any Clerk guilty. The King not willing to irritate the Clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his Prerogative by bringing *Horsley* to the Bar, ordered the Attorney to do so. And accordingly when *Horsley* was brought to the Bar and Endited of Murder, he pleaded *Not guilty*; which the Attorney acknowledging, he was dismissed, and went and lived at *Exeter*, and never again came back to *London*, either out of fear or shame. And for Doctor *Standish*, upon the King's Command, he was also dismissed out of the Court of Convocation.

It does not appear that the Pope thought fit to interpose in this Matter. For though upon less Provocations, Popes had proceeded to the highest Censures against Princes; yet this King was otherwise so necessary to the Pope at this time, that he was not to be offended. The Clergy suffered much in this business, besides the loss of their Reputation with the People, who involved them all in the guilt of *Hunne's* Murder; for now their Exemption being well examined, was found to have no foundation at all but in their own Decrees; and few were much convinced by that Authority, since upon the matter it was but a judgment of their own, in their own favours: nor was the City of *London* at all satisfied with the Proceedings in the Kings-Bench, since there was no  
justice

justice done; and all thought the King seemed more careful to maintain his Prerogative than to do Justice.

This I have related the more fully, because it seems to have had great influence on Peoples Minds, and to have disposed them much to the Changes that followed afterwards. How these things were entered in the Book of Convocation, cannot be now known. For among the other sad losses sustained in the late burning of *London*, this was one, that almost all the Registers of the Spiritual Courts were burnt, some few of the Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* and Bishops of *London's* Registers being only preserved. But having compared *Fox* his Account of this and some other matters, and finding it exactly according to the Registers that are preserved, I shall the more confidently build on what he published from those Records that are now lost.

The King obliged the Popes highly, and was much courted by them.  
Collect.  
Numb. 2d.

Treaty-Rolls  
3. Reg.

19 April  
1512.

1521.  
October 11.  
E. Herbert.

This was the only thing in the first 18 years of the King's Reign that seemed to lessen the Greatness of the Clergy, but in all other Matters he was a most Faithful Son of the See of *Rome*. Pope *Julius* soon after his coming to the Crown, sent him a Golden Rose with a Letter to Arch-bishop *Warham* to deliver it, and though such Presents might seem fitter for young Children, than for men of discretion, yet the King was much delighted with it; and to shew his Gratitude, there was a Treaty concluded the year following between the King and *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, for the defence of the Papacy against the *French* King. And when in opposition to the Council, that the *French* King and some other Princes and Cardinals had called, first to *Pisa* (which was afterwards translated to *Milan*, and then to *Lyons*, that summoned the Pope to appear before them, and suspended his Authority) Pope *Julius* called another Council to be held in the *Lateran*; the King sent the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Rochester*, the Prior of *St. John's*, and the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* to sit in that Council, in which there was such a Representative of the Catholick Church as had not been for several of the later Ages in the *Western* Church: in which a few Bishops packt out of several Kingdoms, and many *Italian* Bishops with a vast number of Abbots, Priors, and other Inferiour Dignified Clergy-men, were brought to Confirm together whatever the Popes had a mind to Enact; which passing easily among them, was sent over the world with a stamp of Sacred Authority, as the Decrees and Decisions of the *Holy Universal Church assembled in a General Council*.

Nor was there a worse understanding between this King and Pope *Leo* the 10th. that succeeded *Julius*, who did also complement him with those Papal Presents of Roses, and at his desire made *Wolfey* a Cardinal; and above all other things obliged him by conferring on him the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, (upon the presenting to the Pope his Book against *Lather*) in a pompous Letter Signed by the Pope, and 27 Cardinals, in which the King took great pleasure; affecting it always beyond all his other Titles, though several of the former Kings of *England* had carried the same Title as *Spelman* informs us. So easie a thing it was for Popes to oblige Princes in those days, when a Title or a Rose was thought a sufficient Recompence for the greatest Services.

The Cardinal Governing all Temporal Affairs as he did, it is not to be doubted but his Authority was absolute in Ecclesiastical Matters, which seemed naturally to lie within his Province; yet *Warham* made some opposition to him, and complained to the King of his encroaching

ing too much in his Legantine Courts, upon his Jurisdiction; and the things being clearly made out, the King chid the Cardinal sharply for it, who ever after that hated *Warham* in his heart, yet he proceeded more warily for the future.

But the Cardinal drew the hatred of the Clergy upon himself, chiefly by a Bull which he obtained from *Rome*, giving him Authority to visit all Monasteries, and all the Clergy of *England*, and to dispence with all the Laws of the Church for one whole year after the date of the Bull. The power that was lodged in him by this Bull was not more invidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offensive; for the Preamble of it was full of severe Reflections against the Manners and Ignorance of the Clergy, who are said in it to have been delivered over to a *Reprobate mind*. This, as it was a publick Defaming them, so how true soever it might be, all thought it did not become the Cardinal, whose Vices were notorious and scandalous, to tax others whose faults were neither so great, nor so eminent as his were.

A Bull for Re-  
forming the  
Clergy.  
10 June  
1519. L. Her-  
bert, and Ar-  
ticle 29. of his  
Impeachment

He did also affect a Magnificence and Greatness, not only in his Habit (being the first Clergy-man in *England* that wore Silks) but in his Family, his Train, and other Pieces of State equal to that of Kings. And even in performing Divine Offices, and saying Mass, he did it with the same Ceremonies that the Popes use; who judge themselves so nearly related to God, that those humble Acts of Adoration, which are Devotions in other persons, would abase them too much. He had not only Bishops and Abbots to serve him, but even Dukes and Earls to give him the Water and the Towel. He had certainly a vast mind; and he saw the corruptions of the Clergy gave so great Scandal, and their Ignorance was so profound, that unless some effectual ways were taken for correcting these, they must needs fall into great disesteem with the People: For though he took great liberties himself, and perhaps according to the Maxim of the Canonists, he judged Cardinals, as Princes of the Church, were not comprehended within ordinary Ecclesiastical Laws; yet he seemed to have designed the Reformation of the Inferiour Clergy by all the means he could think of, except the giving them a good Example: Therefore he intended to visit all the Monasteries of *England*, that so discovering their corruptions, he might the better justify the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into Bishopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches and Colleges: For which end he procured the Bull from *Rome*, but he was diverted from making any use for it, by some who advised him rather to suppress Monasteries by the Pope's Authority, than proceed in a Method which would raise great hatred against himself, cast foul aspersions on Religious Orders, and give the Enemies of the Church great advantages against it. Yet he had communicated his design to the King; and his Secretary *Cromwell* understanding it, was thereby instructed how to proceed afterwards when they went about the total suppression of the Monasteries.

The Cardi-  
nal's Pride.  
*Polydore Virgil*:

He designs a  
Reformation:

And a Sup-  
pression of  
Monasteries.

The Summoning of Convocations he assumed by vertue of his Legantine Power. Of these there were two sorts, the first were called by the King; for with the Writs for a Parliament there went out always a Summons to the Two Arch-Bishops for calling a Convocation of their Provinces; the Stile of which will be found in the Collection. It differs in nothing from what is now in use, but that the King did not prefix

The Calling of  
Convocations.

Collect.  
Numb. 3.

Collect.  
Numb. 4th.

Regist. 70th.  
Fol. 33, 34.

the day ; requiring them only to be Summoned to meet with all convenient speed ; and the Arch-Bishops, having the King's pleasure signified to them, did in their Writs prefix the day. Other Convocations were called by the Arch-Bishops in the several Provinces, upon great Emergencies, to meet and treat of things relating to the Church, and were Provincial Councils. Of this I find but one, and that called by *Warham* in the first year of this King, for restoring the Ecclesiastical Immunities that had been very much impaired, as will appear by the Writ of Summons. But the Cardinal did now, as Legate, issue out Writs for Convocations. In the year 1522. I find by the Register there was a Writ issued from the King to *Warham* to call one, who upon that Summoned it to meet at *St. Paul's* the 20th of *April*. But the Cardinal prevailed so far with the King, that on the 2d of *May* after, he by his Legantine Authority dissolved that Convocation ; and issued out a Writ to *Tonstall* Bishop of *London* to bring the Clergy of *Canterbury* to *St. Peter's* in *Westminster*, there to meet and reform Abuses in the Church ; and consider of other important Matters that should be proposed to them. What they did towards Reformation, I know not, the Records being lost : But as to the King's Supply, it was proposed, That they should give the King the half of the full value of their Livings for one year, to be paid in Five years. The Cardinal laid out to them how much the King had merited from the Church, both by suppressing the Schism that was like to have been in the Papacy in Pope *Julius* his time, and by protecting the See of *Rome* from the *French* Tyranny ; but most of all, for that excellent Book written by him in defence of the Faith against the Hereticks : and that therefore, since the *French* King was making War upon him, and had sent over the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland* to make War also on that side, it was fit that on so great an occasion, it should appear that his Clergy were sensible of their happiness in having such a King ; which they ought to express in granting somewhat, that was as much beyond all former Precedents, as the King had merited more from them than all former Kings had ever done.

But the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Rocheſter* opposed this : For they both hated the Cardinal. The one thought him ungrateful to him who had raised him : The other being a man of a strict Life hated him for his Vices. Both these spake against it as an unheard-of Tax, which would so oppress the Clergy, that would not be possible for them to live and pay it ; and that this would become a Precedent for after-times, which would make the condition of the Clergy most miserable. But the Cardinal, who intended that the Convocation by a great Subsidy should lead the way to the Parliament, took much pains for carrying it through ; and got some to be absent, and others were prevailed on to consent to it : And for the fear of its being made a Precedent, a Clause was put in the Act, *That it should be no Precedent for after-times*. Others laughed at this, and said, It would be a Precedent for all that, if it once passed. But in the end it was granted, with a most glorious Preamble ; and by it all the Natives of *England* that had any Ecclesiastical Benefice were to pay the full half of the true value of their Livings in Five years ; and all Foreigners who were Beneficed in *England* were to pay a whole years Rent in the same time : out of which number were excepted the Bishop of *Worcester* and *Landaffe*,  
*Polydore*

Collect.  
Numb. 5th.



*Polydore Virgil, Peter the Carmelite, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Silvester Darius, and Peter Vannes,* who were to pay only as Natives did. This encreased the hatred that the Clergy bore the Cardinal. But he despised them, and in particular was a great Enemy to the Monks, and looked on them as idle mouths that did neither the Church nor State any Service, but were through their scandalous Lives a reproach to the Church, and a burden to the State. Therefore he resolved to suppress a great number of them, and to change them to another Institution.

From the days of King *Edgar* the State of Monkery had been still growing in *England*. For most of the Secular Clergy being then Married, and refusing to put away their Wives, were by *Dunstan* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, who were all Monks, turned out of their Livings. There is in the Rolls an *Inspeximus* of King *Edgar's*, Erecting the Priory and Convent of *Worcester*, which bears date *Anno 964. Edgari 6<sup>to</sup>* on *St. Innocents* day, Signed by the King, the Queen, Two Arch-Bishops, Five Bishops, Six Abbots, (but neither Bishoprick nor Abby are named) Six Dukes, and Five Knights, but there is no Seal to it. It bears, that the King, with the Council and Consent of his Princes and Gentry, did Confirm and Establish that Priory; and that he had Erected 47 Monasteries, which he intended to encrease to 50. the number of Jubilee; and that the former Incumbents should be for ever excluded from all pretensions to their Benefices, because they had rather chosen with the danger of their Order, and the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Benefice; to adhere to their Wives, than to serve God chastly and Canonically.

Of the State  
of the Mona-  
steries.

Rot. Pat. 11.  
Hen. 8. Part 1.

The Monks being thus settled in most Cathedrals of *England*, gave themselves up to Idleness and Pleasure, which had been long complained of; but now that Learning began to be restored, they being everywhere possessed of the best Church-Benefices, were looked upon by all Learned-men with an evil eye, as having in their hands the chief encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they on the contrary decrying and disparaging it all they could, saying, It would bring in Heresie, and a great deal of mischief. And the Restorers of Learning, such as *Erasmus, Vives,* and others, did not spare them, but did expose their Ignorance and ill Manners to the World.

Now the King naturally loved Learning, and therefore the Cardinal, either to do a thing which he knew would be acceptable to the King, or that it was also agreeable to his own Inclinations, resolved to set up some Colleges, in which there should be both great Encouragements for eminent Scholars to prosecute their Studies, and good Schools for teaching and training up of Youth. This he knew would be a great honour to him, to be lookt upon as a Patron of Learning; and therefore he set his heart much on it, to have Two Colleges (the one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipswich*, the place of his Birth) well constituted, and nobly Endowed. But towards this, it was necessary to suppress some Monasteries, which was thought every-whit as justifiable and lawful, as it had been many Ages before, to change Secular Prebends into Canons Regular; the endowed Goods being still applied to a Religious use. And it was thought hard to say, That if the Pope had the absolute Power of dispensing the Spiritual Treasure of the Church, and to translate the Merits of one Man, and apply them to

The Cardi-  
nal's Colleges.

The Bull and  
Royal Assent,  
15. Reg. 2. Part.  
Rot. Pat.

another; that he had not a much more absolute Power over the Temporal Treasure of the Church, to translate Church-Lands from one use and apply them to another. And indeed the Cardinal was then so much considered at *Rome*, as a Pope of another world, that whatever he desired he easily obtained. Therefore on the 3d. of *April 1524*. Pope *Clement* by a Bull gave him Authority to suppress the Monastery of *St. Frideswide* in *Oxford*, and in the Diocess of *Lincoln*, and to carry the Monks elsewhere, with a very full *non obstante*. To this the King gave his assent the 19th. of *April* following. After this there followed many other Bulls for other Religious Houses and Rectories that were impropriated. These Houses being thus suppressed by the Law, they belonged to the King; who thereupon made them over to the Cardinal by new and special Grants, which are all Enrolled. And so he went on with these great Foundations, and brought them to Perfection: That at *Oxford* in the 18th year, and that at *Ipswich* in the 20th year of the King's Reign, as appears by the Dates of the King's Patents for Founding them.

In the last place I come to shew the new opinions in Religion, or those that were accounted new then in *England*; and the State and Progress of them till the 19th year of the King's Reign.

The First be-  
ginning of Re-  
formation in  
*England*.

From the days of *Wickliffe*, there were many that disliked most of the received Doctrines, in several parts of the Nation. The Clergy were at that time very hateful to the People; for as the Pope did exact heavily on them, so they being oppressed, took all means possible to make the People repay what the Popes wrested from them. *Wickliffe* being much encouraged and supported by the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord *Piercy*, the Bishops could not proceed against him till the Duke of *Lancaster* was put from the King, and then he was condemned at *Oxford*. Many opinions are charged upon him, but whether he held them or not, we know not, but by the Testimonies of his Enemies, who writ of him with so much passion, that it discredits all they say; yet he died in Peace, though his Body was afterwards burnt. He translated the Bible out of Latin into *English*, with a long Preface before it, in which he reflected severely on the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned the Worshipping of Saints and Images, and denied the corporal Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, and exhorted all People to the Study of the Scriptures. His Bible with this Preface was well received by a great many, who were led into these Opinions, rather by the Impressions which common sense and plain Reason made on them, than by any deep Speculation or Study. For the followers of this Doctrine were illiterate and ignorant men: some few Clerks joyned to them, but they formed not themselves into any Body or Association; and were scattered over the Kingdom, holding these Opinions in private without making any publick Profession of them: Generally they were known by their disparaging the superstitious Clergy, whose Corruptions were then so notorious, and their Cruelty so enraged, that no wonder the People were deeply prejudiced against them. Nor were the methods they used likely to prevail much upon them, being severe and cruel.

The Cruelties  
of the Church  
of *Rome*.

In the Primitive Church, though in their Councils they were not backward to pass Anathematisms on every thing that they judged Heresie; yet all Capital proceedings against Hereticks were condemned; and

and when two Bishops did prosecute *Priscillian*, and his followers before the Emperor *Maximus*, upon which they were put to death, they were generally so blamed for it, that many refused to hold Communion with them. The *Roman* Emperors made many Laws against Hereticks, for the fining and banishing of them, and secluded them from the Privileges of other Subjects; such as *making Wills*, or *receiving Legacies*; only the *Manichees* (who were a strange mixture between Heathenism and Christianity) were to suffer death for their errors: Yet the Bishops in those days, particularly in *Africk*, doubted much, whether upon the Insolencies of Hereticks, or Schismaticks, they might desire the Emperor to execute those Laws for Fining, Banishing, and other restraints. And *St. Austin* was not easily prevailed on to consent to it. But at length the *Donatists* were so intolerable, that after several Consultations about it, they were forced to consent to those inferior penalties, but still condemned the taking away of their lives. And even in the Execution of the Imperial Laws in those inferiour punishments, they were always interposing, to moderate the severity of the Prefects and Governours. The first Instance of severity on mens bodies that was not censured by the Church, was in the Fifth Century under *Justin* the first, who ordered the tongue of *Severus* (who had been Patriarch of *Antioch*, but did daily Anathematise the Council of *Chalcedon*) to be cut out. In the Eighth Century *Justinian* the 2d, (called *Rhinotmetus* from his cropt nose) burnt all the *Manichees* in *Armenia*: And in the end of the Eleventh Century the *Bogomili* were condemned to be burnt by the Patriarch and Council of *Constantinople*. But in the end of the 12th, and in the beginning of the 13th Century, a Company of Simple and Innocent persons in the Southern parts of *France*, being disgusted with the Corruptions both of the Popish Clergy and of the publick Worship, separated from their Assemblies; and then *Dominick* and his brethren Preachers, who came among them to convince them, finding their Preaching did not prevail, betook themselves to that way, that was sure to silence them. They perswaded the Civil Magistrates to burn all such as were judged Obstinate Hereticks. That they might do this by a Law, the Fourth Council of *Lateran* did Decree, that all Hereticks should be delivered to the *Secular Power* to be extirpated; (they thought not fit to speak out, but by the Practice it was known that *Burning* was that which they meant;) and if they did it not, they were to be Excommunicated; and after that, if they still refused to do their duty, (which was upon the matter to be the inquisitors Hangmen) they were to deny it at their utmost Perils. For not only the Ecclesiastical Censures, but Anathemas were thought too feeble a punishment for this Omission. Therefore a Censure was found out, as severe upon the Prince, as *Burning* was to the poor Heretick. He was to be deposed by the Pope, his Subjects to be absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, and his Dominions to be given away to any other faithful Son of the Church, such as pleased the Pope best; and all this by the Authority of a Synod, that passed for a *Holy General Council*. This as it was fatal to the Counts of *Tholouse*, who were great Princes in the South of *France*, and first fell under the Censures; so it was terrible to all other Princes, who thereupon, to save themselves, delivered up their Subjects to the Mercy of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Fitz-Herbert  
de Nat. Brevi-  
um.

*Burning* was the death they made choice of, because Witches, Wizards, and Sodomites had been so executed. Therefore to make Heresie appear a terrible thing, this was thought the most proper punishment of it. It had also a resemblance of everlasting Burning, to which they adjudged their Souls, as well as their Bodies were condemned to the Fire; but with this signal difference, that they could find no such effectual way to oblige God to execute their sentence, as they contrived against the Civil Magistrate. But however they confidently gave it out that by vertue of that Promise of our Saviour's, *Whose sins ye bind on Earth, they are bound in Heaven*, their Decrees were ratified in Heaven. And it not being easie to disprove what they said, people believed the one, as they saw the other sentence executed. So that whatever they condemned as Heresie, was looked on as the worst thing in the world.

The Laws of  
England a-  
gainst Here-  
ticks.

Under Rich.  
the 2<sup>d</sup>:

There was no occasion for the execution of this Law in *England*, till the days of *Wickliffe*. And the favour he had from some great Men stopt the Proceedings against him. But in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of King *Richard* the Second, a Bill passed in the House of Lords, and was assented to by the King, and published for an Act of Parliament, though the Bill was never sent to the House of Commons. By this pretended Law it appears, *Wickliffe's* followers were then very numerous; that they had a certain habit, and did preach in many places, both in Churches, Church-yards and Markets, without licence from the Ordinary; and did preach several Doctrines both against the Faith, and the Laws of the Land, as had been proved before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the other Bishops, Prelates, Doctors of Divinity, and of the Civil and Canon-Law, and others of the Clergy: That they would not submit to the Admonitions, nor Censures of the Church; but by their subtle ingenious Words, did draw the People to follow them and defend them by strong hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was Ordained, that upon the Bishop's certifying into the *Chancery* the names of such Preachers and their Abettors, the Chancellour should issue forth Commissions to the Sheriffs and other the King's Ministers, to hold them in Arrest and strong Prison till they should *justify them* according to the Law and reason of Holy Church. From the gentleness of which Law it may appear, that *England* was not then so tame as to bear the severity of those cruel Laws which were settled and put in execution in other Kingdoms.

Cook's Insti-  
tutes 3. part,  
chap. 5. of  
Heresie.

610 Rich. 2.  
1 Part. Numb.  
52. Rot. Parl.

The Custom at that time was to engross Copies of all the Acts of Parliament, and to send them with a Writ under the great Seal to the Sheriffs, to make them be proclaimed within their jurisdictions. And *Robert Braibrook* Bishop of *London*, then Lord Chancellour, sent this with the other Acts of that Parliament to be proclaimed. The Writ bears date the 26<sup>th</sup> of *May*, 5<sup>th</sup> *Reg.* But in the next Parliament that was held in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of that King's Reign, the Commons preferred a Bill reciting the former Act, and constantly affirmed that they had never assented to it, and therefore desired it might be declared to be void: for they protested it was never their intent to be *justified and to bind themselves and their Successors to the Prelates, more than their Ancestors had done in times past*. To which the King gave the Royal Assent, as it is in the Records of Parliament. But in the Proclamation of the Acts of that Parliament this Act was suppressed;

pressed; so that the former Act was still looked on as a good Law, and is Printed in the Book of Statutes. Such pious Frauds were always practised by the Popish Clergy, and were indeed necessary for the supporting the Credit of that Church. When *Richard* the 2<sup>d</sup>. was deposed and the Crown usurped by *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup>, then he in gratitude to the Clergy that assisted him in his coming to the Crown, granted them a Law to their hearts content in the 2<sup>d</sup> year of his Reign. The Preamble bears, *That some had a new Faith about the Sacraments of the Church, and the Authority of the same, and did preach without Authority, gathered Conventicles, taught Schools, wrote Books against the Catholick Faith; with many other heinous aggravations. Upon which the Prelates and Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm prayed the King to provide a sufficient remedy to so great an evil. Therefore the King by the assent of the States and other discreet men of the Realm being in the said Parliament, did ordain, That none should Preach without Licence, except persons Privileged; That none should Preach any Doctrine contrary to the Catholick Faith, or the Determination of the Holy Church, and that none should favour and abett them, nor keep their Books, but deliver them to the Diocesan of the place within 40 days after the Proclamation of that Statute. And that if any Persons were defamed, or suspected of doing against that Ordinance, then the Ordinary might arrest them, and keep them in his Prison, till they were canonically purged of the Articles laid against them, or did abjure them according to the Laws of the Church. Provided always, that the proceedings against them were publickly and judicially done and ended; within three Months after they had been so Arrested; and if they were Convict, the Diocesan, or his Commissaries, might keep them in Prison as long as to his discretion shall seem expedient, and might Fine them as should seem competent to him, certifying the Fine into the King's Exchequer: and if any being Convict did refuse to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into Relapse, then he was to be left to the Secular Court according to the Holy Canons. And the Majors, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs were to be personally present at the passing the Sentence when they should be required by the Diocesan, or his Commissaries, and after the Sentence they were to receive them, and them before the People in a high place do to be Brent. By this Statute the Sheriffs, or other Officers, were immediately to proceed to the Burning of Hereticks without any Writ, or Warrant from the King. But it seems the King's Learned Council advised him to issue out a Writ, *De Heretico comburendo*, upon what grounds of Law I cannot tell. For in the same year when *William Sautre* (who was the first that was put to death upon the account of Heresie) was judged Relapse by *Thomas Arundel*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in a Convocation of his Province; and thereupon was degraded from Priesthood, and left to Secular Power; a Writ was issued out to burn him, which in the Writ is called *The Customary Punishment* (relating it is like to the Customs that were beyond Sea.) But this Writ was not necessary by the Law, and therefore it seems these Writs were not Enrolled: For in the whole Reign of King *Henry* the 3<sup>th</sup> I have not been able to find any of these Writs in the Rolls. But by *Warham's* Register I see the Common course of the Law, was to certifie into the Chancery the Conviction of an Heretick, upon which the Writ was issued out, if the King did not send a Pardon. Thus it went on all the Reign of *Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup>. But in the beginning of his Son's Reign, there was a Conspiracy (as was pretended) by Sir*

Another Law  
under King  
*Henry* the 4<sup>th</sup>.

*Fitz-Herbert's*  
*Natura Brevium.*  
um.

*John*

H. 2.

*John Oldcastle*, and some others against the King and the Clergy; upon which many were put into Prison, and 29 were both attainted of *Treason*, and condemned of *Heresie*, so they were both Hanged and Burnt. But as a Writer that lived in the following Age, says, *Certain affirmed that these were but feigned causes, surmised of the Spirituality more of displeasure than truth.* That Conspiracy, whether real or pretended, produced a severe Act against those Hereticks, who were then best known by the name of *Lollards*. By which Act all Officers of State, Judges, Justices of the Peace, Majors, Sheriffs and Bailiffs, were to be Sworn when they took their Employments, to use their whole Power and Diligence to destroy all Heresies and Errors, called *Lollardies*, and to assist the Ordinaries and their Commissaries in their proceedings against them; and that the *Lollards* should forfeit all the Lands they held in *Fee Simple*, and their Goods and Chattels to the King.

The Clergy according to the Genius of that Religion, having their Authority fortified with such severe Laws, were now more cruel and insolent than ever. And if any Man denied them any part of that respect, or of those advantages to which they pretended, he was presently brought under the suspicion of *Heresie*, and vexed with Imprisonments, and Articles were brought against him.

5th year of  
Edw. 4th.

Upon which great complaints followed. And the Judges to correct this, granted *Habeas Corpus* upon their Imprisonments, and examined the Warrants, and either Bailed, or Discharged the Prisoners as they saw cause: For though the Decrees of the Church had made many things *Heresie*, so that the Clergy had much matter to work upon; yet when Offenders against them in other things could not be charged with any formal *Heresie*, then by consequences they studied to fasten it on them, but were sometimes over-ruled by the Judges. Thus, when one *Keyser* (who was Excommunicated by *Thomas Bourchier*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, at the Suit of another) said openly, that *That Sentence was not to be feared*; for though the Arch-bishop, or his Commissary had Excommunicated him, *yet he was not Excommunicated before God*; he was upon this Committed by the Arch-bishops Warrant, as one justly suspected of *Heresie*: but the Judges upon his moving for an *Habeas Corpus*, granted it; and the Prisoner being brought to the Bar, with the Warrant for his Imprisonment, they found the matter contained in it was not within the Statute, and first Bailed him, and after that they Discharged him. One *Warner* of *London*, having said, *That he was not bound to pay Tithes to his Curate*, was also imprisoned by *Edward Vaughan*, at the command of the Bishop of *London*; but he escaped out of Prison, and brought his Action of false imprisonment against *Vaughan*. Whereupon *Vaughan* pleading the Statute of *Henry the 4th*, and that his Opinion was an *Heresie* against the Determination of the Catholick Faith; the Court of the *Common-Pleas* judged, That the words were not within the Statute, and *that his Opinion was an Error, but no Heresie.* So that the Judges looking on themselves as the Interpreters of the Law, thought, That even in the Case of *Heresie* they had Authority to declare, what was *Heresie* by the Law, and what not: But what opposition the Clergy made to this, I do not know.

I hope the Reader will easily excuse this Digression, it being so material to the History that is to follow. I shall next set down what I find in the Records about the proceedings against Hereticks in the beginning of this Reign.

On the 2d of *May* in the year 1511. Six Men and Four Women, most of them being of *Tenterden*, appeared before Arch-bishop *Warham*, in his Mannor of *Knoll*, and abjured the following Errors. 1st. That in the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Christ, but Material Bread. 2dly, That the Sacraments of Baptism, and Confirmation, are not necessary, nor profitable for Mens Souls. 3dly, That Confession of Sins ought not to be made to a Priest. 4thly, That there is no more Power given by God to a Priest than to a Lay-man. 5thly, That the Solemnization of Matrimony is not profitable, nor necessary for the well of Man's Soul. 6thly, That the Sacrament of Extreme Unction is not profitable, nor necessary for Man's Soul. 7thly, That Pilgrimages to holy and devout Places be not Profitable, neither Meritorious for Man's Soul. 8thly, That Images of Saints be not to be Worshipped. 9thly, That a Man should pray to no Saint, but only to God. 10thly, That holy Water and holy Bread be not the better after the Benediction made by the Priest, than before. And as they abjured these Opinions, so they were made to swear, That they should discover all whom they knew to hold these Errors, or who were suspected of them, or that did keep any private Conventicles, or were Fautors, or Comforters of them that published such Doctrines. Two other Men of *Tenterden* did that day in the afternoon abjure most of these Opinions. The Court fate again the 5th of *May*, and the Arch-bishop enjoyned them Penance, to wear the Badge of a Faggot in Flames on their Cloaths during their lives, or till they were dispensed with for it; and that in the Procession both at the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and at their own Parish Churches they should carry a Faggot on their shoulders: which was looked on as a publick Confession that they deserved Burning.

That same day another of *Tenterden* abjured the same Doctrines. On the 15th of *May* the Court fate at *Lambeth*, where four Men and one Woman abjured. On the 19th four Men more abjured. On the 3d of *June* a Man and a Woman abjured. Another Woman the 26th of *July*: Another Man the 29th of *July*: Two Women on the 2d of *August*: A Man on the 3d and a Woman on the 8th of *August*: Three Men on the 16th of *August*: And three Men and a Woman on the 3d of *Sept*. In these Abjurations some were put to abjure more, some fewer of the former Doctrines; and in some of their Abjurations Two Articles more were added: 1st, That the Images of the Crucifix, of our Lady and other Saints, ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with Mens Hands, and were but Stocks and Stones. 2dly, That Money and Labours spent in Pilgrimages were all in vain. All these Persons (whether they were unjustly accused, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude Conceptions of those Opinions, and so were easily frightened out of them) abjured and performed the Penance that was enjoyned them. Others met with harder measure; for on the 29th of *April*, in the same year, 1511. one *William Carder* of *Tenterden*, being Endicted on the former Articles, he denied them all but one, *That he had said it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to Saints for any Mediation*. Upon which Witnesses were brought against him, who were all such as were then Prisoners, but intended to abjure and were now made use of to Convict others. They swore that he had taught them these Opinions. When their Depositions were published, he said he did repent if he had said any thing against the Faith and the Sacraments; but he did not remember that he had ever said any such

thing. Sentence was given upon him as an obstinate Heretick; and he was delivered up to the Secular Power. On the same day a Woman, *Agnes Grevill*, was Endicted upon the same Articles: She pleaded *Not Guilty*, but by a strange kind of proceeding, her Husband and her Two Sons were brought in Witnesses against her. Her Husband deposed, that in the end of the Reign of King *Edward* the 4<sup>th</sup>, one *John Iwe*, had perswaded her into these Opinions, in which she had persisted ever since: Her Sons also deposed, that she had been still infusing these Doctrines into them. One *Robert Harrison*, was also Endicted, and pleading *Not Guilty*, Witnesses did prove the Articles against him. And on the 2<sup>d</sup> of *May* Sentence was given against these Two as obstinate Hereticks. And the same day the Arch-bishop Signed the Writs for certifying these Sentences into the Chancery, which conclude in these words: *Our holy Mother the Church having nothing further that she can do in this matter, we leaveth the fore mentioned Hereticks, and every one of them to your Royal Highness, and to your Secular Council.* And on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *May*, *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*, being also Endicted of Heresie on the former Points, they both pleaded *Not Guilty*. But the Witnesses deposing against them, they were judged obstinate Hereticks; and the former a Relapse, for he had abjured before Cardinal *Morton*. And on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *May* Sentence was given. When, or how the Sentences were Executed, I cannot find. Sure I am, there are no Pardons upon Record for any of them, and it was the course of the Law, either to send a Pardon, or issue out the Writ for Burning them.

*Fox* mentions none of these proceedings, only he tells that *John Brown* was taken for some words said in Discourse with a Priest, about the saying of Masses for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory. Upon which he was committed for suspicion of Heresie: But *Fox* seems to have been misinformed about the time of his Burning, which he says was, *Anno 1517.* for they would not have kept a condemned Heretick Six years out of the Fire. I never find them guilty of any such clemency. These severe Sentences made the rest so apprehensive of their danger, that all the others who were Endicted, abjured. And in the year 1512. on the 5<sup>th</sup> of *June*, Two Men and Two Women abjured that Article, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, there was only Material Bread, and not the Body of Christ. And on the 4<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of *September*, Two other Women abjured the former Articles: and this is all that is in *Warham's Register* about Hereticks.

*Fitz-James*  
Bishop of  
London, his  
proceedings  
against Here-  
ticks, Fol. 4.

In what remains of *Fitz-James*, Bishop of *London's Register*, There are but Three Abjurations. In the year 1509. one *Elizabeth Sampson*, of *Aldermanbury*, was Endicted for having spoken reproachfully of the Images of our Lady of *Wilsden*, *Crom*, and *Walsingham*, condemning Pilgrimages to them, and saying, It was better to give Alms at home to poor People, than to go on Pilgrimages; and that Images were but Stocks and Stones, and denying the vertue of the Sacrament of the Altar, when the Priest was not in clean life, and saying, It was but Bread, and that Christ could not be both in Heaven and in Earth; and for denying Christ's Ascension to Heaven, and saying, That more should not go to Heaven than were already in it. But she to be free of further trouble, confessed her self Guilty. and abjured all those Opinions. It is generally observed, That in the proceedings against *Lollards*, the Clergy always mixed some Capital Errors, which all Christians rejected, with those for which they accused them; and some particu-



lars being proved, they gave it out that they were guilty of them all, to represent them the more odious. And in this case the thing is plain, for this Woman is charged for denying Christ's Ascension; and yet another of the Articles was, That she said Christ's Body could not be in the Sacrament, because it could not be both in Heaven and on Earth. Which two Opinions are inconsistent. In the year 1511. *William Potier* was Endicted for saying, There were Three Gods, and that he knew not for what Christ's Passion, or Baptism availed; and did abjure. Whether he only spoke these things Impiously, or whether he held them in Opinion, is not clear. But certainly he was no *Lollard*. One *Joan Baker* was also made to abjure some words she had said, That Images were but Idols, and not to be worshipped; and that they were set up by the Priests out of Covetousness, that they might grow Rich by them; and that Pilgrimages were not to be made. More is not in that Register. But *Fox* gives an account of Six others, who were burnt in *Fitz-James* his time. On this I have been the longer, that it may appear, what were the Opinions of the *Lollards*, at that time, before *Luther* had published any thing against the Indulgences. For these Opinions did very much dispose People to receive the Writings which came afterwards out of *Germany*.

The first Beginnings and Progress of *Luther's* Doctrine are so well known, that I need not tell how upon the publishing of Indulgences in *Germany*, in so gross a manner, that for a little Money any Man might both preserve himself, and deliver his Friends out of Purgatory. Many were offended at this Merchandise, against which *Luther* wrote. But it concerning the See of *Rome* in so main a Point of their Prerogative, which would also have cut off a great Branch of their Revenue, he was proceeded against with extrem severity: So small a spark as that Collision made, could never have raised so great a fire, if the World had not been strongly disposed to it, by the just prejudices they had conceived against the Popish Clergy, whose Ignorance and lewd Lives had laid them so open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would set himself against them, could not but be kindly looked on by the People. They had engrossed the greatest part both of the Riches and Power of Christendom, and lived at their ease and in much Wealth. And the corruptions of their Worship and Doctrine were such, that a very small proportion of common sense, with but an overly looking on the New Testament, discovered them. Nor had they any other varnish to colour them by, but the Authority and Traditions of the Church. But when some studious Men began to read the Ancient Fathers, and Councils, (though there was then a great mixture of Sophisticated Stuff that went under the Ancient Names, and was joyned to their true Works, which Criticks have since discovered to be spurious) they found a vast difference between the first Five Ages of the Christian Church, in which Piety and Learning prevailed, and the last Ten Ages in which Ignorance had buried all their former Learning, only a little misguided Devotion was retained for Six of these Ages; and in the last Four, the restless Ambition and Usurpation of the Popes was supported by the seeming holiness of the begging Friars, and the false Counterfeits of Learning, which were among the Canonists, Schoolmen and Casuists. So that it was incredible to see, how Men, notwithstanding all the opposition the Princes every where made to the Progress of these reputed new Opinions, and the great advantages by which the Church of *Rome* both held and

The Progress  
of *Luther's*  
Doctrine.

drew many into their Interests, were generally inclined to these Doctrines. Those of the Clergy, who at first Preached them, were of the begging Orders of Friars, who having fewer engagements on them from their Interests, were freer to discover and follow the Truth. And the Austere Discipline they had been trained under, did prepare them to encounter those difficulties that lay in their way. And the Laity that had long lookt on their Pastors with an evil Eye, did receive these Opinions very easily; which did both discover the Impostures with which the World had been abused, and shewed a plain and simple way to the Kingdom of Heaven, by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and such other Instructions about Religion, as were sincere and genuine. The Clergy who at first despised these new Preachers, were at length much Alarmed when they saw all People running after them, and receiving their Doctrines.

As these things did spread much in *Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands*, so their Books came over into *England*, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived against the corrupt Clergy, but by the Opinions of the *Lollards*, which had been now in *England* since the days of *Wickliff*, for about 150 years. Between which Opinions, and the Doctrines of the Reformers, there was great affinity; and therefore to give the better vent to the Books that came out of *Germany*, many of them were translated into the *English* Tongue, and were very much read and applauded. This quickned the Proceedings against the *Lollards*, and the enquiry became so severe, that great numbers were brought into the Toils of the Bishops and their Commissaries. If a Man had spoken but a light word against any of the Constitutions of the Church, he was seized on by the Bishops Officers; and if any taught their Children the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles Creed in the Vulgar Tongue, that was Crime enough to bring them to the Stake: As it did Six Men and a Woman at *Coventry*, in the *Passion Week*, 1519. being the 4th of *April*. *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, was very cruel to all that were suspected of Heresie in his Diocess; several of them abjured, and some were burnt.

Fox.

But all that did not produce what they designed by it. The Clergy did not correct their own Faults, and their cruelty was looked on as an evidence of Guilt, and of a weak Cause; so that the method they took, wrought only on Peoples fears, and made them more cautious and reserved, but did not at all remove the Cause, nor work either on their reasons or affections.

The King  
writes against  
*Luther*.  
1522.

Upon all this, the King to get himself a Name, and to have a lasting Interest with the Clergy, thought it not enough to assist them with his Authority, but would needs turn their Champion, and write against *Luther* in defence of the Seven Sacraments. This Book was magnified by the Clergy as the most Learned Work that ever the Sun saw; and he was compared to King *Solomon*, and to all the Christian Emperours that had ever been: And it was the chief Subject of Flattery for many years, besides the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith*, which the Pope bestowed on him for it. And it must be acknowledged, that considering the Age, and that it was the work of a King, it did deserve some Commendation. But *Luther* was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himself upon it, that so great a King had entred the lists with him, and answered his Book. And he replied, not without a

large

large mixture of Acrimony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting that great respect, that is due to the Persons of Sovereign Princes.

But all would not do. These Opinions still gained more footing, and *William Tindal* made a Translation of the New Testament in *English*, to which he added some short Glosses. This was printed in *Antwerp*, and sent over into *England* in the year 1526. Against which there was a Prohibition published by every Bishop in his Diocess, bearing that some of *Luther's* followers had erroneously Translated the New Testament, and had corrupted the Word of God, both by a false Translation, and by heretical Glosses: Therefore they required all Incumbents to charge all within their Parishes, that had any of these, to bring them in to the Vicar-General within thirty days after that premonition, under the pains of Excommunication and incurring the suspicion of Heresie. There were also many other Books prohibited at that time; most of them written by *Tindal*. And Sir *Thomas More*, who was a Man celebrated for Vertue and Learning, undertook the answering of some of those; but before he went about it, he would needs have the Bishops Licence for keeping and reading them. He wrote according to the way of the Age with much bitterness: and though he had been no Friend to the Monks, and a great declaimer against the Ignorance of the Clergy, and had been ill used by the Cardinal; yet he was one of the bitterest Enemies of the New Preachers; not without great cruelty when he came into Power, though he was otherwise a very good-natur'd Man. So violently did the *Roman* Clergy hurry all their Friends into those excesses of Fire and Sword.

When the Party became so considerable, that it was known there were Societies of them, not only in *London*, but in both the Universities, then the Cardinal was constrained to act. His contempt of the Clergy was looked on as that which gave encouragement to the Hereticks. When reports were brought to Court of a company that were in *Cambridge*, *Bilney*, *Latimer*, and others that read and propagated *Luther's* Book and Opinions: some Bishops moved, in the year 1523. that there might be a Visitation appointed to go to *Cambridge*, for trying who were the Fautors of Heresie there. But he, as *Legate*, did inhibit it (upon what grounds I cannot imagine,) which was brought against him afterwards in Parliament (*Art. 43. of his Impeachment.*) Yet when these Doctrines were spread every where, he called a meeting of all the Bishops and Divines, and Canonists about *London*; where *Thomas Bilney* and *Thomas Arthur* were brought before them, and Articles were brought in against them. The whole Procefs is set down at length by *Fox* in all Points according to *Tonstall's* Register, except one fault in the Translation. When the Cardinal asked *Bilney* whether he had not taken an Oath before, not to preach, or defend any of *Luther's* Doctrines; he confessed he had done it, but not judicially, (*judicialiter* in the Register.) This *Fox* Translates not lawfully. In all the other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Register and his Acts. The sum of the Proceedings of the Court, was, That after examination of Witnesses, and several other steps in the Procefs, which the Cardinal left to the Bishop of *London*, and the other Bishops to manage, *Bilney* stood out long, and seemed resolved to suffer for a good Conscience. In the end, what through humane infirmity, what through the great importunity of the Bishop of *London*, who set all his Friends on him, he did abjure on the 7th of

October 13.  
Reg. Tonstall.  
fol. 45. with  
which that in  
Fox agrees ex-  
actly.

Collection  
Number 6.

December.

*December*, as *Arthur* had done on the 2d of that Month. And though *Bilney* was relaps'd, and so was to expect no mercy by the Law, yet the Bishop of *London* enjoyned him Penance, and let him go. For *Tonstall* being a Man both of good Learning and an unblemisht Life, these Vertues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, *great moderation*, that was so eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in Blood. *Geoffry, Loni*, and *Thomas Gerrard*, also abjured for having had *Luther's* Books, and defending his Opinions.

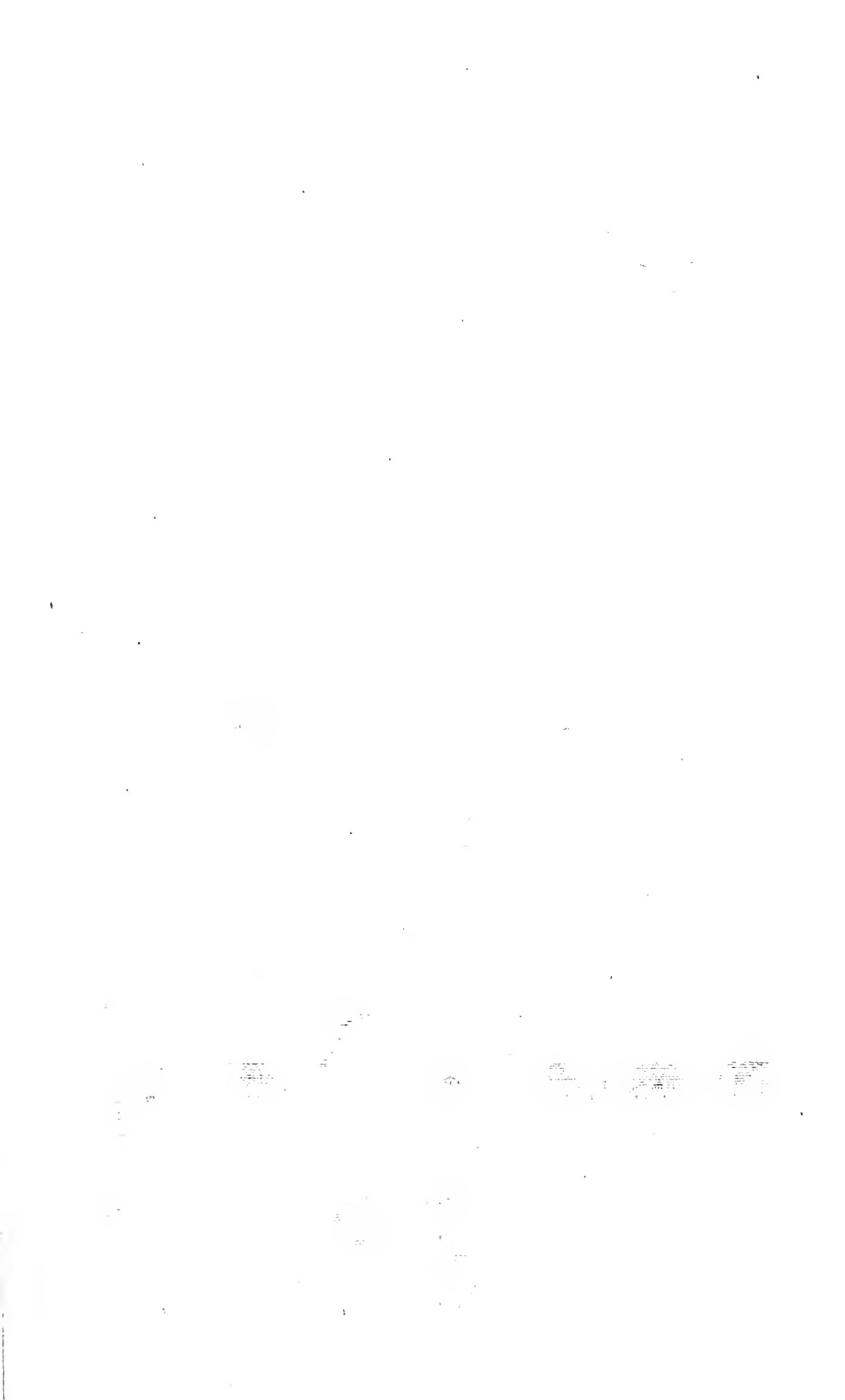
These were the proceedings against Hereticks, in the first half of this Reign. And thus far I have opened the State of Affairs, both as to Religious and Civil Concerns for the first 18 years of this King's time, with what observations I could gather of the Dispositions and Tempers of the Nation at that time, which prepared them for the Changes that followed afterwards.

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*The End of the First Book.*

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T H E





H. Holben Pinxit

R. White Sculp.



1486. Nata.

1501. Nov. 14. Arthurō nupsit.

1509. Iun. 3. Henrico Regi nupsit.

1526. toro exclusa.

1533. May 23 incesti damnata.

1536. Ian. 8. obiit.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REFORMATION  
OF THE  
Church of England.

BOOK II.

*Of the Proceſs of Divorce between King Henry and Queen Katharine, and of what paſſed from the Nineteenth to the Twenty fifth year of his Reign, in which he was declared Supreme Head of the Church of England.*



ING Henry hitherto lived at eaſe, and enjoyed his pleaſures; he made War with much Honour, and that always produced a juſt and advantageous Peace. He had no trouble upon him in all his Affairs, except about the getting of Money, and even in that, the Cardinal eaſed him. But now a Domeſtick trouble aroſe, which perplexed all the reſt of his Government, and drew after it Conſequences of a higher nature.

*The beginning of the Sute of Divorce.*

Henry the 7th upon wiſe and good conſiderations, reſolved to link himſelf in a cloſe Confederacy with Ferdinand and Iſabella, Kings of Caſtile and Arragon, and with the Houſe of Burgundy againſt France, which was looked on as the laſting and dangerous Enemy of England. And therefore a Match was agreed on between his Son, Prince Arthur, and Katharine the Infanta of Spain, whoſe eldeſt Siſter Joan was Married to Philip, and was then Duke of Burgundy, and Earl of Flanders; out of which aroſe a tripple Alliance between England, Spain, and Burgundy, againſt the King of France, who was then become formidable to all about him. There was given with her 200000 Duckats, the greateſt Portion that had been given for many Ages with any Princeſs, which made it not the leſs acceptable to King Henry the Seventh.

*The Marriage of Prince Arthur to the Infanta of Spain.*

The Infanta was brought into England, and on the 14th of Nov. was Married at St. Paul's to the Prince of Wales. They lived together as Man and Wife, till the 2d of April following; and not only had their

1501.

See the Depositions of Witnesses in L. Herbert.

Prince Arthur's Death, Apr. 2. 1502.

Bacon's Henry the 7th.

Consultations about a second Marriage of the Infant to his Brother.

Warham's Deposition in L. Herbert.

It is allowed by the Pope, Collections Numb. first.

Upon Political reasons. L. Herbert.

their Bed solemnly blest when they were put in it, on the night of their Marriage, but also were seen publicly in Bed for several days after, and went down to live at *Ludlow Castle* in *Wales*, where they still Bedded together. But Prince *Arthur*, though a strong and healthful youth when he Married her, yet died soon after, which some thought was hastned by his too early Marriage. The *Spanish Ambassador* had by his Masters Order taken proofs of the Consummation of the Marriage, and sent them into *Spain*; the young Prince also himself had by many Expressions given his Servants cause to believe that his Marriage was consummated the first night, which in a youth of Sixteen years of Age, that was vigorous and healthful, was not at all judged strange. It was so constantly believed that when he died, his younger Brother *Henry Duke of York* was not called Prince of *Wales*, for some considerable time. Some say for one Month, some for 6 Months. And he was not created Prince of *Wales* till 10 Months were elapsed, viz. in the *February* following, when it was apparent that his Brothers Wife was not with Child by him. These things were afterwards looked on as a full Demonstration (being as much as the thing was capable of) that the Princess was not a Virgin after Prince *Arthur's* Death.

But the reason of State still standing for keeping up the Alliance against *France*, and King *Henry* the 7th having no mind to let so great a Revenue as she had in Jointure be carried out of the Kingdom, it was proposed, That she should be married to the younger Brother *Henry* now Prince of *Wales*. The two Prelates that were then in greatest esteem with King *Henry* the 7th, were *Warham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*. The former delivered his opinion against it, and told the King that he thought it was neither honourable nor well pleasing to God. The Bishop of *Winchester* perswaded it, and for the Objections that were against it, and the Murmuring of the People who did not like a Marriage that was disputable, lest out of it new Wars should afterwards arise about the Right of the Crown, the Pope's Dispensation was thought sufficient to answer all; and his Authority was then so undisputed that it did it effectually. So a Bull was obtained on the 26 of *Decemb.* 1503 to this effect, *That the Pope according to the greatness of his Authority, having received a Petition from Prince Henry and the Princess Katharine, Bearing, That whereas the Princess was Lawfully Married to Prince Arthur (which was perhaps consummated by the Carnalis Copula) who was dead without any issue, but they being desirous to Marry for preserving the Peace between the Crowns of England and Spain, did Petition his Holiness for his Dispensation; therefore the Pope out of his care to maintain peace among all Catholick Kings, did absolve them from all Censures under which they might be, and Dispensed with the Impediment of their Affinity, notwithstanding any Apostolical Constitutions or Ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to Marry, or if they were already Married, he Confirming it, required their Confessor to enjoyn them some healthful penance for their having Married before the Dispensation was obtained.*

It was not much to be wondred at, that the Pope did readily grant this; for though very many both Cardinals and Divines did then oppose it, yet the Interest of the Papacy, which was preferred to all other Considerations, required it. For as that Pope being a great Enemy to *Lewis* the 12th the *French King*, would have done any thing to make an Alliance against him firmer; so he was a War-like Pope who

con-



considered Religion very little, and therefore might be easily persuaded to Confirm a thing that must needs oblige the succeeding Kings of *England* to maintain the Papal Authority, since from it they derived their Title to the Crown; little thinking that by a secret Direction of an over-ruling Providence, that deed of his would occasion the extirpation of the Papal Power in *England*. So strangely doth God make the Devices of Men become of no effect, and turn them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

1501.

Upon this Bull they were Married, the Prince of *Wales* being yet under Age. But *Warham* had so possessed the King with an aversion to this Marriage, that on the same day that the Prince was of Age, he by his Father's command, laid on him in the presence of many of the Nobility and others, made a Protestation in the hands of *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* before a publick Notary, and read it himself, by which he Declared, That whereas he being under Age, was Married to the "Princess *Katharine*; yet now coming to be of Age, he did not confirm that Marriage, but retracted and Annulled it, and would not proceed in it, but intended in full form of Law to void it and break it off; which he declared he did freely and of his own accord.

Henry Pro-  
tells against it,  
Jan. 27. 1505.

Collect. Num.  
2d.  
Mist.

Thus it stood during his Father's life, who continued to the last to be against it; and when he was just dying, he charged his Son to break it off, though it is possible that no consideration of Religion might work so much on him, as the apprehension he had of the troubles that might follow on a controverted Title to the Crown; of which the Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* had given a fresh and sad Demonstration. The King being dead, one of the first things that came under Consultation was, that the young King must either break his Marriage totally, or conclude it. Arguments were brought on both hands: But those for it prevailed most with the King: So six weeks after he came to the Crown, he was Married again publickly, and soon after they were both Crowned. On the first day of the year she made him a very acceptable new-years gift of a Son, but he dyed in the *February* thereafter: She miscarried often, and another Son dyed soon after he was born; only the Lady *Mary* lived to a perfect Age.

His Father al-  
so dissuaded  
it.

Apr. 22, 1500.  
K. Hen. y VII.  
dies.

Henry being  
come to the  
Crown Mar-  
riesher, Jun. 3.  
They are  
Crowned  
June 24.

Son born Jan.  
1. 1511.  
Dies Feb. 22.  
Another born  
and dies Nov.  
1514.

Lady *Mary*  
born Feb. 1.  
1516.

In this state was the King's Family when the Queen left bearing more Children, and contracted some diseases, that made her person unacceptable to him; but was, as to her other Qualities, a vertuous and grave Princess, much esteemed and beloved both of the King and the whole Nation. The King being out of hopes of more Children declared his Daughter Princess of *Wales*, and sent her to *Ludlow* to hold her Court there, and projected divers Matches for her. The first was with the *Dolphin*, which was agreed to between the King of *France* and him the 9th of *Novemb.* 1518. as appears by the Treaty yet extant. But this was broken afterwards upon the King's Confederating with the Emperor against *France*, and a new Match agreed and sworn to between the Emperor and the King at *Windsor* the 22. of *June* 1522. the Emperor being present in Person. This being afterwards neglected and broken by the Emperor, by the advice of his *Cortes* and States, as was formerly related, there followed some Overtures of a Marriage with *Scotland*. But those also vanished, and there was a second Treaty begun with *France*, the King offering his Daughter to *Francis* himself, which he gladly accepting, a Match was Treated: and on the last of *April*, it

1518.  
Treaty with  
10. Reg.  
His Daughter  
May Contra-  
cted to the  
*Dolphin*, Octo-  
ber 11.

Afterwards to  
the Emperor.  
Jun. 22. 1522.

Offer'd to  
*Scotland* Sept.  
1524  
Against *France*  
April 30.

was 1527

1527.

For K. Francis himself, or for his Son the Duke of *Orleance*. The King's Marriage questioned by Foreigners.

was agreed, that the Lady *Mary* should be given in Marriage either to *Francis* himself, or to his second Son the Duke of *Orleance*; and that Alternative was to be determined by the two Kings, at an Interview that was to be between them, soon after at *Calais* with forfeitures on both sides if the Match went not on.

But while this was in agitation the Bishop of *Turbe* the *French* Ambassador, made a great demurr about the Princess *Mary's* being illegitimate, as begotten in a Marriage that was contracted against a Divine Precept, with which no humane Authority could dispense. How far this was secretly concerted between the *French* Court and ours, or between the Cardinal and the Ambassador, is not known. It is surmised that the King or the Cardinal set on the *French* to make this exception publicly, that so the King might have a better Colour to justify his suit of Divorce, since other Princes were already questioning it. For if upon a Marriage proposed of such infinite advantage to *France*, as that would be with the Heir of the Crown of *England*, they nevertheless made Exceptions and proceeded but coldly in it. It was very reasonable to expect that after the King's Death, other Pretenders would have disputed her Title in another manner.

To some it seemed strange that the King did offer his Daughter to such great Princes as the Emperor and the King of *France*, to whom if *England* had fallen in her right, it must have been a Province: for though in the last Treaty with *France*, she was offered either to the King, or his Second Son; by which either the Children which the King might have by her, or the Children of the Duke of *Orleance*, should have been Heirs to the Crown of *England*, and thereby it would still have continued divided from *France*; yet this was full of hazard, for if the Duke of *Orleance* by his Brother's Death should become King of *France*, as it afterwards fell out, or if the King of *France* had been once possessed of *England*, then according to the maxime of the *French* Government, that whatever their King acquires he holds it in the Right of his Crown. *England*, was still to be a Province to *France*, unless they freed themselves by Arms. Others judged that the King intended to Marry her to *France*, the more effectually to exclude her from the Succession, considering the aversion his Subjects had to a *French* Government, that so he might more easily settle his Bastard Son the Duke of *Richmond* in the Succession of the Crown.

While this Treaty went on, the King's scruples about his Marriage began to take vent. It is said that the Cardinal did first infuse them into him, and made *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, that was the King's Confessor, possess the King's mind with them in confession. If it was so, the King had, according to the Religion of that time, very just cause of Scruple, when his Confessor judged his Marriage sinful, and the Pope's Legate was of the same mind. It is also said that the Cardinal being alienated from the Emperor, that he might irreparably embroil the King and him, and unite the King to the *French* Interests, designed this out of Spite; and that he was also dissatisfied toward the Queen, who hated him for his lewd and dissolute Life, and had oft admonished and checkt him for it: And that he therefore, designing to engage the King to Marry the *French* King's Sister, the Dutcheff of *Alençon*, did (to make way for that) set this Matter on foot: but as I see no good Authority for all this, except the Queen's suspicions, who did afterwards charge the Cardinal as the cause of all her trouble; so I

The King himself Scruples  
"Sanderus de  
Scism. Angl.

am inclined to think the King's Scruples were much ancients: for the King declared to *Simon Grineus* four years after this, that for seven years he had abstained from the Queen upon these Scruples, so that by that it seems they had been received into the King's mind three years before this time.

1527.

In his Letter  
to *Bucer*, Sept.  
10. 1531 in  
MSS. R. *Smith*.

What were the King's secret motives and the true grounds of his Conversion to the Queen is only known to God, and till the discovery of all secrets at the day of Judgment, must lie hid. But the reasons which he always owned, of which all Humane Judicatories must only take notice, shall be now fully opened. He found by the Law of *Moses*, if a Man took his Brother's Wife they should die Childless: This made him reflect on the death of his Children, which he now looked on as a curse from God for that unlawful Marriage. Upon this he set himself to study the Case, and called for the Judgments of the best Divines and Canonists. For his own Enquiry, *Thomas Aquinas* being the Writer in whose Works he took most pleasure, and to whose judgment he submitted most, did decide it clearly against him. For he both Concluded, that the Laws in *Leviticus* about the forbidden degrees of Marriage were Moral and Eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the Pope could only Dispence with the Laws of the Church, but could not Dispence with the Laws of God. Upon this reason, that no Law can be Dispenced with, by any Authority, but that which is equal to the Authority that enacted it. Therefore he infers that the Pope can indeed Dispence with all the Laws of the Church, but not with the Laws of God, to whose Authority he could not pretend to be equal. But as the King found this from his own private Study; so having commanded the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to require the Opinions of the Bishops of *England*, they all in a Writing under their Hands and Seals, declared they judged it an unlawfull Marriage. Only the Bishop of *Rocheſter* refused to set his Hand to it; and though the Arch-bishop pressed him most earnestly to it, yet he persisted in his refusal, saying that it was against his Conscience. Upon which the Arch-bishop made another write down his Name, and set his Seal to the Resolution of the rest of the Bishops. But this being afterwards questioned, the Bishop of *Rocheſter* denied it was his hand, and the Arch-bishop pretended that he had leave given him by the Bishop to put his hand to it, which the other denied. Nor was it likely that *Fisher* who scrupled in Conscience to Subscribe it himself, would have consented to such a weak Artifice. But all the other Bishops did declare against the Marriage, and as the King himself said afterwards in the *Legantine* Court, neither the Cardinal nor the Bishop of *Lincoln* did first suggest these scruples, but the King being possessed with them, did in Confession propose them to that Bishop: and added that the Cardinal was so far from cherishing them, that he did all he could to stifle them.

The Grounds  
of his Scruples.

All his Bishops  
except *Fisher*,  
declare it un-  
lawful.

*Cavendish* his  
life of *Wolsey*.

The King was now Convinced that his Marriage was Unlawful, both by his own study, and the resolution of his Divines. And as the point of Conscience wrought on him, so the Interest of the Kingdom required, that there should be no doubting about the Succession to the Crown: lest as the long Civil-War between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* had been buried with his Father, so a new one should rise up at his Death. The King of *Scotland* was the next Heir to the Crown after his Daughter. And if he married his Daughter to any out of *France*, then he had reason to judge, that the *French* upon their Ancient Alliance with *Scot-*

The dangers  
that were like  
to follow from  
it.

1527.

land, and that they might divide and distract *England*, would be ready to assist the King of *Scotland* in his Pretensions: Or if he Married her in *France*, then all those in *England* to whom the *French* Government was hateful, and the Emperor and other Princes to whom the *French* Power grew formidable, would have been as ready to support the pretensions of *Scotland*. Or if he should either set up his Bastard Son, or the Children which his Sister bore to *Charles Brandon*, there was still cause to fear a bloody decision of a Title that was so Doubtful. And though this may seem a consideration too Politick and Foreign to a matter of that nature, yet the obligation that lies on a Prince to provide for the happiness and quiet of his Subjects, was so weighty a thing, that it might well come in among other Motives, to incline the King much to have this matter determined. At this time the Cardinal went over into *France* under colour to conclude a League between the two Crowns, and to Treat about the means of setting the Pope at Liberty, who was then the Emperor's Prisoner at *Rome*; and also for a project of Peace between *Francis* and the Emperor. But his chief Business was to require *Francis* to declare his Resolutions concerning that Alternative about the Lady *Mary*. To which it was answered, that the Duke of *Orleanse* as a fitter Match in years, was the *French* King's Choice; but this matter fell to ground upon the Proceſs that followed soon after.

Holsey went  
into *France*,  
1527. July 11.

The King's  
fears & hopes  
about it.

The King did much apprehend the opposition the Emperor was like to make to his Designs; either out of a principle of Nature and Honour to protect his Aunt, or out of a Maxime of State, to raise his Enemy all the trouble he could at home. But on the other hand he had some cause to hope well even in that particular. For the Question of the unlawfulness of the Match had been first debated in the *Cortes*, or Assembly of the States at *Madrid*; and the Emperor had then shewed himself so favourable to it, that he broke the Match, (to which he had bound himself) with the Princess. Therefore the King had reason to think that this at least would mitigate his Opposition. The Emperor had also used the Pope so hardly, that it could not be doubted that the Pope hated him. And it was believed that he would find the protection of the King of *England* most necessary to secure him, either from the greatness of *France* or *Spain*, who were fighting for the best part of *Italy*, which must needs fall into one of their Hands. Therefore the King did not doubt but the Pope would be compliant to his desires. And in this he was much confirmed by the hopes, or rather assurance, which the Cardinal gave him of the Pope's Favour; who either calculating what was to be expected from that Court on the account of their own Interest, or upon some promises made him, had undertaken to the King to bring that matter about to his hearts content. It is certain that the Cardinal had carried over with him out of the King's Treasure 240000 *l.* to be employed about the Pope's Liberty. But whether he had made a bargain for the Divorce, or had fancied that nothing could be denied him at *Rome*, it does not appear. It is clear by many of his Letters that he had undertaken to the King, that the business should be done; and it is not like that a Man of his Wisdom would have adventured to do that without some good warrant.

L. Herbert.

The Arguments  
against  
the Bull.

But now that the Suit was to be moved in the Court of *Rome*, they were to devise such Arguments as were like to be well heard there. It would have been unacceptable to have insisted on the nullity of the Bull on this account, because the matter of it was unlawfull, and fell not within

within the Pope's Power. For Popes, like other Princes, do not love to hear the extent of their Prerogative disputed or defined. And to condemn the Bull of a former Pope as unlawful, was a dangerous Precedent at a time when the Pope's Authority was rejected by so many in *Germany*. Therefore the Canonists as well as Divines, were consulted to find such Nullities in the Bull of Dispensation, as according to the Canon-Law, and the proceedings of the *Rota*, might serve to invalidate it without any diminution of the Papal Power. Which being once done the Marriage that followed upon it, must needs be annulled. When the Canonists examined the Bull, they found much matter to proceed upon. It is a Maxime in Law, That if the Pope be surprized in any thing, and Bulls be procured upon false Suggestions and untrue Premises, they may be annulled afterwards. Upon which Foundation most of all the Processes against Pope's Bulls were grounded. Now they found by the Preamble of this Bull that it was said, The King had desired that he might be dispensed with to Marry the Princess. This was false; for the King had made no such desire, Being of an Age that was below such considerations, but twelve years old. Then it appeared by the Preamble that this Bull was desired by the King to preserve the Peace between the King of *England*, and *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* (called *Elizabetha* in the Bull) the Kings of *Spain*. To which they excepted, That it was plain this was false, since the King being then but twelve years old, could not be supposed to have such deep Speculations, and so large a Prospect as to desire a Match upon a politick Account. Then it being also in the Bull, that the Pope's Dispensation was granted to keep Peace between the Crowns, if there was no hazard of any Breach or War between them; this was a false Suggestion, by which the Pope had been made believe, That this Match was necessary for averting some great Mischiefe. And it was known that there was no danger at all of that, and so this Bull was obtained by a Surprize. Besides, both King *Henry* of *England*, and *Isabella* of *Spain* were dead before the King Married his Queen; so the Marriage could not be valid by virtue of a Bull that was granted to maintain Amity between Princes that were dead before the Marriage was Consummated: And they also judged that the Protestation which the King made, when he came of Age, did retract any such pretended desire, that might have been preferred to the Pope in his Name; and that from that time forward, the Bull could have no further Operation, since the ground upon which it was granted, which was the King's desire, did then cease, any pretended desire before he was of Age being clearly annulled and determined by that Protestation after he was of Age, so that a subsequent Marriage founded upon the Bull must needs be void.

These were the Grounds upon which the Canonists advised the Process at *Rome* to be carried on. But first to amuse or over-reach the *Spaniard*, the King sent word to his Ambassadour in *Spain* to silence the noise that was made about it in that Court. Whether the King had then resolved on the Person that should Succeed the Queen, when he had obtained what he desired, or not, is much questioned. Some suggest that from the beginning he was taken with the charms of *Anne Boleyn*, and that all this Process was moved by the unseen spring of that secret Affection. Others will have this Amour to have been later in the King's Thoughts. How early it came there, at this distance it is not easie to determine. But before I say more of it, she being so considerable a Person in the following Relation, I shall give some account of her. " *Sanders* has assured

1527.

*Wolsey's* advice to the King, 1527. Aug. 1.

" the

1527.

Sanders his  
Story about  
Anne Boleyn  
examined.

For this he  
cites *Rastal's*  
Life of Sir *Th.*  
*More*, a Book  
that was never  
seen by any  
body else.

“ the World, that the King had a Liking to her Mother, who was  
 “ Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*; and to the end that he might en-  
 “ joy her with the less Disturbance, he sent her Husband Sir *Thomas*  
 “ *Boleyn* to be Ambassador in *France*: And that after two Years Ab-  
 “ sence, his Wife being with Child, he came over, and sued a Divorce  
 “ against her in the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Court; but the King sent  
 “ the Marquis of *Dorset* to let him know, that she was with Child by  
 “ him, and that therefore the King desired he would pass the matter  
 “ over, and be reconciled to his Wife: To which he consented. And  
 “ so *Anne Boleyn*, tho' she went under the name of his Daughter, yet  
 “ was of the King's begetting. As he describes her, she was ill-shaped and  
 “ ugly, had six Fingers, a Gag-tooth, and a Tumour under her Chin,  
 “ with many other unseemly things in her Person. At the 15th Year of  
 “ her Age, he says, both her Father's Butler and Chaplain lay with her:  
 “ Afterwards she was sent to *France*, where she was at first kept private-  
 “ ly in the house of a Person of Quality; then she went to the *French*  
 “ Court, where she led such a dissolute Life, that she was called the  
 “ *English Ha-kney*. That the *French* King liked her, and from the Free-  
 “ doms he took with her, she was called *the King's Mule*. But returning  
 “ to *England*, she was admitted to the Court, where she quickly percei-  
 “ ved how weary the King was of the Queen, and what the Cardinal  
 “ was designing; and having gained the King's Affection, she governed  
 “ it so, that by all innocent Freedoms she drew him into her Toils,  
 “ and by the appearances of a severe Virtue, with which she disguised  
 “ her self, so increased his Affection and Esteem, that he resolved to  
 “ put her in his Queen's place as soon as the Divorce was granted. The  
 “ same Author adds, *That the King had likewise enjoyed her Sister*, with  
 “ a great deal more, to the Disgrace of this Lady and her Family.

I know it is not the work of an Historian to refute the Lyes of others, but rather to deliver such a plain account as will be a more effectual confutation than any thing can be that is said by way of Argument, which belongs to other Writers. And at the end of this King's Reign, I intend to set down a Collection of the most notorious Falshoods of that Writer, together with the Evidences of their being so. But all this of *Anne Boleyn* is so palpable a Lye, or rather a complicated heap of Lyes, and so much depends on it, that I presume it will not offend the Reader to be detained a few minutes in the Refutation of it. For if it were true, very much might be drawn from it, both to disparage King *Henry*, who pretended Conscience to annul his Marriage for the nearness of Affinity, and yet would after that marry his own Daughter. It leaves also a foul and lasting stain both on the Memory of *Anne Boleyn*, and of her incomparable Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*. It also derogates so much from the first Reformers, who had some kind of Dependance on Qu. *Anne Boleyn*, that it seems to be of great Importance for directing the Reader in the Judgment he is to make of Persons and Things, to lay open the Falshood of this Account. It were sufficient for blasting it, that there is no proof pretended to be brought for any part of it, but a Book of one *Rastal* a Judge, that was never seen by any other Person than that Writer. The Title of the Book is, *The Life of Sir Thomas More*: There is great reason to think that *Rastal* never writ any such Book; for it is most common for the Lives of great Authors to be prefixed to their Works. Now this *Rastal* published all *More's* Works in Queen *Mary's* Reign, to which if he had written his Life, it is likely he would have prefix'd it.

it. No evidence therefore being given for his Relation, either from Records, Letters, or the Testimony of any Person who was privy to the matter, the whole is to be looked upon as a black Forgery, devised on purpose to defame Queen *Elizabeth*. For upon her Mother's death, who can doubt but that some, either to flatter the King, or to defame her, would have published these things; which, if they had had been true, could be no Secrets? For a Lady of her Mother's condition to bear a Child two years after her Husband was sent out of *England* on such a publick Employment, and a Proceſs thereupon to be entred in the Archbishop's Courts, are things that are not so soon to be forgotten. And that she her self was under so ill a Reputation, both in her Father's Family, and in *France*, for common Lewdness, and for being the King's Concubine, are things that could not lie hid. And yet when the Books of the Archbishop's Courts (which are now burnt) were extant, it was published to the World, and Satisfaction offered to every one that would take the pains to inform themselves that there was no such thing on Record. Nor did any of the Writers of that time, either of the Imperial or Papal side, once mention these things, notwithstanding their great occasion to do it. But 80 years after, this Fable was invented, or at least it was then first published, when it was safer to lye, because none who had lived in the time could disprove it.

But it has not only no foundation, but *Sanders*, through the vulgar Errors of *Lyars*, has strained his Wit to make so ill a Story of the Lady, that some things, in his own Relation, make it plainly appear to be impossible. For, to pass by those many improbable things that he relates, as namely, That both the King of *England* and the *French* King, could be so taken with so ugly and monstrous a Woman, of so notorious and lewd Manners; and that this King for the space of seven years, that is, during the Suit of the Divorce, should continue enamoured of her, and never discover this, or having discovered it, should yet resolve at all hazards to make her his Wife; which are things that would require no common Testimony to make them seem credible: There is beside, in that Story, an heap of things so inconsistent with one another, that none but such an one as *Sanders* could have had either Blindness or Brow enough to have made or publish'd it. For first, if the King, that he might the more freely enjoy *Sir Thomas Boleyn's* Lady, sent him over into *France*, as *Sanders* says, I shall allow it as soon as may be, that it was in the very beginning of his Reign 1509. Then the time when *Anne Boleyn* was born, being according to *Sanders* his account two years after, that must be *Anno* 1511; and being, as he says, deflowred when she was 15, that must be *Anno* 1526. Then some time must be allowed for her going to *France*, for her living privately there for some time, and afterwards for her coming to Court, and meriting those Characters that he says went upon her; and after all that, for her Return into *England*, and insinuating her self into the King's favour: yet by *Sanders* his own Relation these things must have happened in the same year 1526; for in that year he makes the King think of putting away his Wife in order to marry *Anne Boleyn*, when according to his account she could be but 15 years old, tho' this King had sent *Sir Thomas Boleyn* into *France* the first day of his coming to the Crown. But that he was not sent so early, appears by several Grants that I have seen in the Rolls, which were made to him in the first 4 years of the

1527.

A. M. Sanders

the

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the King's Reign: They sufficiently shew that he was all that while about the King's Person, and mention no Services beyond Sea, but about the King's Person, as the ground upon which they were made. Besides, I find in the *Treaty-Rolls* no mention of his being Ambassador the first 8 years of the King's Reign. In the first year the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Duresme*, and the Earl of *Surry*, are named in the Treaty between the two Crowns, as the King's Ambassadors in *France*. After this, none could be Ambassadors there for two years together; for before two years elapsed, there was a War proclaimed against *France*; and when Overtures were made for a Peace, it appears by the *Treaty-Rolls*, that the Earl of *Worcester* was sent over Ambassador. And when the King's Sister was sent over to *Lewis* the *French* King, tho' Sir *Thomas Boleyn* went over with her, he was not then so much considered as to be made an Ambassador. For in the Commission that was given to many Persons of Quality, to deliver her to her Husband King *Lewis XII.* Sir *Thomas Boleyn* is not named. The Persons in the Commission are the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Dorset*, the Bishop of *Duresme*, the Earls of *Surry* and *Worcester*, the Prior of *St. John's*, and Doctor *West* Dean of *Windfor*. A year after that, Sir *Thomas Boleyn* was made Ambassador; but then it was too late for *Anne Boleyn* to be yet unborn, much less could it be, as *Sanders* says, that she was born two years after it.

March 10.  
1509-Feb 12, 1511.  
1514.Septemb. 23.  
6 Regn.

1515.

Camb. in ap-  
paratu ad Hist.  
Eliz. Reg.

But the Learned *Cambden*, whose Study and Profession led him to a more particular knowledge of these things, gives us another Account of her Birth. He says that she was born in the Year 1507, which was two years before the King came to the Crown. And if it be suggested, that then the Prince, to enjoy her Mother, prevailed with his Father to send her Husband beyond Sea, that must be done when the Prince himself was not 14 years of Age: so they must make him to have corrupted other Mens Wives at that Age, when yet they will not allow his Brother (no not when he was two years older) to have known his own Wife.

Her Birth,

1514.

and Breeding.

But now I leave this foul Fiction, and go to deliver certain Truths. *Anne Boleyn's* Mother was Daughter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sister to the Duke that was at the time of the Divorce Lord Treasurer. Her Father's Mother was one of the Daughters and Heirs to the Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*; and her great Grand-father Sir *Geoffry Boleyn*, who had been Lord Major of *London*, married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord *Hastings*; and their Family as they had mixed with so much great Blood, so had married their Daughters to very Noble Families. She, being but seven years old, was carried over to *France* with the King's Sister; which shews she could have none of those Deformities in her Person, since such are not brought into the Courts and Families of Queens. And tho' upon the *French* King's Death the Queen Dowager came soon back to *England*, yet she was so liked in the *French* Court, that the next King *Francis's* Queen kept her about her self for some years; and after her Death, the King's Sister, the Dutchess of *Alenfon*, kept her in her Court all the while she was in *France*: which as it shews there was somewhat extraordinary in her Person, so those Princesses being much celebrated for their Virtues, it is not to be imagined that any Person so notoriously defamed as *Sanders* would represent her, was entertained in their Courts.

When



When she came into *England* is not so clear: It is said, that in the year 1522, when War was made on *France*, her Father, who was then Ambassador, was recalled, and brought her over with him, which is not improbable; but if she came then, she did not stay long in *England*, for *Cambden* says, that she served Queen *Claudia* of *France* till her Death, (which was in *July* 1524;) and after that she was taken into Service by King *Francis's* Sister. How long she continued in that Service, I do not find; but it is probable that she returned out of *France* with her Father from his Embassy, in the year 1527; when, as *Stow* says, he brought with him the Picture of her Mistress, who was offered in Marriage to this King. If she came out of *France* before, as those Authors before-mentioned say, it appears that the King had no design upon her then, because he suffered her to return, and when one Mistress died to take another in *France*; but if she stayed there all this while, then it is probable he had not seen her till now at last, when she came out of the Princess of *Alençon's* Service: But whensoever it was that she came to the Court of *England*, it is certain that she was much considered in it. And tho' the Queen, who had taken her to be one of her Maids of Honour, had afterwards just cause to be displeas'd with her as her Rival; yet she carried her self so, that in the whole Progress of the Sute, I never find the Queen her self, or any of her Agents, fix the least ill Character on her; which would most certainly have been done, had there been any just Cause or good Colour for it.

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Her coming  
to *England*.  
*L. Herbert*.  
Title and  
Duplex.  
*Cavendish*  
says she was  
very young.  
*Cambden*.

And so far was this Lady, at least for some time, from any thoughts of marrying the King, that she had consented to Marry the Lord *Piercy*, the Earl of *Northumberland's* eldest Son, whom his Father, by a strange compliance with the Cardinal's Vanity, had placed in his Court, and made him one of his Servants. The thing is considerable, and clears many things that belong to this History; and the Relator of it was an Ear-witness of the Discourse upon it, as himself informs us. The Cardinal hearing that the Lord *Piercy* was making Addresses to *Anne Boleyn*, one day as he came from the Court called for him before his Servants, (*before us all*, says the Relator, *including himself*) and "chid him for it, pretending at first that it was unworthy of him to "match so meanly; but he justified his Choice, and reckoned up her "Birth and Quality, which he said was not inferiour to his own. And "the Cardinal insisting fiercely, to make him lay down his Pretensions, "he told him, he would willingly submit to the King and him; but, "that he had gone so far before many Witnesses, that he could not "forsake it, and knew not how to discharge his Conscience: and there- "fore he entreated the Cardinal would procure him the King's Favour "in it. Upon that the Cardinal in great rage said, Why? thinkest "thou that the King and I know not what we have to do in so weigh- "ty a matter? yes I warrant you: But I can see in thee no Submission "at all to the purpose; and said, you have matched your self with "such an one, as neither the King, nor yet your Father, will agree "to it; and therefore I will send for thy Father, who at his coming "shall either make thee break this unadvised Bargain, or disinherite "thee for ever. To which the Lord *Piercy* replied, That he would "submit himself to him, if his Conscience were discharged of the "weighty burden that lay upon it: And soon after, his Father coming to Court, he was diverted another way.

She is contra-  
dicted to the  
Lord *Piercy*.

*Cavendish*  
Life of *Wolfsey*.

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Had that Writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a great light to direct us; but by this Relation we see that she was so far from thinking of the King at that time, that she had engaged her self another way: but how far this went on her side, or whether it was afterwards made use of, when she was divorced from the King, shall be considered in its proper place. It also appears, that there was a Design about her, then formed between the King and the Cardinal; yet how far that went, whether to make her Queen, or only to corrupt her, is not evident. It is said, that upon this she ever after hated the Cardinal, and that he never designed the Divorce after he saw on whom the King had fixed his thoughts: But all that is a Mistake, as will afterwards appear.

L. Herbert.

1527.

The King moved for his Divorce at Rome.

And now, having made way through these things that were previous to the first Motion of the Divorce, my Narration leads me next to the Motion it self. The King resolving to put the matter home to the Pope, sent Doctor *Knight*, Secretary of State, to *Rome*, with some Instructions to prepare the Pope for it, and to observe what might be the best Method, and who the fittest Tools to work by. At that time the Family of the *Cassali* being three Brothers, were entertained by the King as his Agents in *Italy*, both in *Rome*, *Venice*, and other places. Sir *Gregory Cassali* was then his ordinary Ambassador at *Rome*: To him was the first full Dispatch about this business directed by the Cardinal, the Original whereof is yet extant, dated the 5th of *Decemb.* 1527, which the Reader will find in the Collection: But here I shall give the Heads of it.

The first Dispatch about it. Collect. Numb. 3.

“ After great and high Complements, and Assurances of Rewards, “ to engage him to follow the Business very vigorously and with great “ Diligence, he writes that he had before opened the King’s Case to “ him; and that, partly by his own Study, partly by the Opinion of “ many Divines and other Learned Men of all sorts, he found that “ he could no longer, with a good Conscience, continue in that Mar- “ riage with the Queen, having God and the Quiet and Salvation of “ his Soul chiefly before his Eyes; and, that he had consulted both “ the most learned Divines and Canonists, as well in his own Domi- “ nions as elsewhere, to know whether the Pope’s Dispensation could “ make it good; and, that many of them thought the Pope could “ not Dispense in this case of the first degree of Affinity, which they “ esteemed forbidden by a divine, moral, and natural Law; and all “ the rest concluded, that the Pope could not do it, but upon very “ weighty Reasons, and they found not any such in the Bull. Then “ he lays out the Reasons for Annulling the Bull, which were touched “ before; upon which they all concluded the Dispensation to be of “ no force; that the King looked on the Death of his Sons as a “ Curse from God; and, to avoid further Judgments, he now desired “ help of the Apostolick See, to consider his Case, to reflect on what “ he had merited by these Services he had done the Papacy, and to “ find a way that he being divorced from his Queen, may marry ano- “ ther Wife, of whom, by the blessing of God, he might hope for “ Issue Male. Therefore the Ambassador was to use all means possi- “ ble to be admitted to speak to the Pope in private, and then to “ deliver him these Letters of Credence, in which there was a most “ earnest Clause added with the King’s own Hand. He was also to “ make a Condolance of the Miseries the Pope and Cardinals were “ in,

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“ in, both in the King’s Name and the Cardinal’s, and to assure the  
“ Pope they would use all the most effectual means that were pos-  
“ sible for setting him at liberty, in which the Cardinal would em-  
“ ploy as much Industry as if there were no other way to come to  
“ the Kingdom of Heaven, but by doing it. Then he was to open  
“ the King’s business to the Pope, the Scruples of his Conscience,  
“ the great danger of cruel Wars upon so disputable a Succession, the  
“ Entreaties of all the Nobility and the whole Kingdom, with many  
“ other urgent Reasons, to obtain what was desired. He was also to  
“ lay before the Pope the present Condition of Christendom and of  
“ *Italy*, that he might consider of what Importance it was to his  
“ own Affairs, and to the Apostolick See, to engage the King so firm-  
“ ly to his Interests as this would certainly do; and, to move that the  
“ Pope, without communicating the matter to any Person, would  
“ freely grant it, and sign the Commission which was therewith sent  
“ engrossed in due form, and ready to be signed; by which the Car-  
“ dinal was authorized, with the Assistance of such as he should  
“ choose, to proceed in the matter, according to some Instructions  
“ which were also sent fairly written out for the Pope to sign. A  
“ Dispensation was also sent in due form: And if these were expedited,  
“ he might assure the Pope, that as the King had sent over a vast  
“ Sum to the *French* King for paying his Army in *Italy*, so he would  
“ spare no Travel nor Treasure, but make War upon the Emperour in  
“ *Flanders*, with his whole Strength, till he forced him to set the  
“ Pope at liberty, and restore the state of the Church to its former  
“ Power and Dignity. And if the Pope were already at liberty, and  
“ had made an Agreement with the Emperour, he was to represent  
“ to him how little cause he had to trust much to the Emperour, who  
“ had so oft broke his Faith, and designed to do all he could towards  
“ the depressing the Ecclesiastical State. And the Pope was to be re-  
“ membred, that he had dispensed with the Emperour’s Oath, for  
“ marrying the King’s Daughter without communicating the matter to  
“ the King. And if he had done so much for one that had been his  
“ Enemy, how much more might the King expect the like Favour,  
“ who had always paid him a most filial Duty? Or if the Pope would  
“ not grant the Commission to the Cardinal to try the matter, as  
“ a Person that being the King’s chief Minister, was not indifferent  
“ enough to judge in any of the King’s Concerns; he was by all means  
“ to overcome that, and assure the Pope that he would proceed in  
“ it as a Judge ought to do. But if the Pope stood upon it, and would  
“ by no means be persuaded to sign the Commission for the Cardi-  
“ nal, then he was to propose *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, who  
“ was then in *England*; and was to except against all other Foreigners,  
“ if the Pope chanced to propose any other. He was also to repre-  
“ sent to the Pope, that the King would look upon a Delay as a De-  
“ nial; and if the Pope inclined to consult with any of the Cardi-  
“ nals about it, he was to divert him from it all that was possible:  
“ but if the Pope would needs do it, then he was to Address him-  
“ self to them, and partly by informing them of the Reasons of the  
“ King’s Cause, partly by rewarding the good Offices they should do,  
“ he was to engage them for the King. And with this Dispatch Let-  
“ ters were sent to Cardinal *Pucci*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and the other  
“ Cardinals, to be made use of as there should be occasion for it. And

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“ because Money was like to be the most powerful Argument, especially  
 “ to men impoverished by a Captivity, 10000 Ducats were remitted  
 “ to *Venice*, to be distributed as the King's Affairs required; and he  
 “ was empowered to make farther Promises, as he saw cause for it,  
 “ which the King would faithfully make good; and in particular  
 “ they were to be wanting in nothing that might absolutely engage  
 “ the Cardinal *Datary* to favour the King's Business.

The Pope  
 grants it  
 when he was  
 in Prison.  
 Collect.  
 Num. 4.

The same things had been committed to the Secretary's care, and they were both to proceed by concert, each of them doing all that was possible to promote the Business. But before this reached *Rome*, Secretary *Knight* was come thither; and finding it impossible to be admitted to the Pope's Presence, he had, by corrupting some of his Guards, sent him the Sum of the King's Demands. Upon which the Pope sent him word, that the Dispensation should be sent fully expedded. So gracious was a Pope in Captivity. But at that time the General of the *Observants* in *Spain* being at *Rome*, required a Promise of the Pope not to grant any thing that might prejudice the Queen's Cause, till it were first communicated to the *Imperialists* there. But when the Pope made his Escape, the Secretary and the Ambassador went to him to *Orvieto* about the end of *December*, and first did, in the King's and Cardinal's name, congratulate his freedom. Then the Secretary discoursed the Business. The Pope owned that he had received the Message which he had sent to him at *Rome*; but in respect of his Promise, and that yet in a manner he was in Captivity, he begged the King would have a little Patience, and he should before long have not only that Dispensation, but any thing else that lay in his Power. But the Secretary not being satisfied with that Excuse, the Pope in the end said, he should have it; but with this Condition, That he would beseech the King not to proceed upon it till the Pope were fully at liberty, and the *Germans* and *Spaniards* were driven out of *Italy*. And upon the King's promising this, the Dispensation was to be put in his hands. So the Secretary, who had a great mind once to have the Bull in his possession, made no scruple to engage his Promise for that. The Pope also told them he was not expert in those things, but he easily apprehended the Danger that might arise from any Dispute about the Succession to the Crown, and that therefore he would communicate the business to the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*; upon which they resolved to prevent that Cardinal's being with the Pope, and went and delivered the Letters they had for him, and promised him a good Reward if he were favourable to their Requests in the King's behalf. Then they shewed him the Commissions that were sent from *England*; but he, upon the Perusal of them, said, they could not pass without a perpetual Dishonour on the Pope and the King too, and excepted to several Clauses that were in them. So they desired him to draw one that might both be sufficient for the King's purpose, and such as the Pope might with Honour grant: Which being done, the Pope told them, That tho' he apprehended great danger to himself, if the Emperor should know what he had done; yet he would rather expose himself to utter Ruin, than give the King or the Cardinal cause to think him Ingrate; but with many sighs and tears, he begged that the King would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any Process upon the Bull. And so he delivered the Commission and Dispensation, Signed, to *Knight*. But the means that the Pope proposed for his publishing and owning what he now granted, was that

Pope escaped  
*Decem. 9.*

And being at  
 liberty, gives  
 a Bull for it.

*Lautrech,*

*Lautrech* with the *French Army* should march, and coming where the Pope was, should require him to grant the Commission: So that the Pope should excuse himself to the Emperor, that he had refused to grant it upon the desire of the *English Ambassador*, but that he could not deny the General of the *French Army*, to do an Act of publick Justice: and by this means he would save his Honour, and not seem guilty of breach of Promise; and then he would dispatch the Commission about the time of *Lautrech's* being near him, and therefore he entreated the King to accept of what was then granted for the Present. The Commission and Dispensation was given to the Secretary: and they promised to send the Bull after him of the same form that was desired from *England*, and the Pope engaged to reform it as should be found needful. And it seems by these Letters that a Dispensation and Commission had been Signed by the Pope when he was a Prisoner, but they thought not fit to make any use of them, lest they should be thought null, as being granted when the Pope was in Captivity.

Thus the Pope expressed all the readiness that could be expected from him, in the circumstances he was then in; being overaw'd by the *Imperialists*, who were harassing the Country, and taking Castles very near the place where he was. *Lautrech* with the *French Army* lay still fast about *Bononia*, and as the season of the year was not favourable, so he did not express any Inclinations to enter into action. The Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* got 4000 Crowns as the reward of his Pains, and in earnest of what he was to expect when the matter should be brought to a final Conclusion. In this whole matter the Pope carried himself as a Wife and Politick Prince, that considered his Interest, and provided against Dangers with great Fore-sight. But as for Apostolical Wisdom and the Simplicity of the Gospel that was not to be expected from him. For now, though the high-sounding Names of *Christ's Vicar*, and *St. Peter's Successor*, were still retained to keep up the Pope's Dignity and Authority, yet they had for many Ages governed themselves as Secular Princes; so that the Maxims of that Court were no more to keep a good Conscience, and to proceed according to the Rules of the Gospel, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, committing the event to God, and submitting to his Will in all things: but the keeping a Balance, the maintaining their Interest in the Courts of Princes, the securing their Dominions, and the raising their Families, being that which they chiefly looked at, it is not to be wondred at, that the Pope governed himself by these Measures, though Religion was to be made use of to help him out of straits. All this I set down the more particularly, both because I take my Information from Original Letters, and that it may clearly appear how matters went at that time in the Court of *Rome*.

Secretary *Knight* being Infirm, could not travel with that hast that was required in this Business, and therefore he sent the Proto-Notary *Gambara* with the Commission and Dispensation to *England*, and followed in easie Journies. The Cardinals that had been consulted with, did all express great readiness in granting the King's Desire. The Cardinal *Datary* had forsaken the Court and betaken himself to serve God and his Cure; and other Cardinals were Hostages, so that now there were but Five about the Pope, *Monte*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *Ridolphi*, *Ravenate* and *Perusino*. But a motion being made of sending over a Legate, the Pope would by no means hearken to it, for that would draw new

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The Pope's  
Court and poli-  
cy.And the mea-  
sures that go-  
verned them.Collect,  
Numb. 5th.

1527.

The method  
propofed by  
the Pope.  
Collect.  
Numb. 6th.

troubles on him from the Emperor. That had been desired from *England* by a difpatch of the 27th of *December*, which preffed a speedy Conclusion of the Buſineſs; upon which the Pope on the 12th of *January*, did communicate the matter under the Seal of Confefſion to the Cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simoneta*, (who was then come to the Court) and upon conference with them, he propoſed to Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, that he thought the ſafer way was, " That either by  
" Vertue of the Commiſſion that the Secretary had obtained, or by the  
" Legantine Power that was lodged with the Cardinal of *York*, he  
" ſhould proceed in the Buſineſs. And if the King found the matter  
" clear in his own Conſcience, (in which the Pope ſaid, No Doctor  
" in the whole world could reſolve the matter better than the King  
" himſelf) he ſhould without more noiſe, make judgment be given;  
" and preſently Marry another Wife, and then ſend for a Legate to  
" confirm the matter. And it would be eaſier to ratifie all when it was  
" once done, than to go on in a Proceſs from *Rome*. For the Queen  
" would proteſt, that both the Place and the Judges were ſuſpected  
" and not free, upon which, in the courſe of Law, the Pope muſt  
" grant an Inhibition for the King's not Marrying another while the  
" Suit depended, and muſt avocate the buſineſs to be heard in the Court  
" of *Rome*; which, with other prejudices, were unavoidable in a pub-  
" lick Proceſs by Bulls from *Rome*. But if the thing went on in *Eng-  
" land*, and the King had once married another Wife, the Pope then  
" would find very good reaſons to juſtify the confirming a thing that was  
" gone ſo far, and promiſed to ſend any Cardinal whom they ſhould  
" name. This the Pope deſired the Ambaſſador would ſignifie to the King,  
" as the advice of the two Cardinals, and take no notice of him in it. But  
" the diſpatch ſhews he was a more faithful Miniſter than to do ſo.

The Ambaſſador found all the earneſtneſs in the Pope that was poſſible, to comply with the King; and that he was jealous both of the Emperor and *Francis*, and depended wholly on the King; ſo that he found if the terror of the *Imperial* Forces were over, the Court of *England* would diſpoſe of the Apoſtolicall See as they pleaſed. And indeed this Advice, how little ſoever it had of the Simplicity of the Goſpel, was certainly prudent and ſubtil, and that which of all things the *Spaniards* apprehended moſt. And therefore the *General of the Obſervants* moved Cardinal *Campegius*, then at *Rome*, for an Inhibition, leſt the Proceſs ſhould be carried on and determined in *England*. But that being ſignified to the Pope, he ſaid, It could not be granted, ſince there was no Suit depending, in which caſe only an Inhibition can be granted.

But now I muſt look over again to *England*, to open the Counſels there. At that time *Staphileus* Biſhop of the *Rota* was there; and he either to make his Court the better, or that he was ſo perſwaded in opinion ſeemed fully ſatisfied about the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe. So they ſent him to *Rome* with Inſtructions both publick and ſecret. The publick Inſtructions related to the Pope's Affairs, in which all poſſible Aſſiſtance was promiſed by the King. But one Propoſition in them flowed from the Cardinal's Ambition, " That the Kings of *England* and  
" *France* thought it would advance the Pope's Interests, if he ſhould  
" command the Cardinals that were under no Reſtraint, to meet in  
" ſome ſecure place, to conſider of the Affairs of the Church, that  
" they might ſuffer no prejudice by the Pope's Captivity: And for that  
" end,

*Staphileus*  
ſent from  
*England*.

His Inſtruci-  
ons.  
*Cotton Libr.*  
*Vitel. B 10.*  
*Jan.*

“ end, and to conserve the Dignity of the Apostolick See, that they  
 “ should choose such a Vicar or President, as partly by his Prudence  
 “ and Courage, partly by the assistance of the two Kings, upon whom  
 “ depended all their Hopes, might do such Services to the Apostolick  
 “ See, as were most necessary in that distracted time, by which the  
 “ Pope’s Liberty would be hastned.

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 Duplicates  
 corrected by  
 the Cardinal’s  
 Hand.

It cannot be imagined but the Pope would be offended with this Proposition, and apprehend that the Cardinal of *York* was not satisfied to be intriguing for the Popedom after his death, but was aspiring to it while he was alive. For as it was plain, he was the Person that must be chosen for that trust; so if the Pope were used hardly by the Emperor, and forced to ill conditions, the Vicar so chosen and his Cardinals would disown those Conditions, which might end in a Schism or his Deposition. But *Staphileus* his secret Instructions related wholly to the King’s business, which were these: “ That the King had opened to him the error of his Marriage; and that the said Bishop out of his great Learning, did now clearly perceive how invalid and insufficient it was: “ Therefore the King recommended it to his Care, that he would convince the Pope and the Cardinals, with the Arguments that had been laid before him, and of which a Breviate was given him. He was also to represent the great mischiefs that might follow, if Princes got not justice and ease from the Apostolick See. Therefore if the Pope were yet in Captivity he was to propose a meeting of the Cardinals, for choosing the Cardinal of *York* to be their Head, during the Pope’s Imprisonment, or that a full Commission might be sent to him for the King’s matter. And in particular he was to take care that the Business might be tried in *England*. And for his Pains in promoting the King’s Concerns, the King promised to procure a Bishoprick for him in *France*; and to help him to a Cardinals Hat. By him the King wrote to the Pope. The rude draught of it remains under the Cardinals hand, earnestly desiring a speedy and favourable dispatch of his business with a Credence to the Bearer.

The Cardinal also wrote to the Pope by him; and after a long Congratulating his Liberty with many sharp Reflections on the Emperor, he pressed a Dispatch of the King’s business, in which he would not use many words: this only I will add, *says he*, “ That that which is desired is holy and just, and very much for the safety and quiet of this Kingdom, which is most devoted to the Apostolical See. He also wrote by the same hand to the Ambassador, that the King would have things so carried, that all occasion of discontent or cavilling, whether at home or abroad, might be removed; and therefore desired that another Cardinal might be sent Legate to *England*, and joyned in Commission with himself for judging the Matter. He named either *Campegius*, *Tranus*, or *Farnese*. Or if that could not be obtained, that a fuller Commission might be sent to himself, with all possible haste, since delays might produce great Inconveniences. If a Legate were named, then care must be taken that he should be one who were Learned, Indifferent, and *Tractable*; and if *Campegius* could be the Man, he was the fittest Person. And when one was named he should make him a decent Present, and assure him that the King would most liberally recompence all his labour and expence. He also required him to press his speedy Dispatch, and that the Commission should be full to try and determine, without any reservation of the Sentence to be  
 “ given

The Cardinals Letters  
 by him.

1527.

“ given by the Pope. This Dispatch is interlined, and amended with the Cardinal’s own hand.

A Larger Bull  
desired by  
the King.

But upon the Arrival of the Messenger whom the Secretary had sent, with the Commission and Dispensation, and the other Packets before-mentioned; It was debated in the King’s Council, whether he should go on in his Proceſs, or continue to ſolicit new Bulls from *Rome*. On the one hand, they ſaw how tedious, dangerous, and expensive a Proceſs at *Rome* was like to prove: and therefore it ſeemed the eaſieſt and moſt expedite way to proceed before the Cardinal in his Legantine Court, who ſhould *ex officio*, and in the Summary way of the Court, bring it to a ſpeedy Concluſion. But on the other hand, if the Cardinal gave Sentence, and the King ſhould Marry, then they were not ſure, but before that time the Pope might either change his Mind, or his Intereſt might turn him another way. And the Pope’s Power was ſo abſolute by the Canon Law, that no general Clauſes in Commiſſions to Legates, could bind him to confirm their Sentences: and if upon the King’s Marrying another Wife, the Pope ſhould reſuſe to confirm it, then the King would be in a worſe caſe than he was now in, and his Marriage and Iſſue by it ſhould be ſtill diſputable: Therefore they thought this was by no means to be adventured on, but they ſhould make new Addreſſes to the Court of *Rome*. In the debate, ſome ſharp words fell either from the King, or ſome of his Secular Councillors; Intimating that if the Pope continued under ſuch fears the King muſt find ſome other way to ſet him at eaſe. So it was reſolved that *Stephen Gardiner*, commonly called Doctor *Stevens*, the Cardinal’s chief Secretary, and *Edward Fox* the King’s Almoner ſhould be ſent to *Rome*; the one being eſteemed the ableſt Canoniſt in *England*, the other one of the beſt Divines, they were diſpatched the 10th of *February*. “ By them the King wrote to the Pope, thank-

*Gardiner* and  
*Fox* ſent to  
*Rome*

With Letters  
from the King.

Collection  
Number 7.

And the Car-  
dinal.  
Collection  
Number 8.

“ ing him, that he had expreſſed ſuch forward and earneſt willingneſs  
“ to give him eaſe: and had ſo kindly promiſed to gratiſie his deſires,  
“ of which he expected now to ſee the effects. He wrote alſo to the  
“ Cardinals, his thanks for the chearfulneſs with which they had in  
“ Conſistory promiſed to promote his Sute; for which he aſſured them  
“ they ſhould never have cauſe to repent. But the Cardinal wrote in  
a ſtrain, that ſhews he was in ſome fear that if he could not bring  
about the King’s deſires, he was like to loſe his Favour. “ He beſought  
“ the Pope as lying at his feet, that if he thought him a Chriſtian,  
“ a good Cardinal, and not unworthy of that Dignity, and uſeful Mem-  
“ ber of the Apoſtolick See, a Promoter of Juſtice and Equity, or  
“ thought him his Faithful Creature, or that he deſired his own eter-  
“ nal Salvation, that he would now ſo far conſider his Interceſſion, as  
“ to grant kindly and ſpeedily that which the King earneſtly deſired;  
“ which if he did not know to be Holy, Right, and Juſt, he would  
“ undergo any hazard or puniſhment whatſoever, rather than pro-  
“ mote it; but he did apprehend if the King found that the Pope was  
“ ſo over-awed by the Emperor, as not to grant that which all Chriſten-  
“ dom judged was grounded both on the Divine and Humane Laws,  
“ both he and other Chriſtian Princes would from thence take occaſi-  
“ on to provide themſelves of other Remedies, and leſſen and deſpiſe  
“ the Authority of the Apoſtolick See. In his Letters to *Caffali* he  
expreſſed a great ſenſe of the Services which the Cardinal *Sanctorum*  
*Quatuor* had done the King; and bid him enquire what were the  
things

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Number 9.



things in which he delighted most, whether Furniture, Gold, Plate, or Horfes, that they might make him acceptable Presents; and assure him that the King would contribute largely towards the carrying on the building of *St. Peters* in the *Vatican*.

1527.

The most Important thing about which they were employed, was to procure the expediting of a Bull which was formed in *England*, with all the strongest Clauses that could be imagined. In the Preamble of which, all the Reasons against the Validity of the Bull of Pope *Julius II.* were recited; and it was also hinted, *that it was against the Law of God*: but to lessen that, it was added, *at least where there was not a sufficient Dispensation obtained*: Therefore the Pope, to reward the great Services by which the King had obliged the Apostolick See, and having regard to the Distractions that might follow on a disputable Title; upon a full Consultation with the Cardinals, having also heard the Opinions of Divines and Canonists, Deputed — for his Legate, to concur with the Cardinal of *York*, either together, or (the one being hindred or unwilling) severally. And if they found those things that were suggested against the Bull of Pope *Julius*, or any of them, well or sufficiently proved, then to declare it void and null, as surreptitiously procured, upon false grounds; and thereupon to annul the Marriage that had followed upon it: And to give both Parties full leave to marry again, notwithstanding any Appellation or Protestation, the Pope making them his Vicars, with full and absolute Power and Authority; empowering them also to declare the Issue begotten in the former Marriage good and legitimate, if they saw cause for it: The Pope binding himself to confirm whatever they should do in that Procefs, and never to revoke or repeal what they should pronounce: Declaring also, that this Bull should remain in force till the Procefs were ended, and that by no Revocation or Inhibition it should be recalled; and if any such were obtained, these are all declared void and null, and the Legates were to proceed notwithstanding: And all ended with a full *Non obstante*.

The Substance of the Bull desired by them. Collect. Numb. 10.

This was judged the uttermost Force that could be in a Bull; tho' the Civilians would scarce allow any Validity at all in these extravagant Clauses: But the most material thing in this Bull is, that it seems the King was not fully resolved to declare his Daughter illegitimate. Whether he pretended this to mitigate the Queen's or the Emperor's Opposition, or did really intend it, is not clear: But what he did afterwards in Parliament, shews he had This deep in his Thoughts, tho' the Queen's Carriage did soon after provoke him to pursue his Resentments against her Daughter. The *French King* did also joyn a most earnest Letter of his to the Pope, which they were also to deliver. They had likewise a secret Instruction by all means to endeavour that Cardinal *Campegio* should be the Legate: He had the reputation of a Learned Canonist, and they knew he was a tractable Man; and besides that he was Bishop of *Salisbury*, the King had obliged him by the Grant of a Palace which the King was building in *Burgo* at *Rome* for his Ambassadors; which, before it was finished, he had by a Patent given to him and his Heirs: so they had better hopes of him than of any other.

Rot. Pat. 2d Pars. Reg. 10.

By these Ambassadors the Cardinal wrote a long and most earnest Letter to *John Cassali* the Proto-Notary, that was the Ambassador's

The Cardinal's Earnestness in this matter

1527.

Collect.  
Numb. 11.

Brother. In which all the Arguments that a most anxious Mind could invent or dictate, are laid together to perswade the Pope to grant the King's desires. Among other things he tells him, "How he had engaged to the King, that the Pope would not deny it; That the King both out of scruple of Conscience, and because of some Diseases in the Queen that were incurable, had resolved never to come near her more; and, That if the Pope continued, out of his partial Respects to the Emperour, to be inexorable, the King would proceed another way. He offers to take all the blame of it upon his own Soul, if it were amiss; with many other Particulars in which he is so pressing, that I cannot imagine what moved the Lord *Herbert*, who saw those Letters, to think that the Cardinal did not really intend the Divorce. He (it seems) saw another Paper of their Instructions, by which they were ordered to say to the Pope, That the Cardinal was not the Author of the Counsel. But all that was intended by that, was only to excuse him so far, that he might not be thought too partial, and an incompetent Judge: For as he was far from disowning the Justice of the King's Sute, so he would not have trusted a Secret of that Importance to Paper, which, when it should be known to the King, would have lost him his Favour. But undoubtedly it was concerted between the King and him to remove an Exception which otherwise the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction would have made to his being the Judge in that matter.

Collection,  
Numb. 12.Campegio declared Legate.  
Collection,  
Numb. 13.

Wolfey writes.

With those Letters and Instructions were *Gardiner* and *Fox* sent to *Rome*, where both the *Cassales* and *Staphileus* were promoting the King's business all they could. And being strengthened with the Accession of those other two, they made a greater progress; so that in *April* the Pope did in Consistory declare Cardinal *Campegio* Legate to go to *England*, that he with the Cardinal of *York* might try the validity of the King's Marriage: But that Cardinal made great Excuses: He was then Legate at *Rome*, in which he had such Advantages, that he had no mind to enter in a business which must for ever engage either the Emperour or the King against him: He also pretended an Inability to travel so great a Journey, being much subject to the Gout. But when this was known in *England*, the Cardinal wrote him a most earnest Letter, to hasten over, and bring with him all such things as were necessary for making their Sentence firm and irreversible, so that it might never again be questioned.

But here I shall add a Remark, which tho' it is of no great importance, yet will be diverting to the Reader. The draught of the Letter is in *Wolfey's* Secretary's hand, amended in some places by his own, and concluded thus; *I hope all things shall be done according to the Will of God, the Desire of the King, the Quiet of the Kingdom, and to our honour with a good Conscience.* But the Cardinal dash'd out this last word *with a good Conscience*; perhaps judging that was a thing fit for meaner Persons, but that it was below the Dignity of two Cardinals to consider it much. He wrote also to *Cassali* high Complements for his diligence in the Step that was made, but desired him with all possible means to get the Bull granted and trusted to his keeping, with the deepest Protestations that no use should be made of it, but that the King only should see it; by which his Mind would be at ease, and he being put in good Hopes, would employ his Power in the Service of the Pope and Apostolick See; but, the Pope was not a Man to be cozen'd so easily.

When

When the Cardinal heard by the next Dispatch what Excuses and Delays *Campegio* made, he wrote to him again, and pressed his coming over in haste. "For his being Legate of *Rome*, he desired him to name a Vice-Legate. For his want of Money and Horses, *Gardiner* would furnish him as he desired, and he should find an Equipage ready for him in *France*; and he might certainly expect great Rewards from the King. But if he did not make more haste, the King would incline to believe an Advertisement that was sent him, of his turning over to the Emperor's Party. Therefore if he either valued the King's kindness, or were grateful for the Favours he had received from him; if he valued the Cardinal's Friendship or Safety, or if he would hinder the diminution of the Authority of the *Roman* Church, all Excuses set aside, he must make what haste in his Journey was possible. Yet the Legate made no great haste; for, till *October* following he came not into *England*. The Bull that was desired could not be obtained, but another was granted, which perhaps was of more force, because it had not those extraordinary Clauses in it. There is the Copy of a Bull to this purpose in the *Cottonian* Library, which has been printed more than once by some that have taken it for a Copy of the same Bull that was sent by *Campegio*; but I take it to be rather a Copy of that Bull which the Pope signed at *Rome* while he was there a Prisoner, and probably afterward at *Oroieto* he might give it the Date that it bears, 1527, *Decemb.* 17. But that there was a Decretal Bull sent by *Campegio*, will appear evidently in the Sequel of this Relation. About this time I meet with the first evidence of the progress of the King's Love to *Anne Boleyn*, in two original Letters of hers to the Cardinal; from which it appears, not only that the King had then resolved to Marry her, but that the Cardinal was privy to it. They bear no Date, but the Matter of them shews they were written after the end of *May*, when the Sweating-Sickness began, and about the time that the Legate was expected. They give such a light to the History, that I shall not cast them over to the Collection at the end, but set them down here.

1527.  
Mar 23.

The Pope grants a Decretal Bull.  
*Anti-Sanderus. L. Herbert.*

*MY* Lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her that is much desirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this Bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonely in loving you next unto the King's Grace, above all Creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds, shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true; and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do assure you I do long to hear from you news of the Legate: for I do hope and they come from you they shall be very good; and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not: And thus remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my Letter written with the hand of her that is most bound to be.

Two Letters of *Anne Boleyn's* to *Wolsey*

*THE* Writer of this Letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my Hand; desiring you, tho' it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you there is neither of us but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this Plague so well,

A Postscript of the King's to him.

1528.

well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good Diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the Legate's Arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the Writer would.

By your loving Sovereign and Friend, Henry K.

Your humble Servant, Anne Boleyn.

*MY* Lord, in my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind Letter, and for your rich and goodly Present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help; of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that all the days of my life I am most bound of all Creatures, next the King's Grace, to love and serve your Grace: of the which I beseech you never to doubt, that ever I shall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your Graces trouble with the Sweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped, and that is the King and you; not doubting but that God has preserved you both for great Causes known alone-ly of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the Legate, I desire that much; and if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust my Lord, to recompence part of your great pains: In the which I must require you in the mean time to accept my good-will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

Your humble and obedient Servant, Anne Boleyn.

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Number 14.

The Cardinal hearing that *Campegius* had the Decretal Bull committed to his Trust, to be shewed only to the King and himself, wrote to the Ambassador that it was necessary it should be also shewed to some of the King's Council; not to make any use of it, but that thereby they might understand how to manage the Process better by it. This he begged might be trusted to his care and fidelity; and he undertook to manage it so, that no kind of danger could arise out of it.

The Cardinal's  
Colleges finished.

08ob. 30.

At this time the Cardinal having finished his Foundations at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, and finding they were very acceptable both to the King and to the Clergy, resolved to go on, and suppress more Monasteries, and erect new Bishopricks, turning some Abbies to Cathedrals. This was proposed in the Consistory, and granted, as appears by a Dispatch of *Cassali's*. He also spoke to the Pope about a general Visitation of all Monasteries: And on the 4th of *November* the Bull for suppressing some was expected; a Copy whereof is yet extant, but written in such a Hand, that I could not read three words together in any place of it: and tho' I tried others that were good at reading all Hands, yet they could not do it. But I find by the Dispatch, that the Pope did it with some Aversion; and when *Gardiner* told him plainly, *It was necessary, and it must be done*, he paused a little, and seemed unwilling to give any further offence to Religious Orders: But since he found it so uneasy to gratify the King in so great a Point as the matter of his Divorce, he judged it the more necessary to mollify him by a compliance

More Mona-  
stries were  
to be sup-  
pressed.

pliance in all other things. So there was a power given to the two Legates to examine the state of the Monasteries, and to suppress such as they thought fit, and convert them into Bishopricks and Cathedrals.

1528.

While Matters went thus between *Rome* and *England*, the Queen was as active as she could be, to engage her two Nephews, the Emperor, and his Brother, to appear for her. She complained to them much of the King, but more of the Cardinal: She also gave them notice of all the Exceptions that were made to the Bull, and desired both their Advice and Assistance. They having a mind to perplex the King's Affairs, advised her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a Religious Life; and gave her assurance, that by their Interest at *Rome*, they would support her, and maintain her Daughter's Title, if it went to extremities. And as they employed all their Agents at *Rome* to serve her Concerns, so they consulted with the Canonists about the force of the Exceptions to the Bull. The Issue of which was, that a *Breve* was found out, or forged, that supplied some of the most material Defects in the Bull. For whereas in the Bull, the Preamble bore, that the King and Queen had desired the Pope's Dispensation to Marry, that the Peace might continue between the two Crowns, without any other cause given: In the Preamble of this *Breve*, mention is made of their desire to Marry, "because otherwise it was not likely that the Peace" would be continued between the two Crowns: And for that and "divers other Reasons they asked the Dispensation. Which in the body of the *Breve* is granted, bearing date the 26th of *December* 1503. Upon this they pretended that the Dispensation was granted upon good Reasons; since by this Petition it appeared, that there were fears of a Breach between the Crowns; and that there were also other Reasons made use of, though they were not named. But there was one fatal thing in it. In the Bull it is only said, That the Queen's Petition bore, *That perhaps she had Consummated her Marriage with Prince Arthur by the Carnalis Copula.* But in this, *Perhaps* is left out, and 'tis plainly said, *That they had Consummated their Marriage.* This the King's Council, who suspected that the *Breve* was forged, made great use of when the Question was argued, whether Prince *Arthur* knew her or not? Tho at this time 'twas said, the *Spaniards* did put it in on design, knowing it was like to be proved, that the former Marriage was Consummated: which they intended to throw out of the Debate, since by this it appeared that the Pope did certainly know that, and yet granted the *Breve*; and that therefore there was to be no more Enquiry to be made into that, which was already confessed: so that all that was now to be debated, was the Pope's power of granting such a Dispensation, in which they had good reason to expect a favourable Decision at *Rome*.

The Emperor  
opposes the  
King's Suit.

A *Breve* found  
out in *Spain*,  
Collection,  
Numb. 15.

But there appeared great grounds to reject this *Breve* as a forged Writing. It was neither in the Records of *England*, nor *Spain*, but said to be found amongst the Papers of *D. de Puebla*, that had been the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England* at the time of concluding the Match. So that if he only had it, it must have been casted, otherwise the Parties concerned would have got it into their hands; or else it was forged since. Many of the Names were written false, which was a Presumption that it was lately made by some *Spaniards*, who knew not how to write the Names true. For *Sigismund*, who was Secretary when it was pretended to have been Signed, was an exact Man, and no such Errors were found in *Brevés* at that time. But that which shewed it a manifest

Presumption  
of its being  
forged.

Forgery,

1528.

Forgery, was, that it bore date the 26th of *December*, Anno 1503, on the same day that the Bull was granted. It was not to be imagined, that in the same day a *Bull* and a *Breve* should have been expedited in the same business, with such material differences in them. And the stile of the Court of *Rome* had this singularity in it, that in all their *Breves* they reckon the beginning of the year from *Christmas*-day; which being the Nativity of our Lord, they count the year to begin then. But in their *Bulls* they reckon the Year to begin at the Feast of the *Annunciation*. So that a *Breve* dated the 26th of *December* 1503, was, in the vulgar Account, in the year 1502, therefore it must be false; for neither was *Julius* II. who granted it, then Pope, nor was the Treaty of the Marriage so far advanced at that time, as to admit of a *Breve* so soon. But allowing the *Breve* to be true, they had many of the same Exceptions to it that they had to the *Bull*, since it bore that the King desired the Marriage to avoid a Breach between the Crowns; which was false. It likewise bore that the Marriage had been Consummated between the Queen and Prince *Arthur*, which the Queen denied was ever done; so that the suggestion in her Name being, as she said, false, it could have no force, tho' it were granted to be a true *Breve*: And they said it was plain the *Imperialists* were convinced the *Bull* was of no force, since they betook themselves to such Arts to fortifie their Cause.

Campegio  
comes into  
England,

And shews  
the King the  
Bull;

But refuses to  
let it be seen  
to the Coun-  
cil.

Wolsey's En-  
deavour at  
Rome that it  
might be  
shewed;  
\* Collection,  
Number 16.  
Collection,  
Number 17.

When Cardinal *Campegio* came to *England*, he was received with the publick Solemnities ordinary in such a Case; and in his Speech at his first Audience, he called the King *The Deliverer of the Pope, and of the City of Rome*, with the highest Complements that the Occasion did require. But when he was admitted to a private Conference with the King and the Cardinal, he used many Arguments to dissuade the King from prosecuting the matter any farther. This the King took very ill, as if his Errand had been rather to confirm than annul his Marriage; and complained that the Pope had broken his word to him. But the Legate studied to qualifie him, and shewed the Decretal Bull, by which he might see, that tho' the Pope wished rather that the business might come to a more friendly Conclusion, yet if the King could not be brought to that, he was empowered to grant him all that he desired. But he could not be brought to part with the Decretal Bull out of his hands, or to leave it for a minute, either with the King or the Cardinal, saying, that it was demanded on these terms, that no other Person should see it; and that *Gardiner* and the Ambassador had only moved to have it expedited, and sent by the Legate, to let the King see how well the Pope was affected to him. With all this the King was much dissatisfied; but to encourage him again, the Legate told him, he was to speak to the Queen in the Pope's Name, to induce her to enter into a Religious Life, and to make the Vows. But when he proposed that to her, she answered him modestly, that she could not dispose of her self, but by the Advice of her Nephews.

Of all this the Cardinal of *York* advertised the *Cassalies*, and \* ordered them to use all possible Endeavours that the Bull might be shewn to some of the King's Council. Upon that (*Sir Gregory* being then out of *Rome*) the Proto-Notary went to the Pope, and complained that *Campegio* had dissuaded the Divorce. The Pope justified him in it, and said, He did as he had ordered him. He next complained that the Legate would not proceed to execute the Legantine Commission. The Pope denied that he had any Order from him to delay his Proceedings, but  
that

that by vertue of his Commission they might go on and pass Sentence. Then the Proto-Notary pressed him for leave to shew the Bull to some of the King's Council, complaining of *Campegio's* stiffness in refusing it, and that he would not trust it to the Cardinal of *York*, who was his Equal in the Commission. To this the Pope answered in passion, That he could shew the Cardinal's Letter, in which he assures him, that the Bull should only be shewed to the King and himself; and that if it were not granted he was ruined; therefore to preserve him he had sent it, but had ordered it to be burnt when it was once shewed. He wished he had never sent it, saying, he would gladly lose a Finger to recover it again, and expressed great grief for granting it, and said, They had got him to send it, and now would have it shewed, to which he would never consent, for then he was undone for ever. Upon this, the Proto-Notary laid before him the danger of losing the King, and the Kingdom of *England*; of ruining the Cardinal of *York*, and of the undoing of their Family, whose hopes depended on the Cardinal; and that by these means Heresie would prevail in *England*, which, if it once had got footing there, would not be so easily rooted out; that all persons judged the King's Cause right, but tho' it were not so, some things that were not good must be born with to avoid greater evils. And at last he fell down at his feet, and in most passionate expressions begged him to be more compliant to the King's desires, and at least not to deny that small favour of shewing the Decretal to some few Councillors, upon the assurance of absolute Secrecy. But the Pope interrupted him, and with great signs of an unusual Grief told him, These sad effects could not be charged on him, he had kept his word, and done what he had promised, but upon no consideration would he do any thing that might wound his Conscience, or blemish his Integrity: therefore let them proceed as they would in *England*, he should be free of all blame, but should confirm their Sentence. And he protested he had given *Campegio* no Commands to make any Delays, but only to give him notice of their Proceedings. If the King, who had maintained the Apostolick See, had written for the Faith, and was the Defender of it, would over-turn it, it would end in his own disgrace. But at last the Secret came out, for the Pope confessed there was a League in Treaty between the Emperor and himself; but denied that he had bound himself up by it, as to the King's business.

The Pope consulted with the Cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simonetta*, (not mentioning the Decretal to them, which he had granted without communicating it to any body, or entring it in any Register) and they were of opinion that the Process should be carried on in *England*, without demanding any thing further from *Rome*. But the Imperial Cardinals spake against it, and were moving presently for an Inhibition, and an Avocation of the Cause, to be tried at the Court of *Rome*. The Pope also took notice, that the Intercession of *England* and *France* had not prevailed with the *Venetians* to restore *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, which they had taken from him; and, that he could not think that Republick durst do so, if these Kings were in earnest. It had been promised that they should be restored as soon as his Legate was sent to *England*; but it was not yet done. The Proto-Notary told him it should most certainly be done. Thus ended that Conversation. But the more earnest the Cardinal was to have the Bull seen by some of the Privy-Council, the Pope was the more confirmed

1528.

But all in  
vain.

1528.

in his Resolutions never to consent to it: For he could not imagine the desire of seeing it was a bare Curiosity, or only to direct the Kings Councillors, since the King and the Cardinal could inform them of all the material Clauses that were in it. Therefore he judged the desire of seeing it was only that they might have so many Witnesses to prove that it was once granted, whereby they had the Pope in their power; and this he judged too dangerous for him to submit to.

The Pope sends *Campana* to *England*.  
Collect. Num. 18.

New Ambassadors sent to *Rome*,

With other Overtures.

Collect. Num. 19.

A Guard of 2000 Men offered to the Pope.

The Pope resolved to unite himself to the Emperor.

But the Pope finding the King and the Cardinal so ill satisfied with him, resolved to send *Francisco Campana*, one of his Bed-chamber, to *England*, to remove all Mistakes, and to feed the King with fresh hopes. In *England*, *Campegio* found still Means, by new Delays, to put off the business, and amused the King with new and subtle Motions for ending the matter more dextrously. Upon which, in the beginning of *December*, Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes*, the King's Secretary for the Latin Tongue, were sent to *Rome*. They had it in Commission to search all the Records there, for the *Breve* that was now so much talked of in *Spain*. They were to propose several Overtures; "Whether if the Queen vowed Religion, the Pope would not dispense with the King's second Marriage? Or, if the Queen would not vow Religion unless the King also did it, whether in that case would the Pope dispense with his Vow? Or whether if the Queen would hear of no such Proposition, would not the Pope dispense with the King's having two Wives, for which there were divers Precedents vouched from the Old Testament? They were to represent to the Pope, that the King had laid out much of his best Treasure in his Service, and therefore he expected the highest Favours out of the deepest Treasure of the Church. And *Peter Vannes* was commanded to tell the Pope, as of himself, that if he did, for partial Respects and Fears, refuse the King's desires, he perceived it would not only alienate the King from him, but that many other Princes, his Confederates, with their Realms, would withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from the Apostolick See.

By a Dispatch that followed them, the Cardinal tried a new Project, which was, an Offer of 2000 Men for a Guard to the Pope, to be maintained at the cost of the King and his Confederates. And also proposed an Interview of the Pope, the Emperor, the *French King*, and the Ambassadors of other Princes, to be either at *Nice*, *Avignon*, or in *Savoy*; and that himself would come thither from the King of *England*. But the Pope resolved stedfastly to keep his ground, and not to engage himself too much to any Prince; therefore the Motion of a Guard did not at all work upon him. To have Guards about him upon another Prince's Pay, was to be their Prisoner; and he was so weary of his late Imprisonment, that he would not put himself in hazard of it a second time. Besides, such a Guard would give the Emperor just cause of Jealousie, and yet not secure him against his Power. He had been also so unsuccessful in his Contests with the Emperor, that he had no mind to give him any new Provocation: And tho' the Kings of *England* and *France* gave him good words, yet they did nothing; nor did the King make War upon the Emperor; so that his Armies lying in *Italy*, he was still under his power. Therefore the Pope resolved to unite himself firmly to the Emperor; and all the use he made of the King's earnestness in his Divorce, was only to bring the Emperor to better Terms. The *Lutherans* in *Germany* were like to make great use of any Decision he might make against any of his Predecessors Bulls. The Cardinal Elector of *Mentz* had



had written to him to consider well what he did in the King's Divorce; for if it went on, nothing had ever fall'n out since the beginning of *Luther's* Sect, that would so much strengthen it as that Sentence. He was also threatned on the other side of *Rome*, that the Emperor would have a General Council called, and whatsoever he did in this Process should be examined there, and he proceeded against accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his Birth, that he was a *Bastard*, and so by the Canon incapable of that Dignity, and that thereupon they would depose him. He having all these things in his prospect, and being naturally of a fearful Temper, which was at this time more prevalent in him by reason of his late Captivity, resolv'd not to run these hazards, which seem'd unavoidable, if he proceeded further in the King's business. But his constant Maxim, being to promise and swear deepest, when he intended least, he sent *Campana* to *England*, with a Letter of Credence to the Cardinal, the effects of which message will appear afterwards. And thus ended this year, in which it was believed that if the King had employ'd that Money, which was spent in a fruitless Negotiation at *Rome*, on a War in *Flanders*, it had so distracted the Emperor's Forces, and encouraged the Pope, that he had sooner granted that, which in a more fruitless way was sought of him.

1528.

Being fright-  
ned with the  
threats of the  
Imperialists.

In the beginning of the next year, *Cassali* wrote to the Cardinal, that the Pope was much inclin'd to unite himself with the Emperor, and propos'd to go in Person to *Spain*, to solicit a general Peace; but intended to go privately, and desired the Cardinal would go with him thither, as his Friend and Councillor, and that they two should go as Legates. But *Bassali*, by *Salviati's* means, who was in great favour with the Pope, understood that the Pope was never in greater fear of the Emperor than at that time; for his Ambassador had threatned the Pope severely, if he would not recall the Commission that he had sent to *England*; so that the Pope spokt oft to *Salviati* of the great Repentance that he had inwardly in his heart, for granting the Decretal: and said, He was undone for ever, if it came to the Emperor's Knowledge. He also resolv'd, that though the Legates gave Sentence in *England*, it should never take effect, for he would not confirm it: Of which *Gregory Cassali* gave Advertisement by an exprefs Messenger, who as he pass'd through *Paris*, met Secretary *Knight* and Doctor *Bennet*, whom the King had dispatch'd to *Rome*, to assist his other Ambassadors there, and gave them an account of his Message: and that it was the Advice of the King's Friends at *Rome*, That he and his Confederates should follow the War more vigorously, and press the Emperor harder, without which all their applications to the Pope would signifie nothing. Of this they gave the Cardinal an Account, and went on but faintly in their Journey, judging that upon these Advertisements they would be recalled, and other Counsels taken.

1529  
Jan. 3.

Repents his  
granting the  
Decretal.

King's Letter  
to the Cardi-  
nal, Jan. 8.

At the same time the Pope was with his usual Arts cajoling the King's Agents in *Italy*: For when Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* came to *Bononia*, the Proto-Notary *Cassali* was surpriz'd, to hear that the business was not already ended in *England*: since (he said) he knew there were sufficient Powers sent about it, and that the Pope assur'd him he would confirm the Sentence; but that he made a great difference between their confirming their Judgment, by which he had the Legates between him and the Envy or Odium of it, and the granting a Bull, by which the Judgment should arise immediately from himself. This his

Jan. 9.

1529.

Jun. 15.

But feeds the  
King with  
high promises

best Friends dissuaded, and he seemed apprehensive, that in case he should do it, a Council would be called, and he should be deposed for it. And any such distraction in the Papacy, considering the footing which Heresie had already gotten, would ruin the Ecclesiastical State, and the Church: So dextrously did the Pope govern himself between such contrary tides. But all this Dissimulation was short of what he acted by *Campana* in *England*, whose true errand thither was to order *Campegio* to destroy the Bull; but he did so perswade the King and the Cardinal of the Pope's Sincerity, that by a dispatch to Sir *Francis Brian*, and *Peter Vannes*, and Sir *Gregory Cassali*, he chid the two former for not making more haste to *Rome*; for he believed it might have been a great advantage to the King's Affairs, if they had got thither before the *General of the Observants* (then Cardinal *Angel*.) He ordered them to settle the business of the Guard about the Pope presently, and tells them that the Secretary was recalled, and Dr. *Stephens* again sent to *Rome*: And in a Letter to Secretary *Knight*, who went no further than *Lions*, he writ to him; " That *Campana* had assured the King and him, " in the Pope's Name, that the Pope was ready to do, not only all that " of Law, Equity, or Justice, could be desired of him, but whatever " of the *fulness of his Power* he could do or devise, for giving the King " content: And that although there were three things which the Pope " had great reason to take care of; The calling a General Council, The " Emperor's descent into *Italy*, and the Restitution of his Towns, which " were offered to be put in his Hands by the Emperor's means; yet " neither these, nor any other consideration, should divert him from " doing all that lay within his Authority, or Power, for the King: " And that he had so deep a sense of the King's Merits, and the obligations that he had laid on him, that if his resignation of the Pope- " dom might do him any Service, he would readily consent to it: And " therefore in the Pope's Name he encouraged the Legates to proceed " and end the business.

Upon these assurances the Cardinal ordered the Secretary to haste forward to *Rome*, and to thank the Pope for that kind message, to settle the Guard about him, and to tell him, that for a Council, none could be called but by himself with the consent of the Kings of *England* and *France*. And for any pretended Council or meeting of Bishops, which the Emperor's by the Cardinals of his Party might call, he needed not fear that: For his Towns they should be most certainly restored. Nor was the Emperor offering to put them in his Hand to be much regarded; for though he restored them, if the Pope had not a better Guaranty for them, it would be easie for him, to take them from him when he pleased. He was also to propose a firmer League between the Pope, *England*, and *France*, in order to which, he was to move the Pope most earnestly to go to *Nice*; and if the Pope proposed the King's taking a second Wife, with a Legitimation of the Issue, which she might have, so the Queen might be induced to enter into a state of Religion, to which the Pope inclined most, he was not to accept of that; both because the thing would take up much time, and they found the Queen resolved to do nothing, but as she was advised by her Nephews. Yet if the Pope offered a *Decretal* about it, he might take it, to be made use of as the Occasion might require. But by a Postscript he is recalled, and it is signified to him, that *Gardiner* was sent to *Rome*, to negotiate these Affairs, who had returned to *England* with the Legate, and

and his being so successful in his former Message, made them think him the fittest Minister they could imploy in that Court; and to send him with the greater Advantage, he was made a Privy Councillor. 1529.

But an unlooked for Accident put a stop to all Proceedings in the Court of *Rome*: For on *Epiphany*-day the Pope was taken extreme ill at *Mafs*, and a great sickness followed, of which it was generally believed he could not recover; and though his Distemper did soon abate so much, that it was thought to be over, yet it returned again upon him, insomuch that the Physicians did suspect he was poisoned. Then followed all the secret Caballings, and Intrigues, which are ordinary in that Court upon such an occasion. The *Collonna's* and the other Imperialists were very busie, but the Cardinal of *Mantua* opposed them; and *Farnese* who was then at his House in the Countrey, came to *Rome* and joyned with *Mantua*; and these of that Faction resolved that if the *Spanish Army* marched from *Naples* toward them, they would dispence with that Bull, which provides that the succeeding Pope should be chosen in the same place where the former died, and would retire to some safe place. Some of the Cardinals spoke highly in favour of Cardinal *Wolsey*, whom (if the Ambassadors did not flatter and lie grossly in their Letters, from which I draw these Informations) they revered as a Deity. And the Cardinal of *Mantua*, it seems, proposing him as a Pattern, would needs have a particular account of his whole Course of Life, and expressed great esteem for him. When *Gardiner* was come as far as *Lions* he wrote the Cardinal word, that there went a Prophecy that an Angel should be the next Pope, but should die soon after. He also gave Advice that if the Pope died, the Commission for the Legates must needs expire with him, unless they made some Step in their Business, by a Citation of Parties, which would keep it alive; but whether this was done or not I cannot find. The Cardinal's Ambition was now fermenting strongly, and he resolved to lay his Project for the Popedom better than he had done before. His Letter about it to *Gardiner*, and the King's Instructions to his Ambassadors, are Printed by *Fox*, and the Originals from which they are taken are yet extant. He wrote also another Letter to the Ambassadors, which the Reader will find in the Collection. But because the Instructions shew what were the methods in choosing Popes in these days, by which it may be easily gathered, how such an Election must needs recommend a Man to Infalibility, Supremacy, and all the other Appendages of *Christ's Vicar on Earth*, I shall give a short Summary of them.

“ By his Letter to his confident *Gardiner*, he commits the thing chiefly to his Care, and orders him to employ all his Parts, to bring it to the desired Issue; sparing neither Presents nor Promises; and that as he saw Mens Inclinations or Affections led them, whether to publick or private Concerns, so he should govern himself towards them accordingly. *The Instructions* bear, that the King thought the Cardinal the fittest person to succeed to the Papacy; (they being advertized that the Pope was dead; that the *French King* did also of his own Motion offer his Assistance to him in it, and that both for publick and private Ends, the Cardinal was the fittest. Therefore the Ambassadors are required with all possible earnestness and vigour, to promote his Election. A Schedule of the Cardinal's names is sent them with marks to every one, whether he was like to be

The Pope  
sickens.

Jan. 27.

Cardinal Wol-  
sey's intrigues  
for the Papacy,  
Feb. 6.

Collect:  
Numb. 20.

The King's  
Instructions  
for the Ele-  
ction.

1529.

Numb.

“ present or absent, favourable, indifferent, or opposite to them. It  
 “ was reckoned there could be but 39 present, of which 26 were ne-  
 “ cessary to choose the Pope. Of these the two Kings thought them-  
 “ selves sure of 20. So 6 was all the number that the Ambassadors were  
 “ to gain, and to that number, they were first to offer them good rea-  
 “ sons to convince them of the Cardinal’s fitness for the Papacy. But  
 “ because humane frailty was such, that reason did not always take  
 “ place, they were to promise Promotions, and Sums of Money, with  
 “ other good Rewards, which the King gave them Commission to of-  
 “ fer, and would certainly make them good: besides all the great Pre-  
 “ ferments which the Cardinal had, that should be shared among those  
 “ who did procure his Election. The Cardinals of their party were  
 “ first to enter into a firm bond, to exclude all others. They were also  
 “ to have some Creatures of theirs to go into the conclave, to manage  
 “ the Business. Sir *Gregory Cassali*, was thought fittest for that Ser-  
 “ vice. And if they saw the adverse party too strong in the Conclave,  
 “ so that they could carry nothing, then *Gardiner* was to draw a Pro-  
 “ testation, which should be made in name of the two Crowns; and  
 “ that being made, all the Cardinals of their Faction were to leave the  
 “ Conclave. And if the fear of the Emperor’s Forces over-awed them,  
 “ the Ambassadors were to offer a Guard of 2 or 3000 Men to secure  
 “ the Cardinals: and the *French* King ordered his Armies to move,  
 “ if the *Spanish* Troops did move either from *Naples*, or *Milan*. They  
 “ were also to assure them, that the Cardinal would presently upon  
 “ his Election come and live at *Rome*, and were to use all endea-  
 “ vours to gain the Cardinal *de Medici* to their Faction; but at the  
 “ same time to assure the *Florentines*, that *Wolfey* would assist them  
 “ to exclude the *Medici* out of the Government of their Town and  
 “ State. They were also to have a strict Eye upon the motions of the  
 “ *French* Faction, lest if the Cardinal were excluded, they should con-  
 “ sent to any other, and refuse to make the Protestation as it was de-  
 “ sired. But to oblige *Campegio* the more, it was added, that if they  
 “ found all hopes of raising the Cardinal of *York* to vanish, then they  
 “ should try if *Campegio* could be Elected, and in that case the Car-  
 “ dinals of their Faction were to make no Protestation.

These were the Apostolical Methods, then used for choosing a Suc-  
 cessor to *St. Peter*; for though a Successor had been chosen to *Judas*  
 by lot, yet more Caution was to be used in choosing one for the Prince  
 of the Apostles. But when the Cardinal heard that the Pope was not  
 dead, and that there was hope of his Recovery. he wrote another long  
 Letter to the Ambassadors (the Original of which is yet extant) “ to  
 “ keep all their Instructions about a new Pope very secret, to be gain-  
 “ ing as many Cardinals as they could, and to take care that the Car-  
 “ dinals should not go into the Conclave, unless they were free, and  
 “ safe from any fears of the Imperial Forces. But if the Pope reco-  
 “ vered, they were to press him to give such orders about the King’s  
 “ Business, that it might be speedily ended: and then the Cardinal  
 “ would come and wait on the Pope over to *Spain*, as he had propo-  
 “ sed. And for the Apprehensions the Pope had of the Emperors be-  
 “ ing highly offended with him, if he granted the King’s Desire, or of  
 “ his coming into *Italy*, he needed not fear him. They knew what-  
 “ ever the Emperor pretended about his obligation to protect his Aunt,  
 “ it was only for reason of State: but if he were satisfied in other  
 “ things,

Feb. 29.  
 New proposi-  
 tions about  
 the Divorce.

“ things that would be soon passed over. They knew also that his  
 “ design of going into *Italy* was laid aside for that year, because he  
 “ apprehended that *France* and *England* would make War on him in  
 “ other places. There were also many Precedents found, of Dispen-  
 “ sations granted by Popes in like cases: And lately there had been  
 “ one granted by Pope *Alexander* the 6th, to the King of *Hungary*, a-  
 “ gainst the Opinion of his Cardinals, which had never been questi-  
 “ oned: and yet he could not pretend to such Merits as the King  
 had. And all that had ever been said in the King's Cause, was sum'd  
 up in a short Breviate by *Cassali*, and offered to the Pope; a Copy  
 whereof taken from an Original under his own hand, the Reader will  
 find in the Collection.

1529.

Collect.  
Numb. 27.

The King ordered his Ambassadors to make as many Cardinals sure  
 for his cause, as they could, who might bring the Pope to consent to  
 it, if he were still averse. But the Pope was at this time possessed with  
 a new jealousy, of which the *French* King was not free, as if the King  
 had been tampering with the Emperor, and had made him great of-  
 fers, so he would consent to the Divorce; about which *Francis* wrote  
 an anxious Letter to *Rome*, the Original of which I have seen. The  
 Pope was also surprized at it, and questioned the Ambassadors about  
 it; but they denied it, and said the union between *England* and *France*  
 was inseparable, and that these were only the Practices of the Empe-  
 ror's Agents to create distrust. The Pope seemed satisfied with what  
 they said, “ and added that in the present conjuncture a firm union  
 “ between them was necessary. Of all this Sir *Francis Brian* wrote a  
 long account in cypher.

But the Pope's Relapse put a new stop to business, of which the Car-  
 dinal being informed, as he ordered the King's Agents to continue  
 their care about his Promotion, so he charged them to see if it were  
 “ possible to get Access to the Pope, and though he were in the very  
 “ Agony of Death, to propose two things to him: the one, that he  
 “ would presently command all the Princes of Christendom to agree  
 “ to a Cessation of Arms, under pain of the Censures of the Church,  
 “ as Pope *Leo* and other Popes had done; and if he should die, he  
 “ could not do a thing that would be more meritorious, and for the  
 “ good of his Soul, than to make that the last Act of his Life. The  
 “ other thing was concerning the King's business, which he presseth as  
 “ a thing necessary to be done, for the clearing and ease of the Pope's  
 “ Conscience towards God: And withal he orders them to gain as  
 “ many about the Pope, and as many Cardinals and Officers in the  
 “ *Rota* as they could, to promote the King's Desires, whether in the  
 “ Pope's sickness or health. The Bishop of *Verona* had a great In-  
 “ terest with the Pope, so by that, and another Dispatch of the  
 “ same Date, (sent another way) they were ordered to gain him, pro-  
 “ mising him great Rewards, pressing him to remain still about the  
 “ Pope's Person: to ballance the ill Offices which Cardinal *Angel*,  
 “ and the Arch-bishop of *Capua* did, who never stirred from the Pope:  
 “ And to assure that Bishop, that the King laid this Matter more to  
 “ heart, than any thing that ever befel him; and that it would trou-  
 “ ble him as much to be overcome in this Matter by these two Friers,  
 “ as to lose both his Crowns: and for my part (*writes the Cardinal*)  
 “ I would expose any thing to my life, yea life it self, rather than  
 “ see the Inconveniencies that may ensue upon disappointing of the  
 “ King's desire. For promoting the Business, the *French* King sent the  
 Bishop

The Pope's  
Relapse.

April 6.

Another Di-  
spatch to  
*Rome*.  
Collect.  
Numb. 2. 2.

1529.

Bishop of *Bayon*, to assist the *English* Ambassadors in his Name, who was first sent over to *England* to be well instructed there. They were either to procure a Decretal for the King's Divorce, or a new Commission to the two Legates, with ampler Clauses in it than the former had; "To judge as if the Pope were in Person, and to emit compulsory Letters against any, whether Emperor, King, or of what degree soever, to produce all manner of Evidences or Records which might tend towards the clearing the Matter, and to bring them before them. This was sought because the Emperor would not send over the pretended original *Breve* to *England*. and gave only an attested Copy of it to the King's Ambassadors: Lest therefore from that *Breve* a new Suit might be afterwards raised for annulling any Sentence which the Legates should give, they thought it needful to have the Original brought before them. In the penning of that new Commission, Dr. *Gardiner* was ordered to have special care that it should be done by the best Advice he could get in *Rome*. It appears also from this Dispatch, that the Pope's *Pollicitation* to confirm the Sentence which the Legates should give, was then in *Gardiner's* hands; for he was ordered to take care that there might be no disagreement between the date of it and of the new Commission. And when that was obtained, Sir *Francis Brian* was commanded to bring them with him to *England*. Or if neither a Decretal, nor a new Commission could be obtained, then if any other Expedient were proposed, that upon good Advice should be found sufficient and effectual, they were to accept of it, and send it away with all possible Diligence. And the Cardinal conjured them, "by the Reverence of Almighty God, to bring them out of their Perplexity, that this virtuous Prince may have this thing sped, which would be the most joyous thing that could befall his heart upon Earth. But if all things should be denied, then they were to make their Protestations, not only to the Pope, but to the Cardinals, of the Injustice that was done the King; and in the Cardinal's Name to let them know, that not only the King and his Realm would be lost, but also the *French* King and his Realm, with their other Confederates, would also withdraw their Obedience from the See of *Rome*, which was more to be regarded than either the Emperor's Displeasure, or the Recovery of two Cities. They were also to try what might be done in Law by the Cardinals in a Vacancy, and they were to take good Counsel upon some Chapters of the Canon-Law which related to that, and govern themselves accordingly, either to hinder an Avocation or Inhibition, or, if it could be done, to obtain such things as they could grant, towards the Conclusion of the King's business. At this time also the Cardinal's Bulls for the Bishoprick of *Winchester* were expedited; they were rated high at 15000 Ducats; for tho' the Cardinal pleaded his great Merits, to bring the Composition lower, yet the Cardinals at *Rome* said the Apostolick Chamber was very poor, and other Bulls were then coming from *France*, to which, the favour they should shew the Cardinal would be a Precedent. But the Cardinal sent word, that he would not give past 5 or 6000 Ducats, because he was exchanging *Winchester* for *Duresme*; and by the other they were to get a great Composition. And if they held his Bulls so high, he would not have them; for he needed them not, since he enjoyed already, by the King's Grant the Temporalities of *Winchester*; which it is very likely was all that he considered

The Cardinal's  
Bulls for the  
Bishoprick of  
*Winchester*.

dered in a Bishoprick. They were at last expedited, at what Rates I cannot tell; but this I set down to shew how severe the Exactions of the Court of *Rome* were.

As the Pope recovered his health, so he inclined more to join himself to the Emperor than ever, and was more alienated than formerly from the King and the Cardinal; which perhaps were encreased by the Distaste he took at the Cardinals aspiring to the Popedom. The first thing that the Emperor did in the King's Cause, was to protest in the Queen of *England's* Name, that she refused to submit to the Legates: The one was the King's chief Minister, and her mortal Enemy; the other was also justly suspected, since he had a Bishoprick in *England*. The King's Ambassador pressed the Pope much, not to admit the Protestation; but it was pretended that it could not be denied, either in Law or Justice. But that this might not offend the King, *Salviati*, that was the Pope's Favourite, wrote to *Campegio*, that the Protestation could not be hindred, but that the Pope did still most earnestly desire to satisfy the King, and that the Ambassadors were much mistaken who were so distrustful of the Pope's good mind to the King's Cause. But now good words could deceive the King no longer, who clearly discovered the Pope's mind; and being out of all hopes of any thing more from *Rome*, resolved to proceed in *England* before the Legates: and therefore *Gardiner* was recalled, who was thought the fittest Person to manage the Process in *England*, being esteemed the greatest Canonist they had; and was so valued by the King, that he would not begin the Process till he came. Sir *Francis Brian* was also recalled. And when they took Leave of the Pope, they were ordered to expostulate in the King's Name, "Upon the Partiality he expressed for the Emperor, notwithstanding the many Assurances that both the Legates had given the King, that the Pope would do all he could toward his Satisfaction; which was now so ill performed, that he expected no more Justice from him. They were also to say as much as they could devise in the Cardinal's Name, to the same purpose; upon which, they were to try if it were possible to obtain any Enlargement of the Commission with fuller Power to the Legates; for they saw it was in vain to move for any new Bulls, or Orders from the Pope about it. And tho' *Gardiner* had obtained a Pollicitation from the Pope, by which he both bound himself not to recall the Cause from the Legates, and also to confirm their Sentence, and had sent it over; they found it was so conceived, that the Pope could go back from it when he pleased. So there was a new Draught of a Pollicitation formed with more binding Clauses in it, which *Gardiner* was to try if he could obtain by the following pretence. "He was to tell the Pope, that the Courtier to whom he trusted it, had been so little careful of it, that it was all wet and defaced, and of no more use; so that he durst not deliver it. And this might turn much to *Gardiner's* prejudice, that a Matter of such Concern was through his Neglect spoiled; upon which, he was to see if the Pope would renew it. If that could be obtained, he was to use all his Industry to get as many pregnant and material words added, as might make it more binding. He was also to assure the Pope, that tho' the Emperor was gone to *Barcellona*, to give Reputation to his Affairs in *Italy*; yet he had neither Army nor Fleet ready; so that they needed not fear him. And he was to inform

1529.

The Pope inclines to join with the Emperor,

Who protests against the Legate's Commission.

May 15.

Collection Number 23.

The Pope promised not to recall, but to confirm it.

the

1529.

The Legates  
write to the  
Pope.

Collection,  
Number 24.

“ the Pope of the Arts he was using both in the *English* and *French*  
 “ Courts to make a separate Treaty ; but all that was to no purpose,  
 “ the two Kings being so firmly linked together. But the Pope was so  
 great a Master in all the Arts of Dissimulation and Policy, that he  
 was not to be over-reached easily ; and when he understood that his  
 Pollicitation was defaced, he was in his heart glad at it, and could  
 not be prevailed with to renew it. So they returned to *England*, and  
 Dr. *Bennet* came in their place. He carried with him one of the ful-  
 left and most important Dispatches that I find in this whole Matter,  
 from the two Legates to the Pope and the Consistory ; who wrote  
 to them, “ That they had in vain endeavoured to persuade either  
 “ Party to yield to the other ; That the *Breve* being shewed to them  
 “ by the Queen, they found great and evident Presumptions of its be-  
 “ ing a meer Forgery ; and, That they thought it was too much for  
 “ them to sit and try the Validity or Authenticalness of the Pope’s  
 “ Bulls or Breves, or to hear his Power of Dispensing in such cases  
 “ disputed : therefore it was more expedient to avocate the Cause,  
 “ to which the King would consent if the Pope obliged himself, un-  
 “ der his hand, to pass Sentence speedily in his favour : But they  
 “ rather advised the granting a Decretal Bull, which would put an  
 “ end to the whole Matter ; in order to which, the Bearer was in-  
 “ structed to shew very good Precedents. But in the mean while,  
 “ they advised the Pope to press the Queen most effectually to enter  
 “ into a Religious Life, as that which would compose all these Dif-  
 “ ferences in the softest and easiest way. It pitied them to see the  
 “ rack and torments of Conscience under which the King had smarted  
 “ so many years ; and that the Disputes of Divines, and the Decrees  
 “ of Fathers, had so disquieted him, that for clearing a matter thus  
 “ perplexed, there was not only need of Learning, but of a more sin-  
 “ gular Piety and Illumination. To this were to be added the Desire  
 “ of Issue, Settlement of the Kingdom, with many other pressing Rea-  
 “ sons : that as the matter did admit of no further Delays, so there  
 “ was not any thing in the opposite Scale to balance these Conside-  
 “ rations. There were false Suggestions surmised abroad, as if the  
 “ Hatred of the Queen, or the desire of another Wife, (who was not  
 “ perhaps yet known, much less designed ) were the true Causes of  
 “ this Suit. But tho’ the Queen was of a rough Temper, and an un-  
 “ pleasant Conversation, and was passed all hopes of Children ; yet  
 “ who could imagine that the King, who had spent his most youth-  
 “ ful days with her so kindly, would now, in the decline of his  
 “ Age, be at all this trouble to be rid of her, if he had no other Mo-  
 “ tives ? But they, by searching his Sore, found there was rooted in  
 “ his Heart, both an Awe of God, and a Respect to Law and Order ;  
 “ so that tho’ all his People pressed him to drive the matter to an is-  
 “ sue, yet he would still wait for the Decision of the Apostolick See.  
 “ Therefore they most pressingly desire the Pope to grant the Cure  
 “ which his Distemper required, and to consider that it was not fit to  
 “ insist too much on the Rigour of the Law : But since the Soul and  
 “ Life of all the Laws of the Church was in the Pope’s breast, in doubt-  
 “ ful cases, where there was great hazard, he ought to mollifie the  
 “ Severity of the Laws ; which if it were not done, other Remedies  
 “ would be found out, to the vast Prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Au-  
 “ thority, to which many about the King advised him : There was  
 “ reason



“ reason to fear they should not only lose a King of *England*, but a  
 “ *Defender of the Faith*. The Nobility and Gentry were already en-  
 “ raged at the delay of a matter in which all their Lives and Interests  
 “ were so nearly concerned; and said many things against the Pope’s  
 “ Proceedings, which they could not relate without Horror. And  
 “ they plainly complained, that whereas Popes had made no Scruple  
 “ to make and change divine Laws, at their Pleasure; yet one Pope  
 “ sticks so much at the repealing what his Predecessor did, as if that  
 “ were more sacred, and not to be medled with. The King betook  
 “ himself to no ill Arts, neither to the charms of Magicians, nor the  
 “ Forgeries of Impostors; therefore they expected such an Answer as  
 “ should put an end to the whole matter.

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But all these things were to no purpose: the Pope had taken his mea-  
 sures, and was not to be moved by all the Reasons, or Remonstrances,  
 the Ambassador could lay before him. The King had absolutely gained  
*Campegio* to do all he could for him without losing the Pope’s favour. He  
 led at this time a very dissolute life in *England*, hunting and gaming all  
 the day long, and following Whores all the night: and brought a Bas-  
 tard of his own over to *England* with him, whom the King Knighted; so  
 that if the King sought his Pleasure, it was no strange thing, since he  
 had such a Copy set him by two Legates, who representing his Holiness  
 so lively in their manners, it was no unusual thing, if a King had a slight  
 sense of such disorders. The King wrote to his Ambassadors that he  
 was satisfied of *Campegio*’s love and affection to him, and if ever he was  
 gained by the Emperors Agents, he had said something to him which  
 did totally change that Inclination.

*Campegio*’s ill  
 life.  
 Pelerin In-  
 glesse.

April 6.

The Imperialists being Alarm’d at the recalling of some of the *English*  
 Ambassadors, and being Informed by the Queen’s means, that they  
 were forming the Process in *England*, put in a Memorial for an Avoca-  
 tion of the Cause to *Rome*. The Ambassadors answered, that there  
 was no Colour for asking it, since there was nothing yet done by the  
 Legates. For they had strict orders to deny that there was any Pro-  
 cess forming in *England*, even to the Pope himself in private, unless  
 he had a mind it should go on; but were to use all their Endeavours  
 to hinder an Avocation; and plainly in the King’s name, to tell the  
 Pope, That if he granted that, the King would look on it as a Formal  
 decision against him. And it would also be an high affront to the  
 two Cardinals: and they were thereupon to protest, that the King  
 would not obey, nor consider the Pope any more, if he did an Act of  
 such high Injustice; as after he had granted a Commission, upon no  
 Complaint of any Illegality, or Unjust Proceedings of the Legates, but  
 only upon surmises and suspicions, to take it out of their hands.  
 But the Pope had not yet brought the Emperor to his Terms in other  
 things, therefore to draw him on the faster, he continued to give the  
*English* Ambassador good words; and in discourse with *Peter Vannes*,  
 did insinuate as if he had found a means to bring the whole matter  
 to a good conclusion, and spoke it with an Artificial smile, adding,  
*In the name of the Father*, &c. But would not speak it out, and  
 seemed to keep it up as a secret, not yet ripe. But all this did after-  
 wards appear to be the deepest Dissimulation that ever was practised.

The Emperor  
 presses for an  
 Avocation.

Which the  
 King’s Ambas-  
 sadors oppose  
 much.

The Popes  
 deep dissimu-  
 lation.

Collect.  
 Numb. 25th.

And in the whole Process, though the Cardinal studied to make tricks  
 pass upon him, yet he was always too hard for them all at it; and  
 seemed as infallible in his Arts of Juggling, as he pretended to be in  
 his

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Collect.  
Numb. 26.  
The Pope  
complains of  
the Florentines.  
June 5.

his Decisions. He wrote a Cajoling Letter to the Cardinal. But words went for nothing.

June 13.

Soon after this, the Pope complained much to Sir Gregory Cassali, of the ill usage he received from the French Ambassador, and that their Confederates, the Florentines, and the Duke of Ferrara, used him so ill, that they would force him to throw himself into the Emperor's hands: and he seemed inclined to grant an Avocation of the cause, and complained that there was a Treaty of Peace going on at Cambray, in which he had no share. But the Ambassador undertook that nothing should be done to give him just offence; yet the Florentines continued to put great affronts on him, and his Family: and the Abbot of Farfa their General, made excursions to the Gates of Rome; so that the Pope, with "great signs of fear, said that the Florentines would some day seize on "him, and carry him with his hand, bound behind his back, in Pro- "cession to Florence: and that all this while the Kings of England and "France did only entertain him with good words, and did not so much "as restrain the Insolencies of their Confederates. And whereas they "used to say, that if he joyned himself to the Emperor, he would "treat him as his Chaplain, he said with great Commotion, that he "would not only choose rather to be his Chaplain, but his Horse- "Groom, than suffer such injuries from his own Rebellious Vassals and "Subjects. This was perhaps set on by the Cardinals Arts, to let the Pope feel the weight of offending the King, and to oblige him to use him better: but it wrought a contrary effect, for the Treaty, between the Emperor and him, was the more advanced by it." And the Pope reckoned that the Emperor being (as he was informed) ashamed and grieved for the taking and Sacking of Rome, would study to repair that by better usage for the future.

Great Con-  
tests about the  
Avocation.  
June 23.  
Collect.  
Numb. 27.

The Motion for the Avocation was still driven on, and pressed the more earnestly, because they heard the Legates were proceeding in the Cause. But the Ambassadors were instructed by a Dispatch from the King, to obviate that carefully; for as it would reflect on the Legates, and defeat the Commission, and be a gross violation of the Pope's Promise, which they had in writing; so it was more for the Pope's Interest, to leave it in the Legate's Hands, than to bring it before himself: for then, whatever Sentence passed, the ill effects of it would lie on the Pope without any Interposition. And as the King had very just exceptions to Rome where the Emperors Forces lay so near, that no safety could be expected there; so they were to tell the Pope, that by the Laws of England, the Prerogative of the Crown Royal was such, that the Pope could do nothing that was prejudicial to it: To which the citing the King to Rome, to have his Cause decided there, was contrary in a high degree. And if the Pope went on, notwithstanding all the diligence they could use to the contrary, they were by another Dispatch which Gardiner sent, ordered to Protest and Appeal from the Pope as not the true Vicar of Christ, to a true Vicar. But the King upon second thoughts, judged it not fit to proceed to this Extremity so soon. They were also ordered to advertise the Pope, that all the Nobility had assured the King, they would adhere to him, in case he were so ill used by the Pope, that he were constrained to withdraw his obedience from the Apostolick See; and that the Cardinals ruine was unavoidable, if the Pope granted the Avocation. The Emperor's Agents had pretended they could not send the original Breve into  
England,

*England*, and said their Master would send it to *Rome*, upon which the Ambassadors had solicited for Letters Compulsory, to require him to send it to *England*; yet lest that might now be made an Argument by the *Imperialists* for an Avocation, they were ordered to speak no more of it, for the Legates would proceed to Sentence, upon the attested Copy that was sent from *Spain*. 1529.

The Ambassadors had also orders to take the best Counsel in *Rome*, about the Legal ways of hindring an Avocation. But they found it was not fit to rely much on the Lawyers in that matter. For as on the one hand, there was no secrecy to be expected from any of them, they having such expectations of perferments from the Pope, (which were beyond all the Fees that could be given them,) that they discovered all secrets to him: So none of them would be earnest to hinder an Avocation, it being their Interests to bring all Matters to *Rome*, by which they might hope for much greater Fees. And *Salviati* whom the Ambassadors had gained, told them that *Campana* brought word out of *England*, that the Process was then in a good forwardness. They with many Oaths denyed there was any such thing, and *Silvester Darinus* who was sent exprefs to *Rome*, for opposing the Avocation, confirmed all that they swore. But nothing was believed, for by a secret conveyance, *Campana* had Letters to the contrary. And when they objected to *Salviati*, what was promised by *Campana*, in the Pope's name, that he would do every thing for the King, *that he could do out of the fulness of his Power*; He answered, "that *Campana* swore he had never said any such thing. So hard is the case of Ministers in such ticklish Negotiations, that they must say, and unsay, swear, and forswear, as they are instructed, which goes of course, as a part of their Business. June 28.

But now the Legates were proceeding in *England*: Of the steps in which they went, though a great deal be already published, yet considerable things are passed over. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of *May*, the King by a Warrant under the Great Seal, gave the Legates leave to execute their Commission, upon which they sate that same day. The Commission was presented by *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, which was given to the Proto-Notary of the Court, and he read it publicly; then the Legates took it in their Hands, and said, they were resolved to Execute it: And first gave the usual Oaths to the Clerks of the Court, and ordered a peremptory Citation of the King and Queen to appear on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *June*, between 9 and 10 a Clock; and so the Court adjourned. The next Session was on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *June*, where the Citation being returned duly Executed, *Richard Sampson*, Dean of the Chappel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appeared as the Kings Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Person, and did protest against the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging that the Cause was already Avocated by the Pope, and desired a competent time in which she might prove it. The Legates assigned her the 21<sup>st</sup> and so Adjourned the Court till then. The Legates sit in *England*.

About this time there was a severe Complaint exhibited against the Queen in Council, of which there is an Account given in a Paper, that has somewhat written at the conclusion of it, with the Cardinals own hand. "The substance of it is, That they were informed some designed to kill the King, or the Cardinal; in which, If she had any hand, she must not expect to be spared. That she had not shewed such Love to the King, neither in Bed, nor out of Bed, as she ought. And now that the King was very pensive, and in much grief, she shewed great signs

A severe charge against the Queen.

1529.

“ of joy, setting on all people to Dancings, and other Diversions. This  
 “ it seemed she did out of spight to the King, since it was contrary to her  
 “ temper and ordinary behaviour. And whereas she ought rather to pray  
 “ to God to bring this matter to a good conclusion, she seemed not at all  
 “ serious; and that she might corrupt the peoples affections to the King,  
 “ she shewed her self much abroad, and by civilities, and gracious bow-  
 “ ing her head, which had not been her Custom formerly, did study  
 “ to work upon the people: and that having the pretended *Breve* in  
 “ her hands, she would not show it sooner. From all which the King  
 “ concluded that she hated him. Therefore his Council did not think it  
 “ advisable for him to be any more conversant with her, either in Bed or  
 “ at Board. They also in their Consciences thought his Life was in such  
 “ danger that he ought to withdraw himself from her Company, and  
 “ not suffer the Princes to be with her. These things were to be told  
 “ her, to induce her to enter into a Religious Order, and to perswade  
 “ her to submit to the King. To which Paper, the Cardinal added in  
 “ Latin, *That she played the fool, if she contended with the King, that her*  
 “ *Children had not been blessed, and somewhat of the evident suspicions that*  
 “ *were of the Forgery of the Breve.* But she had a constant mind, and was  
 “ not to be threatned to any thing. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of *June* the Court sate,  
 “ The King and Queen were present in Person. *Campegio* made a long  
 “ Speech of the errand they were come about: \* “ That it was a new,  
 “ unheard-of, vile, and intolerable thing, for the King and Queen to  
 “ live in Adultery, or rather Incest; which they must now try, and pro-  
 “ ceed as they saw just cause. And both the Legates made deep protesta-  
 “ tions of the sincerity of their minds, that they would proceed justly and  
 “ fairly without any favour or partiality.

*Quod stulte  
 faoit, si contem-  
 dit cum Rege,  
 quod male illi  
 successit in fe-  
 ribus: de Breve  
 ac suspicione  
 falsitatis.  
 The King and  
 Queen appear  
 in Court.  
 \* Fidelis ser-  
 vi infideli sub-  
 dito Responso.*

As for the formal Speeches which the King and Queen made, *Hall* who never failed in trifles, sets them down, which I incline to believe they really spoke; for with the Journals of the Court, I find those Speeches written down, though not as a part of the Journal.

But here the Lord *Herbert's* usual diligence fails him; for he fancies the Queen never appeared after the 18<sup>th</sup>. upon which, because the Journal of the next Sessions are lost, he infers against all the Histories of that time, That the King and the Queen were not in Court together. And he seems to conclude that the 25<sup>th</sup> of *June*, was the next Session after the 18<sup>th</sup>, but in that he was mistaken: For by an original Letter of the King's to his Ambassadors, it is plain that both the King and Queen came in Person into the Court, where they both sate, with their Council standing about them: The Bishops of *Rochester*, and *St. Asaph*, and Doctor *Ridley* being the Queens Council. When the King and Queen were called on, the King answered, *Here*; but the Queen left her seat and went and kneeled down before him, and made a Speech, that had all the insinuations in it to raise pity and compassion in the Court. She said, “ She was a poor Woman, and a Stranger in his Dominions, where  
 “ she could neither expect good Council, nor indifferent Judges; she  
 “ had been long his Wife, and desired to know wherein she had offend-  
 “ ed him: she had been his Wife twenty years and more, and had born  
 “ him several Children, and had ever studied to please him; and pro-  
 “ tested he had found her a true Maid, about which she appealed to his  
 “ own Conscience. If she had done any thing amiss, she was willing  
 “ to be put away with shame. Their Parents were esteemed very wise  
 “ Princes, and no doubt had good Councillors, and Learned Men a-  
 “ bout

Collect.  
 Numb. 28.

The Queen's  
 Speech.

“ about them, when the Match was agreed: Therefore she would not submit to the Court, nor durst her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and assigned by him, speak freely for her. So she desired to be excused till she heard from *Spain*. That said, she rose up, and made the King a low Reverence, and went out of the Court. And though they called after her, she made no answer, but went away and would never again appear in Court.

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She being gone, the King did publickly Declare, what a true and obedient Wife she had always been, and commended her much for her excellent Qualities. Then the Cardinal of *York* desired the King would witness whether he had been the first or chief mover of that matter to him since he was suspected to have done it. In which the King did vindicate him, and said, That he had always rather opposed it, and protested it arose meerly out of a scruple in his Conscience, which was occasion'd by the Discourse of the *French* Ambassador; who during the Treaty of a Match between his Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleance*, did except to her being Legitimate, as begotten in an unlawful Marriage: upon which he resolved to try the lawfulness of it, both for the quiet of his Conscience, and for clearing the Succession of the Crown: And if it were found lawful, he was very well satisfied to live still with the Queen. But upon that, he had first moved it in Confession to the Bishop of *Lincoln*; then he had desired the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to gather the Opinions of the Bishops, who did all under their Hands and Seals Declare against the Marriage. This the Arch-Bishop confirmed, but the Bishop of *Rocheſter* denied his Hand was at it. And the Arch-Bishop pretended he had his consent to make another write his name to the judgment of the rest, which he positively denied.

The King gives the account of his Scruples.

The Court adjourned to the 25<sup>th</sup>, ordering Letters Monitory to be issued out for Citing the Queen to appear under pain of Contumacy. But on the 25<sup>th</sup>, was brought in her Appeal to the Pope, the Original of which is extant, every Page being both Subscribed and Superscribed by her. She excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and to her Council, in whom she could not confide; and therefore appealed and desired her Cause might be heard by the Pope, with many things out of the Canon-Law, on which he grounded it. This being read, and she not appearing, was declared *Contumax*. Then the Legates being to proceed *ex officio*, drew up twelve Articles, upon which they were to examine Witnesses. The substance of them was, “That Prince *Arthur* and the King were Brothers; that Prince *Arthur* did Marry the Queen, and consummated the Marriage; that upon his death the King by vertue of a Dispensation had Married her; that this Marrying his Brother's Wife was forbidden both by Humane and Divine Law; and that upon the complaints which the Pope had received, he had sent them now to try and judge in it. The King's Council insisted most on Prince *Arthur's* having Consummated the Marriage, and that led them to say many things that seemed incident; of which the Bishop of *Rocheſter* complained, and said they were things detestable to be heard: but Cardinal *Wolsey* checkt him, and there passed some sharp words between them.

The Queen's Appeal.

Articles drawn by the Legates.

The Legates proceeded to the Examination of Witnesses, of which I shall say little, the substance of their Depositions, being fully set down with all their names by the Lord *Herbert*. The sum of what was most material in them, was, that many violent presumptions appeared by their Testimonies, that Prince *Arthur* did carnally know the Queen.

Upon which witnesses are examined.

And

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And it cannot be imagined how greater Proofs could be made 27 years after their Marriage. Thus the Court went on several days Examining Witnesses: but as the matter was going on to a conclusion, there came an Avocation from *Rome*. Of which I shall now give an account.

The Proceedings at *Rome* about Avocation.

All this is drawn from the original Letters, June 28 and 30. July 8, and 9.

The Queen wrote most earnestly to her Nephews to procure an Avocation; protesting she would suffer any thing, and even death it self, rather than depart from her Marriage: that she expected no justice from the Legates, and therefore lookt for their assistance, that her Appeal being admitted by the Pope, the Cause might be taken out of the Legates hands. *Campegio* did also give the Pope an account of their Progress, and by all means advised an Avocation; for by this he thought to excuse himself to the King, to oblige the Emperor much, and to have the reputation of a man of Conscience.

The Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, sent their Ambassadors at *Rome* orders, to give the Pope no rest till it were procured; and the Emperor said, He would look on a Sentence against his Aunt, as a dishonour to his Family, and would lose all his Kingdoms sooner than endure it. And they plied the Pope so warmly, that between them and the *English* Ambassadors he had for some days very little rest. To the one he was kind, and to the other he resolved to be civil. The *English* Ambassadors met oft with *Salviati*, and studied to perswade him, that the Process went not on in *England*; but he told them their Intelligence was so good, that whatever they said on that head would not be believed. They next suggested, that it was visible *Campegio's* advising an Avocation was only done to preserve himself from the envy of the Sentence, and to throw it wholly on the Pope: for were the matter once called to *Rome*, the Pope must give Sentence one way or another, and so bear the whole burden of it. There were also secret surmises of Depositing the Pope, if he went so far; for seeing that the Emperor prevailed so much by the terrors of that, the Cardinal resolved to try what operation such threatnings in the King's Name might have. But they had no Armies near the Pope, so that big words did only provoke and alienate him the more.

The Pope agrees with the Emperor.

The matter was such, that by the Canon-Law it could not be denied. For to grant an Avocation of a Cause upon good reason, from the Delegated to the Supream Court, was a thing which by the course of Law was very usual: And it was no less apparent that the Reasons of the Queen's Appeal were just and good. But the secret and most convincing Motives that wrought more on the Pope than all other things, were, that the Treaty between him and the Emperor was now concerted: Therefore this being to be published very speedily, the Pope thought it necessary to avocate the matter to *Rome*, before the publication for the Peace, lest if he did it after, it should be thought that it had been one of the secret Articles of the Treaty, which would have cast a foul blot upon him. Yet on the other hand he was not a little perplexed with the fears he had of losing the King of *England*; he knew he was a Man of an high Spirit, and would resent what he did severely. "And the Cardinal now again ordered Dr. *Bennet* in his name, and as "with tears in his eyes, lying at the Pope's feet, to assure him, that the "King and Kingdom of *England* were certainly lost, if the Cause were "Avocated: Therefore he besought him to leave it still in their "hands, and assured him, that for himself, he should rather be torn in "pieces Joynt by Joynt, than do any thing in that matter contrary to "his Conscience or to Justice. These things had been oft said, and the Pope

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Yet is in great perplexity.

Pope did apprehend that ill effects would follow: for if the King fell from his Obedience to the Apostolick See, no doubt all the *Lutheran* Princes, who were already bandying against the Emperor, would joyn themselves with him; and the Interests of *France* would most certainly engage that King also into the Union, which would distract the Church, give encouragement to Heresie, and end in the utter ruine of the Popedom. But in all this the crafty Pope comforted himself, that many times threatenings are not intended to be made good, but are used to terrifie; and that the King who had written for the Faith against *Luther*, and had been so ill used by him, would never do a thing that would sound so ill, as because he could not obtain what he had a mind to, therefore to turn Heretick: he also resolved to care for the *French* King much, and was in hopes of making Peace between the Emperor and him.

But that which went nearest the Pope's heart of all other things, was the setting up of his Family at *Florence*: and the Emperor having given him assurance of that, it weighed down all other considerations. Therefore he resolved he would please the Emperor, but do all he could not to lose the King: So on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *July*, he sent for the King's Ambassadors, and told them, the Process was now so far set on in *England*, and the Avocation so earnestly pressed, that he could deny it no longer; for all the Lawyers in *Rome* had told him, the thing could not be denied in the common course of Justice. Upon this the Ambassadors told him what they had in Commission to say against it, both from the King and the Cardinal, and pressed it with great vehemence: So that the Pope by many sighs and tears shewed how deep an impression that which they said made upon him; he wished himself dead, that he might be delivered out of that Martyrdom: and added these words, which because of their favouring so much of an Apostolical Spirit, I set down: *Wo is me, no body apprehends all those evils better than I do. But I am so between the Hammer and the Forge, that when I would comply with the King's desires, the whole storm then must fall on my head; and which is worse, on the Church of Christ.* They did object the many promises he had made them, both by word of mouth, and under his hand. He answered, *He desired to do more for the King than he had promised; but it was impossible to refuse what the Emperor now demanded, whose Forces did so surround him, that he could not only force him to grant him Justice, but could dispose of him and all his Concerns at his pleasure.*

The Ambassadors seeing the Pope was resolved to grant the Avocation, pressed against it no further, but studied to put it off for some time. And therefore proposed that the Pope would himself write about it to the King, and not grant it till he received his answer. Of all this they gave Advertisement to the King, and wrote to him, that he must either drive the matter to a Sentence in great haste, or to prevent the affront of an Avocation, suspend the Process for some time. They also advised the searching all the Packets that went or came by the way of *Flanders*; and to keep up all *Campegio's* Letters, and to take care that no Bull might come to *England*; for they did much apprehend that the Avocation would be granted within very few days. Their next Dispatch bore, that the Pope had sent for them to let them know, that he had Signed the Avocation the day before. But they understood another way, that the Treaty between the Emperor and him was finished, and the Peace was to be proclaimed on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *July*; and that the Pope did not only fear the Emperor more than all other Princes, but that he also

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July. 25.

The Avocation is granted.

trusted

1529.

Collection  
Number 30.The Proceed-  
ings of the  
Legates.

trusted him more now. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of July, the Pope sent a Messenger with the Avocation to *England*, with a Letter to the Cardinal. To the King he wrote afterwards.

All this while *Campegio*, as he had Orders from the Pope to draw out the matter by delays, so he did it very dexterously: And in this he pretended a fair excuse, that it would not be for the King's Honour to precipitate the matter too much, lest great advantages might be taken from that by the Queen's Party. That therefore it was fit to proceed slowly, that the World might see with what Moderation as well as Justice, the matter was handled. From the 25<sup>th</sup> of June, the Court Adjourned to the 28<sup>th</sup>, ordering a second Citation for the Queen under the pains of Contumacy, and of their proceeding to examine Witnesses. And on the 28<sup>th</sup> they declared the Queen Contumacious the second time; and examined several Witnesses upon the Articles, and Adjourned to the fifth of July. On that day the *Bull* and *Breve* were read in Court, and the King's Council argued long against the vaility of the one, and the truth of the other, upon the grounds that have been already mentioned, in which *Campegio* was much disgusted to hear them argue against the Pope's Power, of granting such a Dispensation in a matter that was against a Divine Precept, alledging that his Power did not extend so far. This the Legates over-ruled, and said, that that was too high a Point for them to judge in, or so much as to hear argued; and that the Pope himself was the only proper Judge in that: "And it was odds but he would judge favourably for himself. The Court Adjourned to the 12<sup>th</sup>, and from that to the 14<sup>th</sup>. On these days the Depositions of the rest of the Witnesses were taken, and some that were ancient Persons were examined by a Commission from the Legates; and all the Depositions were published on the 17<sup>th</sup>; other Instruments relating to the Process, were also read and verified in Court. On the 21<sup>st</sup> the Court sate to conclude the matter as was expected, and the Instrument that the King had Signed when he came of Age, protesting that he would not stand to the Contract made when he was under Age, was then read and verified. Upon which, the King's Council (of whom *Gardiner* was the chief,) closed their Evidence, and summed up all that had been brought: and in the King's Name, desired Sentence might be given. But *Campegio* pretending that it was fit some interval should be between that and the Sentence, put it off till the 23<sup>d</sup>, being *Friday*; and in the whole Process he precluded, both being the ancients Cardinal, and chiefly to shew great Equity; since exceptions might have been taken, if the other had appeared much in it; so that he only sate by him for form: But all the Orders of the Court were still directed by *Campegio*. On *Friday* there was a great appearance, and a general expectation; but by a strange surprize *Campegio* Adjourned the Court to the first of *October*, for which he pretended that they sate there as a part of the Consistory of *Rome*, and therefore must follow the Rules of that Court, which from that time till *October* was in a Vacation, and heard no Causes: And this he averred to be true on the word of a true Prelate.

All things are  
ready for a  
Sentence.*Campegio* Ad-  
journed the  
Court.

The King was in a Chamber very near where he heard what passed, and was inexpressibly surprized at it. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were in Court, and complained much of this delay; and pressed the Legates to give Sentence. *Campegio* answered, That what they might then pronounce would be of no force, as being in Vacation-time; but gave great hopes of a favourable Sentence in the beginning of *October*.

Upon



Upon which the Lords spake very high. And the Duke of *Suffolk* with great Commotion, Swore by the *Mafs*, that he saw it was true which had been commonly said, That never Cardinal yet did good in England; and so all the Temporal Lords went away in a fury, leaving the Legates (*Wolsey* especially) in no small perplexity. *Wolsey* knew it would be suspected that he understood this before-hand, and that it would be to no purpose for him, either to say he did not know, or could not help it; all Apologies being ill heard by an enraged Prince. *Campegio* had not much to lose in *England* but his Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, and the Reward he expected from the King, which he knew the Emperor and the Pope would plentifully make up to him. But his Collegue was in a worse condition, he had much to fear, because he had much to lose: For as the King had severely chid him for the delays of the business, so he was now to expect a heavy storm from him; and after so long an Administration of Affairs by so insolent a Favourite, it was not to be doubted, but as many of his Enemies were joyning against him, so matter must needs be found to work his ruine with a Prince that was Alienated from him: Therefore he was under all the disorders, which a Fear that was heightened by Ambition and Covetousness could produce.

1529.

Which gives great offence.

*Wolsey's danger.*

But the King govern'd himself upon this occasion, with more temper than could have been expected from a Man of his Humour: Therefore as he made no great shew of disturbance, so to divert his uneasie Thoughts he went his Progress. Soon after, he received his Agent's Letter from *Rome*, and made *Gardiner* (who was then Secretary of State) write to the Cardinal, to put *Campegio* to his Oath, whether he had revealed the King's Secrets to the Pope or not? And if he swore he had not done it, to make him swear he should never do it. A little after that, the Messenger came from *Rome* with a *Breve* to the Legates, requiring them to proceed no further, and with an Avocation of the of the Cause to *Rome*; together with Letters Citatory to the King and Queen to appear there in Person, or by their Proxies. Of which when the King was advertised, *Gardiner* wrote to the Cardinal by his Order, That the King would not have the Letters Citatory executed, or the Commission discharged by vertue of them; but that upon the Pope's *Breve* to them, they should declare their Commission void: For he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his Crown, as a Citation be made to appear in another Court, nor would he let his Subjects imagine that he was to be Cited out of his Kingdom. This was the first step that he made for the lessening of the Pope's Power: Upon which the two Cardinals (for they were Legates no longer) went to the King at *Grafton*. It was generally expected that *Wolsey* should have been disgraced then; for not only the King was offended with him, but he received new Informations of his having juggled in the business, and that he secretly advised the Pope to do what was done. This was set about by some of the Queen's Agents, as if there was certain knowledge had of it at *Rome*; and it was said, that some Letters of his to the Pope were by a trick found and brought over to *England*. The Emperor lookt on the Cardinal as his inveterate Enemy, and designed to ruin him if it was possible; nor was it hard to perswade the Queen to concur with him to pull him down. But all this seems an Artifice of theirs only to destroy him. For the earnestness the Cardinal expressed in this matter, was such, that either he was sincere in it, or he was

Aug. 4.

1529.

Sept. 23, in  
a Letter from  
the Cardinal,  
Secretary to  
Cromwell.

Anne Boleyn  
returns to  
Court.

the best at dissembling that ever was. But these suggestions were easily infused in the King's angry Mind: so strangely are Men turned by their Affections, that sometimes they will believe nothing, and at other times they believe every thing. Yet when the Cardinal with his Colleague came to Court, they were received by the King with very hearty expressions of Kindness; and *Wolfey* was often in private with him, sometimes in presence of the Council, and sometimes alone: once he was many hours with the King alone, and when they took leave he sent them away very obligingly. But that which gave Cardinal *Wolfey* the most assurance, was, that all those who were admitted to the King's Privacies, did carry themselves towards him as they were wont to do; both the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Boleyn*, then made Viscount of *Rockford*, Sir *Brian Tuke* and *Gardiner*: concluding that from the motions of such Weather-cocks the Air of the Princes Affections was best gathered.

*Anne Boleyn* was now brought to the Court again, out of which she had been dismissed for some time, for silencing the noise that her being at Court, during the Process, would have occasioned. It is said, that she took her dismissal so ill, that she resolved never again to return; and that she was very hardly brought to it afterwards, not without Threatnings from her Father. But of that nothing appears to me; only this I find, that all her former kindness to the Cardinal, was now turned to enmity, so that she was not wanting in her Endeavours to pull him down.

But the King being reconciled to her, and as it is ordinary after some intermission and disorder between Lovers, his Affection encreasing, he was casting about for overtures, how to compass what he so earnestly desired. Sometimes he thought of procuring a new Commission; but that was not adviseable, for after a long dependance it might end as the former had done. Then he thought of breaking off with the Pope, but there was great danger in that; for besides that in his own Perswasion he adhered to all the most Important parts of the *Roman* Religion, his Subjects were so addicted to it, that any such a Change could not but seem full of hazard. Sometime he inclined to confederate himself with the Pope and the Emperor, for now there was no dividing of them, till he should thereby bring the Emperor to yield to his Desires. But that was against the Interests of his Kingdom, and the Emperor had already proceeded so far in his Opposition, that he could not be easily brought about.

*Cranmer's* Pro-  
position about  
the King's Di-  
vorce.

While his Thoughts were thus divided, a new Proposition was made to him that seemed the most reasonable and feasible of them all. There was one Dr. *Cranmer*, who had been a Fellow of *Jesus* College in *Cambridge*; but having Married, forfeited his Fellowship; yet continued his Studies, and was a Reader of Divinity in *Buckingham* College. His Wife dying, he was again chosen Fellow of *Jesus* College; and was much esteemed in the University for his Learning which appeared very eminently on all publick occasions. But he was a Man that neither courted Preferment, nor did willingly accept of it, when offered. And therefore though he was invited to be a Reader of Divinity in the Cardinals College at *Oxford*, he declined it. He was at this time forced to fly out of *Cambridge*, from a Plague that was there, and having the Sons of one Mr. *Cressy* of *Waltham* Cross committed to his Charge, he went with his Pupils to their Fathers House at *Waltham*. There he was when the King returned from his Pro-  
gress,

gress who took *Waltham* in his way, and lay a night there. The Harbingers having appointed *Gardiner* and *Fox*, the King's Secretary, and Almoner to lie at Mr. *Cressy's* House, it so happened that *Cranmer* was with them at Supper. The whole discourse of *England* being then about the Divorce, these two Courtiers, knowing *Cranmer's* Learning and solid Judgment, entertained him with it, and desired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modestly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a shorter and safer way once to clear it well, if the Marriage was unlawfull in it self, by vertue of any Divine Precept: For if that were proved, then it was certain, that the Pope's Dispensation could be of no force to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore he thought that instead of a long fruitless Negotiation at *Rome*, it were better to consult all the Learned Men, and the Universities of Christendom; for if they once declared it in the King's Favour, then the Pope must needs give judgment, or otherwise the Bull being of it self null and void, the Marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the Pope's Dispensation. This seemed a very good Motion, which they resolved to offer to the King; so next night when he came to *Greenwich*, they proposed it to him; but with this difference, that *Gardiner* had a mind to make it pass for their own Contrivance; but *Fox*, who was of a more ingenuous Nature, told the King from whom they had it. He was much affected with it, so soon as he heard it, and said, had he known it sooner, it would have saved him a vast expence, and much trouble; and would needs have *Cranmer* sent for to Court, saying in his coarse way of speaking, *That he had the Sow by the right Ear*. So he was sent for to Court, and being brought before the King, he carried himself so, that the King conceived an high opinion of his Judgment, and Candour, which he preserved to his Death, and still payed a respect to him, beyond all the other Church-men that were about him: and though he made more use of *Gardiner* in his Business, whom he found a Man of great dexterity and cunning; yet he never had any respect for him. But for *Cranmer*, though the King knew that in many things he differed from him, yet for all his being so impatient of Contradiction, he always Reverenced him.

1529.  
Approved by  
the King.

He was soon looked on as a Rising Church-man, and the rather because the Cardinal was now declining; for in the following *Michaelmas-Term*, the King sent for the great Seal, which the Cardinal at first was not willing to part with. But the next day the King wrote to him, and he presently delivered it to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. It was offered back again to *Warham*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; but he being very old, and foreseeing great difficulties in the keeping of it, excused himself. So it was given to Sir *Thomas More*, who was not only eminent in his own Profession, but in all other Learning: and was much esteemed for the strictness of his Life, and his Contempt of Money. He was also the more fit to be made use of, having been in ill terms with the Cardinal. Soon after, *Hales* the Attorney-General put in an Information against the Cardinal, in the King's Bench; bearing, *that notwithstanding the Statute of Richard the second, against the procuring Bulls from Rome, under the pains of Præmunire, yet he had procured Bulls for his Legantine Power, which he had for many years executed; and some particulars, for form, were named out of a great many more.* To this he put in his answer, by his Attorney, and confessed

And he much  
esteemed by  
him.

The Cardi-  
nal's fall.

1529.

Ro'. Pat. 23.  
pars vicef.  
prin. Regni.  
Feb. 12.

The meanness  
of his Tem-  
per.

the Indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the Statute, and submitted himself to the King's Mercy. Upon this it was declared, that he was out of the King's Protection, and that he had forfeited his Goods and Chattels to the King, and that his Person might be seized on. Then was his rich Palace of *York-house* (now *White-hall*) with all that vast Wealth, and Royal Furniture that he had heaped together, (which was beyond any thing that had ever been seen in *England* before,) seized on for the King. But it seems the King had not a mind to destroy him out-right, but only to bring him lower, and to try if the terror of that would have an influence on the Pope: Therefore on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *November*, the King granted him first his Protection, and then his Pardon, and restored him to the Arch-bishoprick of *York*, and the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and gave him back in Money, Goods, and Plate, that which amounted to 6374*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* and many kind Messages were sent him, both by the King, and *Anne Boleyn*.

But as he had carried his Greatness with most extravagant Pride, so he was no less basely cast down with his Misfortune; and having no ballast within himself, but being wholly guided by things without him, he was lifted up, or cast down, as the Scales of Fortune turned: yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to suffer a man of his Parts or Temper, to return to favour. And therefore they so ordered it, that an high Charge of many Articles was brought against him, into the House of Lords, in the Parliament that sat in *November* following; and it passed there, where he had but few Friends, and many and great Enemies. But when the Charge was sent down to the House of Commons, it was so managed by the industry of *Cromwell*, who had been his Servant, that it came to nothing. The Heads of it have been oft printed, therefore I shall not repeat them; they related chiefly to his Legantine Power, contrary to Law, to his Insolence and Ambition, his lewd life, and other things that were brought to defame, as well as destroy him.

The King still  
favoured him.

All these things did so sink his proud Mind, that a deep melancholy overcame his Spirits. The King sent him frequent assurances of his Favour, which he received with extravagant transports of joy, falling down on his Knees in the dirt, before the Messenger that brought one of them, and holding up his hands for joy, which shewed how mean a Soul he had, and that as himself afterwards acknowledged, he preferred the King's Favour, to God Almighty's. But the King found they took little notice of him at *Rome*; the Emperor hated him, and the Pope did not love him, looking on him as one that was almost equal to himself in Power: and though they did not love the Precedent to have a Cardinal so used, yet they were not much troubled at *Rome*, to see it fall on him. So in *Easter-week*, he was ordered to go North, though he had a great mind to have stayed at *Richmond*, which the King had given him in exchange for *Hampton-Court*, that he had also built. But that was too near the Court, and his Enemies had a mind to send him further from it. Accordingly he went to *Cawood* in *York-shire*, in which Journey it appears, that the ruins of his state were considerable, for he travelled thither with an 160 Horse in his Train, and 72 Carts following him, with his Household-stuff.

He is after-  
wards attach-  
ed for Treason.

To conclude his Story all at once, he was in *November* the next year seized on by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who attached him for high Treason, and committed him to the keeping of the Lieutenant  
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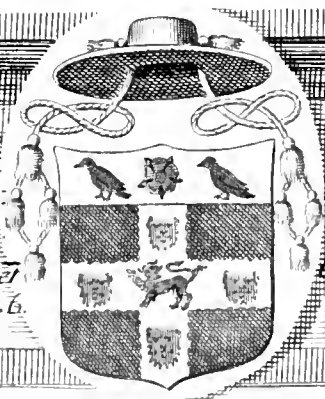
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*Vitus 1476 Mart  
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 Translatus ad Sedem  
 Eboracensē. Nov. 6.*



*Cardinalis tit  
 S. Cecilię trans T.  
 berin 1515 Sept. 7  
 Obijt 1530. Nov. 26*

of the Tower who was ordered to bring him up to *London*. And even then he had gracious Messages from the King; but these did not work much on him, for whether it was that he knew himself guilty of some secret Practices with the Pope, or with the Emperor, which yet he denied to the last; or whether he could no longer stand under the King's displeasure, and that change of condition; he was so cast down, that on his way to *London*, he sickned at *Sheffield Park*, in the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* House, from whence by slow Journeys he went as far as *Leicester*, where after some days languishing he died; and at the last made great Protestations of his having served the King faithfully, and that he had little regarded the Service of God, to do him pleasure; but if he had served God as he had done him, he would not have given him over so, as he did in his gray hairs. And he desired the King to reflect on all his past Services, and in particular, in his weighty matter, (for by that Phrase, they usually spoke of the King's Divorce) and then he would find in his Conscience whether he had offended him or not. He died the 28th of *November* 1530. and was the greatest Instance that several Ages had shown of the Variety and Inconstancy of Humane things, both in his rise and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatness, and deserved what he suffered. But to conclude all that is to be said of him, I shall add what the Writer of his Life ends it with. *Here is the end and fall of Pride and Arrogancy; for I assure you, in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive, having more respect to the honour of his Person, than he had to his Spiritual Profession, wherein should be shewed all meekness and charity.*

1529.

And dies.

His Character:

But now with the change of this great Minister, there followed a change of Counsels, and therefore the King resolved to hold a Parliament, that he might meet his People, and establish such a good understanding between himself and them, that he might have all secured at home; and then he resolved to proceed more confidently abroad. There had been no Parliament for seven years; but the blame of that, and of every other miscarriage, falling naturally on the disgraced Minister, he did not doubt, that he should be able to give his People full satisfaction in that, and in every thing else. So a Parliament was summoned to meet the third of *November*. And there, among several other Laws that were made for the publick good of the Kingdom, there were Bills sent up by the House of Commons, against some of the most exorbitant abuses of the Clergy: one was against the Exactions for the Probates of Wills; another was for the Regulating of Mortuaries; a third was about the Plurality of Benefices, and Non-residence, and Church-mens being Farmers of Lands. In the passing of these Bills there were severe reflections made on the vices and corruptions of the Clergy of that time, which were believed to flow from Men that favoured *Luther's* Doctrine in their hearts.

A Parliament called.

When these Bills were brought up to the House of Lords, the Bishop of *Rocheſter* speaking to them, did reflect on the House of Commons: saying, That they were resolved to bring down the Church, and he desired they would consider the miserable state of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, to which it was reduced by Heresie, and ended, *That all this was for lack of Faith*. But this being afterwards known to the House of Commons, they sent their Speaker, *Sir Thomas Audley*, with 30 of their Members, to complain to the King of the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, for saying,

Hall.

The House of Commons complains of the Bishop of Rocheſter.

1529.

ing, that their Acts flowed from the *want of Faith*, which was an high Imputation on the Whole Nation, when the Representative of the Commons was so charged, as if they had been Infidels and Heathens. This was set on by the Court, to mortifie that Bishop, who was unacceptable to them, for his adhering so firmly to the Queens Cause. The King sent for the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* and six other Bishops, and before them told the complaint of the Commons. But the Bishop of *Rocheſter* excused himself, and said, he only meant of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, when he said, *all flowed from the want of Faith*, and did not at all intend the House of Commons. This explanation the King sent by the Treasurer of his Household, *Sir Will. Fitz-Williams*. But though the matter was passed over, yet they were not at all satisfied with it, so that they went on, laying open the abuses of the Clergy.

Some Bills  
paſt, reform-  
ing the abuſes  
of the Clergy.

In the House of Peers, great opposition was made to the Bills, and the Clergy both within and without doors did defame them, and said, these were the ordinary beginnings of Heresie, to complain of Abuses, and pretend Reformation, on purpose to disgrace the Clergy, from which Heresie took its chief strength. And the Spiritual Lords did generally oppose them, The Temporal Lords being no less earnest to have them passed. The Cardinal was admitted to sit in the House, where he shewed himself as submissive in his fauning, as he had formerly done in his scorn and contempt of all who durst oppose him. But the King set the Bills forward, and in the end, they were agreed to by the Lords, and had the Royal Assent.

The King intended by this, to let the Pope see what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his Parliament would concur with him, if he went to extremities. He did also endear himself much to the People, by relieving them from the oppressions of the Clergy. But the Clergy lost much by this means; for these Acts did not only lessen their present Profits, but did open the way for other things that were more to their detriment afterward. Their opposing of this, and all other motions for Reformation, did very much encrease the Prejudices that were conceived against them: whereas if such motions had either risen from themselves, or had at least been cherished by them, their Adversaries had not perhaps been so favourably heard; so fatally did they mistake their true Interest, when they thought they were concerned, to link with it all Abuses and Corruptions.

One Act dis-  
charging the  
King of his  
Debts.  
Collection  
Number 31.

But there past another Bill in this Parliament, which because of its singular nature, and that it was not printed with the other Statutes, shall be found in the Collection of Instruments at the end. The Bill bore in a Preamble the highest flattery that could be put in Paper, of the great things the King had done for the Church and Nation, in which he had been at vast charges; and that divers of the Subjects had lent great Sums of Money, which had been all well imployed in the publick Service: and whereas they had Security for their Payment, the Parliament did offer all these Sums so lent to the King; and discharged him of all the Obligations or Assignations made for their Payment, and of all Suits that might arise thereupon.

This was brought into the House by the King's Servants, who enlarged much on the Wealth and Peace of the Nation, notwithstanding the Wars, the King always making his Enemies Country the Scene of them; and shewed that for fourteen years the King had but one Subsidy from



from his People; that now he asked nothing for any other purpose, but only to be discharged of a Debt contracted for the publick, the accounts whereof were shewn, by which they might see to what uses the Money so raised had been applied. But there were several ends in passing this Bill: those of the Court did not only intend to deliver the King from a charge by it, but also to ruine all the Cardinals Friends and Creatures, whom he had caused every where to advance great Sums, for an example to others. Others in the House that were convinced that the Act was unjust in it self, yet did easily give way to it, that they might effectually for the future discredit that way of raising Money by Loans, as judging it to be the publick Interest of the Kingdom, that no Sums of Money should be raised but by Parliament. So this Act passed, and occasioned great Murmuring among all them that suffered by it. But to qualifie the general discontent, the King gave a free Pardon to his Subjects for all Offences, some capital ones only excepted as is usual in such cases; and to keep the Clergy under the Lash, all Transgressions against the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire* were excepted, in which they were all involved, as will afterwards appear. There are two other exceptions in this Pardon, not fit to be omitted: the one is of the pulling or digging down Crosses on the High-ways, which shews what a Spirit was then stirring among the People; the other is of the Forfeitures that accrued to the King, by the Prosecution against Cardinal *Wolfey*, that is, the Cardinals College in *Oxford*, with the Lands belonging to it, which are excepted, upon which, the Deari and Canons resigned their Lands to the King, the Original of which is yet extant: But the King founded the College a new soon after. All this was done both to keep the Clergy quiet, and to engage them to use what Interest they had in the Court of *Rome*, to dispose the Pope to use the King better in this great Suit. After those Acts were passed, on the 17th. of *December*, the Parliament was prorogued till *April* following; yet it did not sit till *January* after that, being continued by several Prorogations.

There had been great industry used in carrying Elections for the Parliament, and they were so successful, that the King was resolved to continue it for some time. This great business being happily over, the Kings thoughts turned next to Affairs beyond Sea. The whole World was now at Peace. The Pope and the Emperor (as was said before) had made an Alliance on terms of such advantage to the Pope, that as the Emperor did fully repair all past Injuries, so he laid new and great Obligations on him: for he engaged that he would assist him in the recovery of his Towns, and that he would restore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, and invest his Nephew in it with the Title of *Duke*, to whose Son he would marry his own natural Daughter; and that he would hold the Kingdom of *Naples* of the Papacy. These were the motives that directed the Pope's Conscience, so infallibly in the King's business. Not long after that, in *August*, another Peace was made in *Cambray*, between the Emperor and the *French King*, and Lady *Margaret* the Emperor's Aunt, and the Regent of *Flanders*: where the King first found the hollownes of the *French* Friendship and Alliance; for he was not so much considered in it as he expected, and he clearly perceived that *Francis* would not embroyl his own Affairs to carry on his Divorce.

1529.

The Pope and  
the Emperor  
firmly united.  
June 20.

The Womens  
Peace.  
Aug. 5.

1530.

The Emperor's  
Coronation at  
Bononia.

Florence taken

Aug. 9.

Pope's Ne-  
phew made  
Duke of it.

July 17.

1531.

Siege of Vien-  
na rais'd.

Octob. 13.

1529.

Emperor  
Crown'd King  
of Lombardy.

Feb. 22.

1530.

Rom. Emp.

Feb. 24.

The Emperor went over into *Italy*, and met the Pope at *Bononia*, where he was Crowned with great Magnificence. The Pope and he lodged together in the same Palace, and there appeared such signs of a familiar Friendship between them, that the King's Ambassadors did now clearly perceive that they were firmly united. The Emperor did also by a rare mixture of Generosity and Prudence, restore the Dutchy of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*. By this he settled the Peace of *Italy*, nothing holding out but *Florence*, which he knew would be soon reduced, when there was no hope of succour from *France*; and accordingly after eleven months Siege it was taken, and within a year after, *Alexander de Medici* was made Duke of it. About the time that the Emperor came to *Bononia*, news was brought, that the *Turk* was forced to raise the Siege of *Vienna*; so that all things concurred to raise his glory very high. At *Bononia* he would needs receive the two Crowns of the *Roman Empire*, that of *Milan*, and that of *Rome*, which was done with all the Magnificence possible, the Pope himself saying Mass both in *Latin* and *Greek*. There is one Ceremony of the Coronation fit to be taken notice of in this Work; that the Emperor was first put in the Habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria de la Torre in Rome*, and after that, in the Habit of a Deacon, to make him be look'd on as an Ecclesiastical Person. This had risen out of an extravagant Vanity of the Court of *Rome*, who devised such Rites to raise their Reputation so high, that on the greatest Solemnity, the Emperor should appear in the Habit of the lowest of the Sacred Orders, by which he must know, that Priests and Bishops are above him. When the Pope and he first met, the Ceremony of kissing the Pope's Foot was much look'd for, and the Emperor very gently kneel'd to pay that submission; but the Pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more seasonable to expect such Complements, or more signally to oblige the Emperor) did humble himself so far as to draw in his Foot, and kiss his Check.

The King  
consults his  
Universities  
about his Di-  
vorce.

Bat now the Divorce was to be managed in another method, and therefore *Cranmer*, after he had discoursed with the King about that Proposition which was formerly mentioned, was commanded by him to write a Book for his Opinion, and confirm it with as much Authority as he could; and was recommended to the care of the Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond* (to which honour the King had advanced Sir *Thomas Boleyn* in the Right of his Mother) and in the Beginning of the next year he published his Book about it. *Richard Crook* (who was Tutor to the Duke of *Richmond*) was sent into *Italy*, and others were sent to *France* and *Germany*, to consult the Divines, Canonists, and other Learned Men in the Universities, about the King's Business. How the rest managed the matter, I have not yet been able to discover; but from a great number of Original Letters of Doctor *Crook's*, I shall give a full account of his Negotiation. It was thought best to begin at home, and therefore the King wrote to the two Universities in *England*, to send him their Conclusions about it. The matters went at *Oxford* thus. The Bishop of *Lincoln* being sent thither with the King's Letters for their Resolution, it was by the major Vote of the Convocation of all the Doctors and Masters, as well Regents as non-Regents, committed to 33 Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity (who were named by their own Faculty) or to the greater number of them, to determine the Questions, that were sent with the King's Letters, and to set the common Seal of the University to their Conclusions: and by vertue of that War-

and Hollett  
out of the Re-  
cord.  
April 4.  
1530.

rant,

rant, they did on the eighth of *April* put the common Seal of the University to an Instrument, declaring the Marriage of the Brothers Wife to be both contrary to the Laws of God and Nature. The Collector of the Antiquities of *Oxford*, informs us of the uneasiness that was in the University in this matter, and of the several Messages the King sent, before that Instrument could be procured, so that from the 12th. of *February* to the eighth of *April*, the matter was in agitation, the Masters of Arts generally opposing it, though the Doctors and Heads were (for the greatest part) for it. But after he has set down the Instruments, he gives some Reasons (upon what design, I cannot easily imagine) to shew that this was extorted by force; and being done without the consent of the Masters of Art, was of it self void, and of no force: and as if it had been an ill thing, he takes pains to purge the University of it, and lays it upon the fears and corruptions of some aspiring men of the University: and without any proof, gives credit to a lying Story set down by *Sanders*, of an Assembly called in the night, in which the Seal of the University was set to the Determination. But it appears that he had never seen or considered the other Instrument, to which the University set their Seal, that was agreed on in a Convocation of all the Doctors and Masters, as well Regents as non-Regents; giving Power to these Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, to determine the Matter, and to set the Seal of the University to their Conclusion. The Original whereof the Lord *Herbert* saw, upon which the Persons so deputed, had full Authority to set the University Seal to that Conclusion without a new Convocation. Perhaps that Instrument was not so carefully preserved among their Records, or was in Queen *Mary's* days taken away, which might occasion these mistakes in their Historian.

There seems to be also another mistake in the Relation he gives: for he says, those of *Paris* had determined in this matter before it was agreed to at *Oxford*. The Printed Decision of the *Sorbonne* contradicts this: for it bears date the second of *July*, 1530. whereas this was done the eighth of *April*, 1530. But what passed at *Cambridge*, I shall set down more fully, from an Original Letter written by *Gardiner* and *Fox* to the King in *February* (but the day is not marked.) When they came to *Cambridge*, they spake to the Vice-Chancellor, whom they found very ready to serve the King; so was also Doctor *Edmonds* and several others, but there was a contrary Party that met together, and resolved to oppose them. A meeting of the Doctors, Batchelors of Divinity, and Masters of Arts, in all about 200, was held: There the King's Letters we read, and the Vice-Chancellor calling upon several of them to deliver their Opinions about it, they answered as their affections led them, and were in some disorder. But it being proposed, that the answering the King's Letter, and the Questions in it, should be referred to some indifferent men; great exceptions were made to Doctor *Salcot*, Doctor *Reps*, and *Crome*, and all others who had approved Doctor *Cranmer's* Book, as having already declared themselves partial. But to that it was answered, that after a thing was so much discoursed of, as the King's matter had been, it could not be imagined, that any number of men could be found, who had not declared their Judgment about it one way or another. Much time was spent in the debate, but when it grew late, the Vice-Chancellor commanded every man to take his place, and to give his Voice, whether they would agree to the Motion of referring it to a select Body of Men: but that night they would not agree to it.

1530.

v. Wood.  
p. 8. 257.Lib. 10. p.  
225.Collect.  
Numb. 32.And at *Cam-*  
*bridge*,  
*Feb.*

1530.

The Congregation being adjourned till next day, the Vice Chancellor offered a Grace (or Order) to refer the matter to 29 persons (himself, 10 Doctors, and 16 Batchelors; and the 2 Professors) That (the Questions being publickly disputed) what two parts of three agreed to, should be read in a Congregation, and without any further debate the Common Seal of the University should be set to it. Yet it was at first denied; then being put to the Vote, it was carried equally on both sides. But being a third time proposed, it was carried for the Divorce. Of which an account was presently sent to the King, with a Schedule of their Names to whom it was committed, and what was to be expected from them; so that it was at length determined, though not without opposition, *That the Kings Marriage was against the Law of God.*

Though with great difficulty.

It is thought strange, that the King who was otherwise so absolute in *England*, should have met with more difficulty in this matter at home than he did abroad. But the most reasonable account I can give of it, is, That at this time there were many in the Universities (particularly at *Cambridge*) who were addicted to *Luther's* Doctrine. And of those *Cranmer* was lookt on as the most Learned: So that *Crome*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, and others of that Society favoured the King's Cause; besides that, *Anne Boleyn* had in the Dutcheffs of *Alanson's* Court (who inclined to the Reformation) received such impressions as made them fear, that her Greatness and *Cranmer's* Perferment would encourage Heresie; to which the Universities were furiously averse, and therefore they did resist all Conclusions that might promote the Divorce.

*Crooke* employed in *Venice*.  
*Crooke's* Negotiation, taken from many of his Original Letters. *Cott. Libr. Vittel.*  
E. 13.

But as for *Crooke* in *Italy*, he being very Learned in the *Greek* Tongue, was first sent to *Venice*, to search the *Greek* Manuscripts that lay in the Library of *St. Mark*, and to examine the Decrees of the Ancient Councils: He went *incognito* without any Character from the King, only he had a Letter recommending him to the Care of *John Cassali*, then Ambassador at *Venice*, to procure him an admittance into the Libraries there. But in all his Letters he complained mightily of his Poverty, that he had scarce whereby to live and pay the Copiers who he employed to Transcribe Passages out of MSS. He stayed sometime at *Venice*, from whence he went to *Padua*, *Bononia*, and other Towns, where he only talked with Divines and Canonists about these Questions: *Whether the Precepts in Leviticus, of the Degrees of Marriage, do still oblige Christians? And whether the Pope's Despensation could have any force against the Law of God?* These he proposed in Discourse, without mentioning the King of *England*, or giving the least intimation, that he was sent by him, till he once discovered their Opinions. But finding them generally inclining to the King's Cause, he took more courage and went to *Rome*; where he sought to be made a *Penitentiary Priest*, that he might have the freer access into Libraries, and be look'd on as one of the Pope's Servants. But at this time the Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Stokesley*, (who was made Bishop of *London*, *Tonstall* being translated to *Duresm*) were sent by the King into *Italy*, Ambassadors both to the Pope and Emperor. *Cranmer* went with them to justify his Book in both these Courts. *Stokesley* brought full Instructions to *Crooke* to search the Writings of most of the Fathers on a great many passages of the Scripture; and in particular, to try what they wrote on that Law in *Deuteronomy*, which provided, that *when one died without Children, his Brother should marry his Wife to raise up Children to him.* This was most pressed against the King by all that were for  
the

1530.

the Queen, as either an Abrogation of the other Law in *Leviti. us*, or at least a Despenfation with it in that particular Cafe. He was also to consult the *Jews* about it; and was to Copy out every thing that he found in any Manuscript of the *Greek* or *Latin* Fathers, relating to the Degrees of Marriage. Of this labour he complained heavily, and said, That though he had a great Task laid on him, yet his Allowance was so small, that he was often in great straits. This I take notice of, because it is said by others, That all the Subscriptions that he procured were bought. At this time there were great Animosities between the Ministers whom the King imployed in *Italy*; the two Families of the *Cassali*, and the *Ghinucci*, hating one another. Of the former Family were the Ambassadors at *Rome* and at *Venice*. Of the other *Hierome* was Bishop of *Worcester*, and had been in several Ambassies into *Spain*. His Brother *Peter* was also imployed in some of the little Courts of *Italy* as the King's Agent. Whether the King out of Policy kept this hatred up to make them Spies one on another, I know not. To the *Ghinucci* was *Crooke* gained, so that in all his Letters he complained of the *Cassali*, as men that betrayed the King's affairs; and said that *John*, then Ambassador at *Venice*, not only gave him no assistance, but used him ill: and publickly discovered, That he was imployed by the King; which made many, who had formerly spoken their minds freely, be more reserved to him. But as he wrote this to the King, he begged of him, that it might not be known, otherwise he expected either to be Killed, or Poisoned by them: Yet they had their Correspondents about the King, by whose means they understood what *Crooke* had informed against them. But they wrote to the King, that he was so morose and ill-natured, that nothing could please him: and to lessen his Credit, they did all they could to stop his Bills. All this is more fully set down, than perhaps was necessary, if it were not to shew that he was not in a condition to corrupt so many Divines, and whole Universities, as some have given out. He got into the acquaintance of a Frier at *Venice*, *Franciscus Georgius*, who had lived 49 years in a Religious Order, and was esteemed the most Learned man in the Republick, not only in the vulgar Learning, but in the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and was so much accounted of by the Pope, that he called him *the Hammer of Hereticks*. He was also of the Senatorian Quality, and his Brother was Governour of *Padua*, and payed all the Readers there. This Frier had a great Opinion of the King: and having studied the Case, wrote for the King's Cause, and endeavoured to satisfy all the other Divines of the Republick, among whom he had much credit. *Thomas Omnibonus* a Dominican, *Philippus de Cremis* a Doctor of the Law, *Valerius* of *Bergamo*, and some others, wrote for the King's Cause. Many of the *Jewish* Rabbins, did give it under their hands in Hebrew, *That the Laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, were thus to be reconciled. That Law of Marrying the Brothers Wife when he dyed without Children, did only bind in the Land of Judæa, to preserve Families and maintain their Succession in the Land, as it had been divided by Lot. But that in all other places of the World, the Law of Leviticus, of not Marrying the Brothers Wife was obligatory.* He also searched all the *Greek* MSS. of Councils, and *Nazianzen's* and *Chrysostom's* Works. After that, he run over *Macarius*, *Acacius*, *Apollinaris*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Cyril*, *Severian*, and *Gennadius*; and copied out of them all that which was pertinent to his purpose. He procured several Hands to the Conclusions, before it was known that it was the King's business, in which

Many in *Italy*  
write for the  
King's Cause.

1530.

Feb. 18.

Though the  
Pope and Em-  
peror discour-  
aged them.  
July 4.

Aug. 7.

Septemb. 16.

July 28.

Aug. 5.

No Money  
nor Tribes gi-  
ven for Sub-  
scriptions.

Septemb. 7.

he was employed. But the Government of *Venice* was so strict, that when it was known whose Agent he was, he found it not easie to procure Subscriptions: Therefore he advised the King to order his Minister to procure a Licence from the Senate, for their Divines to declare their Opinions in that matter. Which being proposed to the Senate, all the answer he could obtain, was, *that they would be Neutrals*; and when the Ambassador pressed, as an evidence of Neutrality, that the Senate would leave it free to their Divines, to declare of either side as their Consciences led them; he could procure no other answer, the former being again repeated. Yet the Senate making no Prohibition, many of their Divines put their Hands to the Conclusions. And *Crooke* had that Success, that he wrote to the King, he had never met with a Divine that did not favour his Cause: but the Conclusions touching the Pope's Power, his Agents did every were discourage, and threaten those who subscribed them. And the Emperor's Ambassador at *Venice*, did threaten *Omnibonus* for writing in prejudice of the Pope's Authority; and asserting Conclusions, which would make most of the Princes of Europe *Bastards*. He answered, he did not consider things as a Statesman, but as a Divine. Yet to take off this fear, *Crooke* suggested to the King, to order his Minister at the Court of *Rome*, to procure a *Breve*, "That Divines or Canonists might without fear or hazard, deliver their Opinions according to their Consciences, requiring them under the pain of Excommunication, that they should write nothing for gain or Partial affections, but say the pure and simple truth, without any artifice, as they would answer to God in the great day of Judgment. This seemed so fair, that it might have been expected the Successor of *St. Peter* would not deny it; yet it was not easily obtained, though the King wrote a very earnest Letter to the Bishop of *Verona*, to assist his Minister in procuring it. And I find by another Dispatch, that the *Breve* was at length gained, not without much opposition made to it by the Emperors Ambassadors: For at *Rome*, though they knew not well how to oppose this method because it seem'd so very reasonable; yet they had great apprehensions of it, because they thought it was designed to force the Pope to determine as the King pleased: and they abhorred the Precedent, that a company of poor Friars should dictate to them in matters of this nature. *Crooke* reports out of a Letter of *Cranmer's* to him from *Rome*, these words. *As for our Successes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any mans mind, because of the Pope, nor is he content with what you have done; and he says, no Friars shall discuss his Power: and as for any favour in this Court, I look for none, but to have the Pope with all his Cardinals declare against us.* But *Crooke*, as he went up and down procuring Hands, told those he came to, *he desired they would write their Conclusions, according to Learning and Conscience, without any respect or favour, as they would answer it at the Last day; and protested he never gave, or promised any Divine any thing, till he had first freely written his mind, and that what he then gave, was rather an honourable Present than a Reward.* And in another Letter to the King he writes: *Upon pain of my Head if the contrary be proved, I never gave any man one half penny, before I had his Conclusion to your Highness, without former Prayer, or Promise of Reward for the same.* From whence it appears, that he not only had no Orders from the King to corrupt Divines, but that his Orders were expresse to the contrary.

As for the Money he gave, the Reader will be best able to judge by the following account, whether it was such as could work much on any man. There is an Original Bill of his accounts yet extant, audited and signed by *Peter a Ghinucciis*, out of which I have extracted these particulars: *Item, to a Servite Friar when he subscribed, one Crown. To a Jew, one Crown. To the Doctor of the Servites, two Crowns. To the Observant Friars, two Crowns. To the Prior of St. John and St. Pauls, who wrote for the King's Cause, fifteen Crowns. To that Convent four Crowns. Item, Given to John Maria for his Expence of going to Milan from Venice, and for rewarding the Doctors there, thirty Crowns. Item, to John Marino, Minister of the Franciscans, who wrote a Book for the King's Cause, twenty Crowns.* This shews that they must have had very prostituted Consciences if they could be hired so cheap. It is true, *Crooke* in many of his Letters says, *That if he had Money enough, he did not doubt but he should get the Hands of all the Divines in Italy, for he found the greatest part of them all Mercenary.* But the Bishop of *Worcester*, in his Letters to him, ordered him only to promise Rewards to those who expected them, and lived by them, that is, to the Canonists, who did not use to give their Opinion without a Fee.

But at the same time, the Emperor did reward and fee Divines at another rate, for *Crooke* informed the King, that one *Friar Felix* having written for the validity of the Marriage against the King, there was a Benefice of 500 Duckats a year given him in reward. And the Emperor's Ambassador offered a thousand Duckats to the Provincial of the *Gray-Friars* in *Venice*, if he would inhibit all within his Province to write or subscribe for the King's Cause. But the Provincial refused it, and said, he neither could nor yet would do it. And another that wrote for the Queen, had a Benefice of 600 Crowns. So that it was openly said at *Ferrara*, that they who wrote for the King had but a few Crowns a-piece, but they who wrote on the other side had good Benefices. They also tryed what could be done at *Padua*, both by Threatnings, Entreaties and Rewards, to induce them to reverse the determination they had made in the matter; but with no success. And though *Francis Georgius* the *Venetian* Friar, did greatly promote the King's Cause, both by his Writings and Authority; yet *Crooke* wrote that he could not prevail to make either him or his Nephew accept one farthing of him. By such fair means it was, that *Crooke* procured so many Subscriptions.

First, of particular Divines, many *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, and *Servites*, set their Hands to the Conclusions; though even in that, there was opposition made by the Pope's Agents. *Campegio* was now engaged in the Emperor's Faction, and did every where mis-represent the King's Cause. Being at *Venice*, he so wrought on the Minister of the *Franciscans*, that though he had declared for the King, and engaged to bring the Hands of 24 Doctors and Learned men of his Order for it, and had received a small Present of ten Crowns; yet after he had kept the Money three weeks, he sent it back, and said, he would not meddle more in it: But they procured most of these hands without his help. At *Milan*, a Suffragan Bishop, and sixteen Divines subscribed. Nine Doctors subscribed at *Vincenza*, but the Pope's Nuntio took the writing out of his Hands that had it, and suppressed it. At *Padua* all the *Franciscans*, both *Observants* and *Conventuals*, subscribed, and so did the *Dominicans*, and all the Canonists; and though the Popes and Empe

1530.

Feb. 8.

Only some small acknowledgments;

Feb. 22.

Feb. 9.

Septemb. 16.

But great Rewards given by the Emperor.

Septemb. 20.

Feb. 22.

March 29.

May 25.

June 27.

1530.

They Determined for the King at B.no. nra.  
June 10th.

Emperor's Emillaries did threaten all that Subscribed, yet there were got eighty hands at *Padua*. Next the Universities determined.

At *Bononia*, though it was the Pope's Town, many Subscribed. The Governour of the Town did at first oppose the granting of any Determination; but the Pope's *Breve* being brought thither, he not without great difficulty gave way to it, so on the 10 of *June*, the matter being publickly debated, and all *Cajetan's* Arguments being examined, who was of Opinion, *That the Laws of Marriage in Leviticus did not bind the Christian Church, they determined, That these Laws are still in force, and that they bind all both Christians and Infidels, being parts of the Law of Nature, as well as of the Law of God; and that therefore they judged Marriage in these degrees unlawful, and that the Pope had no Authority to dispence with them.*

At *Padua*.  
July 1.  
Collect.  
Numb. 33.  
And *Ferrara*,  
Sept. 29.

The University of *Padua* after some days publick Dispute, on the 1st of *July*, determined to the same purpose; about which *Crooke's* Letter will be found among the Instruments at the end of this Book.

At *Ferrara*, the Divines did also confirm the same conclusion, and set their Seal to it, but it was taken away violently by some of the other Faction, yet the Duke made it be restored. The profession of the Canon-Law was then in great credit there, and in a Congregation of 72 of that profession, it was determined for the King; but they asked 150 Crowns for setting the Seal to it, and *Crooke* would not give more than an hundred; the next day he came and offered the Money, but then it was told him they would not meddle in it, and he could not afterwards obtain it.

In all, *Crooke* sent over by *Stokesley* an hundred several Books, Papers and Subscriptions, and there were many hands subscribed to many of those Papers. But it seems *Crooke* died before he could receive a reward of this great Service he did the King, for I do not find him mentioned after this. I hope the Reader will forgive my insisting so much on this Negotiation; for it seemed necessary to give full and convincing Evidences of the sincerity of the King's proceedings in it, since it is so confidently given out that these were but mercenary Subscriptions.

And in *Orleance*.  
April 7.  
At *Paris* of  
the Canonists.  
May 25.

Of the *Sorbonne*.  
July 2.

What difficulties or opposition those who were employed in *France* found, does not yet appear to me; but the Seals of the chief Universities there were procured. The University of *Orleance* determined it on the 7th of *April*. The Faculty of the Canon Law at *Paris*, did also conclude that the Pope had no Power to dispence in that Case, on the 25th of *May*. But the great and celebrated Faculty of the *Sorbonne*, (whose Conclusions had been lookt on for some Ages as little inferiour to the Decrees of Councils) made their Decision with all possible Solemnity and Decency. They first met at the Church of *St. Mathurin*, where there was a Mass of the H. Ghost, and every one took an Oath to study the Question, and resolve it according to his Conscience, and from the 8th of *June*, to the 2d of *July*, they continued searching the matter with all possible diligence, both out of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Councils; and had many Disputes about it. After which, the greater part of the Faculty did Determine, *That the King of England's Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope had no Power to dispence in it; and they set their common Seal to it, at St. Mathurin's the 2d of July, 1530.* To the same purpose did both the Faculties of Law, Civil and Canon at *Angiers*, determine the 7th of *May*. On the 10th of *June*, the Faculty of Divinity, at *Bourges*, made the same Determination. And on

At *Angiers*.  
May 7.  
At *Bourges*.  
June 10.

the



the 1st of *October* the whole University of *Tholose*, did all with one consent give their judgment, agreeing with the former Conclusions. More of the Decisions of Universities were not Printed, though many more were obtained to the same effect. In *Germany, Spain, and Flanders*, the Emperor's Authority was so great, that much could not be expected except from the *Lutherans*, with whom *Cranmer* conversed; and chiefly with *Osfander*, whose Niece he then Married. *Osfander* upon that wrote a Book about Incestuous Marriages, which was published; but was called in by a Prohibition Printed at *Ausburg*, because it Determined in the King's Cause, and on his side.

1530.

And *Tholose*,  
Osfob. 1.  
Collect.  
Numb. 34.

Jan. 28  
his Orig. Ler.  
Cott. Libr. O.  
109. C. 10.

But now I find the King did likewise deal among those in *Switzerland* that had set up the Reformation. The Duke of *Suffolk* did most set him on to this, so one who was employed in that time writes, for he often asked him, *how he could so humble himself, as to submit his Cause to such a vile, vitious, stranger, Priest as Campegio was?* To which the King answered, *He could give no other reason, but that it seemed to him, Spiritual men should judge Spiritual things: yet, he said, he would search the matter further, but he had no great mind to seem more curious than other Princes.* But the Duke desired him to discuss the matter secretly amongst Learned men, to which he consented; and wrote to some Foreign Writers that were then in great estimation. *Erasmus* was much in his Favour, but he would not appear in it. He had no mind to provoke the Emperor, and live uneasily in his own Country. But *Simon Grineus* was sent for, whom the King esteemed much for his Learning. The King informed him about his Process, and sent him back to *Basil*, to try what his Friends in *Germany* and *Switzerland* thought of it. He wrote about it to *Bucer, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and Paulus Phrygion.*

*Oecolampadius*, as it appears by three Letters, one dated the 10th of *August*, 1531. another the last of the same Month, another to *Bucer* the 10th of *September*, was positively of Opinion, *That the Law in Leviticus did bind all Mankind*, and says, *That Law of a Brothers Marrying his Sister-in-Law, was a Dispensation given by God to his own Law, which belonged only to the Jews; and therefore he thought that the King might without any scruple put away the Queen.* But *Bucer* was of another mind, and thought the Law in *Leviticus* did not bind, and could not be Moral, because God had dispensed with it in one Case of raising up seed to his Brother: Therefore he thought these Laws belonged only to that Dispensation, and did no more bind Christians, than the other Ceremonial or Judiciary Precepts; and that to Marry in some of these Degrees, was no more a sin, than it was a sin in the Disciples to pluck Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-day. There are none of *Bucer's* Letters remaining on this Head, but by the Answers that *Grineus* wrote to him, one on the 29th of *August*, another on the 10th of *September*, I gather his Opinion, and the reasons for it. But they all agreed, That the Pope's Dispensation was of no force to alter the nature of a thing. *Paulus Phrygion* was of Opinion, That the Laws in *Leviticus* did bind all Nations, because it is said in the Text, *That the Canaanites were punished for doing contrary to them, which did not consist with the Justice of God, if those Prohibitions had not been parts of the Law of Nature.* Dated *Basil* the 10th of *September*. In *Grineus's* Letter to *Bucer*, he tells him, that the King had said to him, *That now for seven years he had perpetual trouble upon him about this Marriage.* *Zuinglius's* Letter is very full. First, he largely proves that neither the Pope, nor any other Power

*Peterine In-*  
*gleise.*

*Grineus* employed amongst the Reformed in *Switzerland*. Whose Letters are in a MSS. in R. Smith's Libr. The Opinions of *Oecolampadius*.

*Bucer.*

*Phrygion.*

*Zuinglius.*

1530. Power could dispense with the Law of God: Then, that the Apostles had made no new Laws about Marriage, but had left it as they found it: That the Marrying within near degrees was hated by the *Greeks*, and other Heathen Nations. But whereas *Grineus* seemed to be of opinion, that though the Marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be dissolved, and inclined rather to advise that the King should take another Wife, keeping the Queen still; *Zuinglius* confutes that and says, if the Marriage be against the Law of God, it ought to be dissolved: But concludes the Queen should be put away honourably, and still used as a Queen; and the Marriage should only be dissolved for the future, without Illegitimizing the Issue begotten in it, since it had gone on in a publick way, upon a received error. But advises, that the King should proceed in a Judiciary way, and not establish so ill a Precedent as to put away his Queen, and take another without due form of Law. Dated *Basil*, 17th of *Aug.* There is a second Letter of his to the same purpose from *Zurick*, the first of *September*. There is also with these Letters a long paper of *Ostander's*, in the form of a Direction how the Procefs should be managed.

And Calvin  
Epist. 324.

There is also an Epistle of *Calvin's*, published among the rest of his. Neither the date nor the person to whom it was directed are named. Yet I fantasie it was written to *Grineus*, upon this occasion: *Calvin* was clear in his judgment that the Marriage was null, and that the King ought to put away the Queen, upon the Law of *Leviticus*. And whereas it was objected, that the Law is only meant of *Marrying the Brothers Wife while he is yet alive*; he shews that could not be admitted, for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the same style, they were all to be understood in one sense: Therefore since it is confessed, that it is unlawful to Marry in the other degrees, after the death of the *Father*, *Son*, *Uncle*, or *Nephew*, so it must be also a sin, to Marry the Brothers Wife after his death. And for the Law in *Deuteronomy* of *Marrying the Brothers Wife to raise up seed to him*; he thought, that by *Brother* there, is to be understood a *near Kinsman*, according to the usual phrase of the Hebrew tongue: and by that he reconciles the two Laws which otherwise seem to differ, illustrating his Exposition by the History of *Ruth* and *Boaz*. It is given out that *Melancthon* advised the King's taking another Wife, justifying *Polygamy from the old Testament*; but I cannot believe it. It is true the lawfulness of *Polygamy* was much controverted at this time. And as in all controversies newly started, many crude things are said; so some of the *Helvetian* and *German* Divines seem not so fierce against it; though none of them went so far as the Pope did, who did plainly offer to grant the King Licence to have two Wives: and it was a motion the Imperialists consented to, and promoted, though upon what reason, the Ambassador *Cassali* who wrote the account of it to the King, could not learn. The Pope forbid him to write about it to the King, perhaps as Whisperers enjoyn silence, as the most effectual way to make a thing publick. But for *Melancthon's* being of that mind, great evidences appear to the contrary; for there is a Letter of *Ostander's* to him, giving him many reasons to perswade him to approve of the King's putting away the Queen, and Marrying another: the Letter also shews he was then of opinion, that the Law in *Leviticus* was Dispensable.

Lord Herb.  
from an Orig.  
Lec. Sept. 18.  
1530.

The opinion  
of the *Lutheran*  
Divines.

And after the thing was done, when the King desired the *Lutheran* Divines to approve his second Marriage; they begged his excuse in a writing,

writing, which they sent over to him; so that *Melancthon* not allowing the thing, when it was done, cannot be imagined to have advised *Polygamy* beforehand. And to open at once all that may clear the sense of the Protestants in the Question, when some years after this; *Fox* being made Bishop of *Hereford*, and much inclined to their Doctrine, was sent over to get the Divines of *Germany*, to approve of the Divorce, and the subsequent Marriage of *Anne Boleyn*; he found that *Melancthon* and others had no mind to enter much into the Dispute about it, both for fear of the Emperor, and because they judged the King was led in it by dishonest Affections: they also thought the Laws in *Leviticus* were not Moral, and did not oblige Christians, and since there were no Rules made about the Degrees of Marriage in the Gospel, they thought Princes and States might make what Laws they pleased about it: yet after much Disputing they were induced to change their minds, but could not be brought to think that a Marriage once made, might be annulled, and therefore demurred upon that; as will appear by the Conclusion they passed upon it, to be found at the end of this Volume. All this I have set together here, to give a right representation of the judgments of the several parties of *Christendom* about this matter.

It cannot be denied, that the Protestants did express great sincerity in this matter: such as became men of Conscience, who were acted by true Principles, and not by maxims of Policy. For if these had governed them, they had struck in more compliantly with so great a Prince, who was then alienated from the Pope, and in very ill terms with the Emperor: so that to have gained him by a full Compliance to have protected them, was the wisest thing they could do; and their being so cold in the matter of his Marriage, in which he had engaged so deeply, was a thing, which would very much provoke him against them. But such measures as these, though they very well became the *Apostolick* See, yet they were unworthy of Men, who designed to restore an *Apostolick* Religion.

The Earl of *Wiltshire* with the other Ambassadors, when they had their Audience of the Pope at *Bononia*, refused to pay him the submission of Kissing his Foot, though he graciously stretched it out to them; but went to their business, and expostulated in the King's Name, and in high words: and in Conclusion told the Pope, that the *Prerogative of the Crown of England* was such, that their Master would not suffer any Citation to be made of him, to any foreign Court; and that therefore the King would not have his Cause tried at *Rome*. The Pope answered, that though the Queens Solicitor had pressed him to proceed in the Citation; both that her Marriage being further examined, might receive a new Confirmation, for silencing the Disputes about it, and because the King had withdrawn himself from her; yet if the King did not go further, and did not innovate in Religion, the Pope was willing to let the matter rest. They went next to the Emperor, to justify the King's Proceedings in the Suit of the Divorce. But he told them he was bound in Honour and Justice to support his Aunt, and that he would not abandon her. *Cranmer* offered to maintain what he had written in his Book, but whether they went so far, as to make their Divines enter into any Discourse with him about it, I do not know. This appears that the Pope, to put a Compliment on the King, declared *Cranmer* his *Penitentiary* in *England*. He having stayed some Months at

M

Rome,

1530.  
Instructions  
sent by Dr.  
Barn. to Crom-  
wel. Cost Lib.  
Vitel. B. 18.

They condemn the  
King's first  
Marriage, but  
are against a  
second.  
Collect.  
Numb. 35.

Fox.

The King re-  
fuses to ap-  
pear at *Rome*.

*Cranmer* offers  
to maintain  
the King's  
Cause.

1530.

*Rome*, after the Ambassadors were gone, went into *Germany*: where he became acquainted with *Cornelius Agrippa*, a man very famous for great and curious Learning, and so satisfied him in the King's Cause, that he gave it out, that the thing was clear and indisputable, for which he was afterwards hardly used by the Emperor, and dyed in Prison.

The Nobility,  
Clergy, and  
Commons of  
*England* write  
to the Pope.

But when the King received the Determinations and Conclusions of the Universities, and other Learned Men beyond Sea, he resolved to do two things. First, to make a new attempt upon the Pope, and then to publish those Conclusions to the World, with the arguments upon which they were grounded. But to make his address to the Pope carry more terror with it, he got a Letter to be signed by a great many Members of Parliament, to the Pope. The Lord *Herbert* saith, it it was done by his Parliament; but in that, he had not applyed his ordinary diligence, the Letter bears date the 13 of *July*. Now by the Records of Parliament, it appears, there could be no Session at that time, for there was a Prorogation from the 21 of *June*, till the 1st of *October* that year: But the Letter was sent about to the chief Members, for their hands; and *Cavendish* tells how it was brought to the Cardinal, and with what chearfulness he set his hand to it. It was subscribed by the Cardinal, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, 4 Bishops, 2 Dukes, 2 Marquesses, 13 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 23 Barons, 22 Abbots, and 11 Commoners, most of these being the King's Servants.

In the life  
of *Wolsey*.

This Letter  
and the an-  
swer are Prin-  
ted by the  
Lord *Herbert*.

The Contents of the Letter were, " that their near Relation to the King, made them address thus to the Pope. The King's Cause was now in the opinion of the Learned Men, and Universities both in *England*, *France*, and *Italy* found just, which ought to prevail so far with the Pope, that though none moved in it, and notwithstanding any Contradiction, he ought to confirm their judgment; especially it touching a King and Kingdom, to whom he was so much obliged. But since neither the justice of the Cause, nor the King's most earnest Desires had prevailed with him, they were all forced to complain of that strange usage of their King; who both by his Authority, and with his Pen, had supported the Apostolick See, and the Catholick Faith, and yet was now denied justice. From which they apprehended great mischief and Civil Wars, which could only be prevented by the King's Marrying another Wife, of whom he might have issue. This could not be done, till his present Marriage were annulled. And if the Pope would still refuse to do this, they must conclude that they were abandoned by him, and so seek for other Remedies. This they most earnestly prayed him to prevent, since they did not desire to go to extremities, till there was no more to be hoped for at his hands.

The Pope's  
Answer.

To this the Pope made answer, the 27 of *September*. " He took notice of the vehemency of their Letter, which he forgave them, imputing it to their great affection to their King: they had charged him with ingratitude and injustice; two grievous Imputations. He acknowledged all they wrote of the obligations he owed to their King, which were far greater than they called them, both on the Apostolick See, and himself in particular. But in the King's Cause he had been so far from denying justice, that he was oft charged as having been too partial to him. He had granted a Commission to two Legates to hear it, rather out of Favour, than in Rigor of Law; upon which the Queen had appealed: he had delayed the admitting of it,

“ as long as was possible; but when he saw it could not be any longer  
 “ denied to be heard, it was brought before the Consistory, where all  
 “ the Cardinals with one Consent, found that the Appeal, and an A-  
 “ vocation of the Cause must be granted. That since that time, the  
 “ King had never desired to put it to a Tryal, but on the contrary, by  
 “ his Ambassadors at *Bononia* moved for a delay: and in that posture  
 “ it was still, nor could he give Sentence in a thing of such Consequence,  
 “ when it was not so much as sought for. For the conclusions of U-  
 “ niversities and Learned Men, he had seen none of them from any of  
 “ the King’s Ambassadors. It was true some of them had been brought  
 “ to him another way; but in them there were no Reasons given, but  
 “ only bare Conclusions, and he had also seen very important things for  
 “ the other side; and therefore he must not precipitate a Sentence, in  
 “ a Cause of such high Importance, till all things were fully heard and  
 “ considered. He wished their King might have Male-Issue, but he  
 “ was not in God’s stead to give it. And for their Threatnings of seek-  
 “ ing other Remedies, they were neither agreeable to their Wisdom,  
 “ nor to their Religion: Therefore he admonished them to abstain from  
 “ such Counsels; but minded them that it is not the Physicians fault  
 “ if the Patient will do himself hurt. He knew the King would never  
 “ like such Courses: and though he had a just value for their Intercessi-  
 “ on; yet he considered the King much more, to whom as he had ne-  
 “ ver denied any thing, that he could grant with his Honour; so he  
 “ was very desirous to examine this matter, and to put it to a speedy  
 “ Issue, and would do every thing that he could without offending  
 “ God.

1530.

But the King either seeing the Pope resolved to grant nothing, or ap-  
 prehending that some Bull might be brought into *England*, in behalf of  
 the Queen, or the disgraced Cardinal, did on the Nineteenth of *Sep-*  
*tember*, put forth a Proclamation against any “ who purchased any thing  
 “ from *Rome*, or elsewhere, contrary to his Royal Prerogative and Au-  
 “ thority, or should publish or divulge any such thing, requiring them  
 “ not to do it, under the pains of incurring his Indignation, Imprison-  
 “ ment, and other punishments on their Persons. This was founded  
 on the Statute of *Provisors* and *Premunires*. But that being done, he  
 resolved next to publish to the World, and to his Subjects the justice  
 of his Cause: Therefore some Learned Men were appointed to com-  
 pare all that had been written on it, and out of all the Transcripts of  
 the Manuscripts, of Fathers and Councils, to gather together what-  
 soever did strengthen it. Several of these Manuscripts I have seen,  
 one is in Mr. *Smith’s* Library, where are the Quotations of the Fathers,  
 Councils, Schoolmen, and Canonists, written out at length. There  
 are three other such MSS. in the *Cotton* Library, of which one con-  
 tains a large vindication of these Authorities, from some Exceptions  
 made to them; another is an answer to the Bishop of *Rocheſter’s* Book  
 for the Queens Cause. A Third digests the Matter into Twelve Arti-  
 cles, which the Reader will find in my Appendix, and these are there  
 enlarged on and proved. But all these, and many more were sum’d  
 up in a short Book, and Printed first in Latine, then in English, with  
 the Determinations of the Universities before it. These are of such  
 weight and importance, and give so great a light to the whole Mat-  
 ter, that I hope the Reader will not be ill pleased to have a short ab-  
 stract of them laid before him.

A Proclamation  
 on against  
 Bulls from  
*Rome*.  
*Lord Herb.*

Books writ-  
 ten for the  
 King’s Cause.

*Ortho. C. 10.*

*Ibidem.*

*Ves. B. 5.*  
*Collect.*  
*Numb. 35.*

1530.

An Abstract of those things which were written for the Divorce.

The Grounds  
of it in the old  
Testament.

Lev. 18. 20.

Lev. 18. 2. 4,  
5, 6, 21.v. 17. 24. 26.  
v. 24. 25.

Lev. 18. v. 16.

Lev. 20. 21.

And in the  
New.  
Mat. 14. 4.

I Cor 5. 1.

Lib. 4.  
cont. Marcio;  
nem.

“ The Law of Marriage was originally given by God, to *Adam* in the state of Innocence, with this Declaration, that Man and Wife were one *Flesh*; but being afterwards corrupted by the Incestuous commixtures of those which were of Kin, in the nearest degrees, the Primitive Law was again revived by *Moses*. And he gives many Rules and Prohibitions about the Degrees of Kindred and Affinity, which are not to be looked on, as new Laws and judiciary Precepts, but as a Restoring of the Law of Nature, originally given by God, but then much corrupted. For as the Preface which is so oft repeated before these Laws, *I am the Lord*, insinuates that they were conform to the Divine Nature; so the consequences of them show they were Moral and Natural. For the Breaches of them are called *Wickedness* and *Abomination*, and are said to defile the Land; and the Violation of them is charged on the *Canaanites*, by which the Land was polluted, and for which it did vomit out the Inhabitants. From whence it must be concluded, that these were not positive Precepts, which did only bind the *Jews*, but were parts of the Law of Mankind and Nature; otherwise those Nations could contract no Guilt by their Violating them. Among the forbidden Degrees, one is, *Thou shalt not discover the Nakedness of thy Brother's Wife it is thy Brother's Nakedness*. And it is again repeated, *If a Man shall take his Brother's Wife, it is an unclean thing he hath uncovered his Brother's Nakedness, they shall be Childless*. These are clear and express Laws of God, which therefore must needs oblige all persons of what rank soever, without exception.

“ In the New Testament, *St. John Baptist* said to *Herod*, *It is not Lawful for thee to take thy Brother's Wife*, which shows that these Laws of *Moses* were still obligatory. *St. Paul* also in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, condemns the Incestuous person for having his Father's Wife, which is one of the Degrees forbidden by the Law of *Moses*, and calls it a *Fornication*, not so much as named among the *Gentiles*. From whence it is inferred, that these forbidden degrees are excluded by the Law of Nature, since the *Gentiles* did not admit them. *St. Paul* also calling it by the common name of *Fornication*, within which, according to that place, all undue Commixtures of Men and Women are included; Therefore those places in the New Testament, that condemn *Fornication*, do also condemn Marriages in forbidden degrees; our Saviour did also assert the Foundation of Affinity, by saying, *that Man and Wife are one Flesh*.

“ But in all Controverted things, the sense of the Scriptures must be taken from the Tradition of the Church, which no good Catholick can deny: and that is to be found in the Decrees of Popes and Councils, and in the Writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church: against which, if any argue from their private understanding of the Scriptures, it is the way of *Heresie*, and favours of *Lutheranism*. The first of the Fathers, who had occasion to write of this Matter, was *Tertullian*, who lived within an Age after the Apostles. He in express words says, that the Law of not Marrying the Brother's Wife, did still oblige Christians.

“ The

“ The first Pope, whose decision was sought in this matter, was Gregory the Great, to whom Austin the Apostle of England wrote for his resolution of some things, in which he desired direction, and one of these is, *Whether a man may Marry his Brothers Wife?* (who in the Language of that time was called his *Kinswoman*) The Pope answered Negatively, and proved it by the Law of Moses, and therefore Defined, *that if any of the English Nation, who had Married within that degree, were converted to the Faith, he must be admonished to abstain from his Wife, and to look on such a Marriage as a most grievous Sin.* From which it appears, that that good Pope did judge it a thing, which by no means could be dispensed with, otherwise he had not pressed it so much under such Circumstances; since in the first Conversion of a Nation to the Christian Faith, the Insisting too much upon it, might have kept back many from receiving the Christian Religion, who were otherwise well inclined to it. <sup>1</sup> Calixtus, <sup>2</sup> Zaccarias, and <sup>3</sup> Innocent the Third, have plainly asserted the obligation of these Precepts in the Law of Moses, the last particularly, who treats about it with great vehemency: So that the Apostolick See has already judged the Matter.

1530.  
The Authorities of Pope.

“ Several Provincial Councils have also declared the obligation of the Precepts, about the degrees of Marriage in *Leviticus*, by the Council at *Neocesarea*; *If a Woman had been Married to two Brothers, she was to be cast out of the Communion of the Church till her death, and the Man that Married his Brothers Wife was to be Anathematized*, which was also confirmed in a Council held by Pope Gregory the Second. In the Council of *Agde*, where the Degrees that make a Marriage incestuous are reckoned, this of Marrying the Brother's wife is one of them: and there it was Decreed, *that all Marriages within these Degrees were Null, and the Parties so Contracting, were to be cast out of the Communion of the Church, and put among the Catechumens till they separated themselves from one another.* And in the second Council of *Toledo*, the Authority of the Mosaical Prohibitions about the Degrees of Marriage is acknowledged. It was one of *Wickliff's* errors, that the Prohibition of Marriage within such degrees was without any foundation in the Law of God, for which, and other points, he was condemned first in a Convocation at *London*, then at *Oxford*, and last of all at the general Council of *Constance*, these Condemnations were confirmed. So formally had the Church in many Provincial Councils, and in one that was General, decided this matter.

<sup>1</sup> ad omnes Gallis Episcopos.  
<sup>2</sup> 30. Quest.  
<sup>3</sup> Cap. Futurum.  
<sup>3</sup> De precept. cap. cum in juventutem.  
and Councils.  
Can. 2.

Chap. 5.

Can. 61.

Chap. 5.

“ Next to these, the Opinions of the Fathers were to be considered. In the Greek Church <sup>1</sup> Origen first had occasion to treat about it, writing on *Leviticus*; and <sup>2</sup> Chrysostom after him; but most fully St. <sup>3</sup> Basil the Great, who do expressly assert the Obligations of these Precepts. The last particularly refuting at great length the Opinion of some, who thought the marrying two Sisters was not unlawful, laies it down as a Foundation, that the Laws in *Leviticus* about Marriage were still in force. *Hesychius* also, writing upon *Leviticus*, proves that these Prohibitions were universally obligatory, because both the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites* are taxed for marrying within these Degrees; from whence he infers, they are of Moral and Eternal Obligation.

<sup>1</sup> And the Greek.  
In 20 Levit.  
<sup>2</sup> Hamil. 71.  
on 22. Mat.  
<sup>3</sup> Epist. ad Didor.

On Levit. 18.  
and 20.

“ From the Greek they went to the Latin Fathers, and alledged, as was already observed, that *Tertullian* held the same Opinion, and with him agreed the three great Doctors of the Latin Church, <sup>1</sup> Ambrose, <sup>2</sup> Jer-

And the Latin Fathers.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. 8. Ep.  
<sup>2</sup> Jer- 66.

1530.

<sup>1</sup> Cont. Helvidium.<sup>3</sup> Cont. Faust. chap. 8, 9, 10.

Et Quest. 64. in Lev. ad Bonifac. Lib. 3.

chap. 4. Lib. 15. de Civ. Dei. chap. 16.

And of the Modern Writers.

In E. ist. ad Pium Fratrem.

<sup>4</sup> On 18. Lev. Lib. 2. de Sacram. p. 2.

chap. 4. Art. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Epist. ad Arch. Retomag. Et Epist. Sag.<sup>7</sup> Epist. 240.

The Schoolmen.

2da. 2da. Quest. 154. art. 9. In Tertiam Quest. 54. art. 3. In 4<sup>ta</sup>. dist. 40. Q. 3. and 4.<sup>1</sup> Cont. Wickl. art. 8.<sup>2</sup> Delictis Et illicitis Conjugiis.<sup>3</sup> Lib. de Sacram. Tom. 2. c. 134.

And Canonists.

Marriage completed by consent.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome, and St. <sup>3</sup> Austin, who do plainly deliver the Tradition of the Church about the Obligation of those Laws, and answer the Objections that were made, either from *Abraham's* marrying his Sister, or from *Jacob's* marrying two Sisters, or the Law in *Deuteronomy*, for the Brothers marrying the Brothers Wife, if he died without Children.

“ They observed that the same Doctrine was also taught by the Fathers and Doctors in the latter Ages. <sup>4</sup> *Anselm* held it, and pleads much for marrying in remote Degrees, and answers the Objection from the Decision in the Base of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*. <sup>5</sup> *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Radulphus Flaviacensis*, and *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, do agree, that these Precepts are Moral, and of Perpetual obligation, as also *Hugo de Sto. Victore*. <sup>6</sup> *Hildebert* Bishop of *Mans*, being consulted in a Case of the same nature with what is now controverted, plainly determines, *That a man may not marry his Brother's Wife*; and by many Authorities shews, That by no means it can be allowed. And <sup>7</sup> *Ivo Carnotensis* being desired to give his Opinion in a Case of the same circumstances, of a Kings marrying his Brothers Wife, says, *Such a Marriage is null, as inconsistent with the Law of God, and that the King was not to be admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put away his Wife, since there was no Dispensing with the Law of God, and no Sacrifice could be offered for those that continued willingly in sin.* Passages also to the same purpose, are in other places of his Epistles.

“ From these Doctors and Fathers the Inquiry descended to the Schoolmen, who had with more niceness and subtlety examined things. They do all agree in asserting the Obligation of these Levitical Prohibitions. *Thomas Aquinas* does it in many places, and confirms it with many Arguments. *Altisodorensis* says, there are Moral Laws, and part of the Law of Nature. *Petrus de Palude*, is of the same mind, and says, that a mans marrying his Brothers Wife, was a Despensation granted by God, but could not be now allowed, because it was contrary to the Law of Nature. *St. Antonine of Florence*, *Joannes de Turre Cremata*, *Joannes de Tabia*, *Jacobus de Lausania*, and *Astexanus*, were also cited for the same Opinion. And those who wrote against *Wickliffe*, namely <sup>1</sup> *Wydeford*, <sup>2</sup> *Cotten*, and <sup>3</sup> *Waldensis*, charged him with Heresie, for denying that those Prohibitions did oblige Christians. And asserted that they were Moral Laws, which obliged all mankind. And the Books of *Waldensis* were approved by *P. Martin* the first. There were also many Quotations brought out of *Petrus de Tarentasia*, *Durandus*, *Stephanus Brulifer*, *Richardus de Media Villa*, *Guido Briancon*, *Gerson*, *Paulus Ritius*, and many others, to confirm the same Opinion, who did all unanimously assert, That those Laws in *Leviticus* are parts of the Law of Nature, which oblige all mankind, and that Marriages contracted in these Degrees are null and void. All the Canonists were also of the same mind, *Joannes Andreas*, *Joannes de Imola*, *Abbas Panormitanus*, *Matthæus Neri*, *Vincentius*, *Innocentius*, and *Ostiensis*, all concluded that these Laws were still in force, and could not be dispensed with.

“ There was also a great deal alledged, to prove that a Marriage is completed by the Marriage-Contract, though it be never Consummated. Many Authorities were brought to prove that *Adonijah* could not marry *Abisbag*, because she was his Fathers Wife, though never known by him. And by the Law of *Moses*, a Woman espoused to a Man, if she admitted another to her Bed, was to be stoned as an *Adulteress*;

“ from



“ from whence it appears, that the validity of Marriage is from the mutual Covenant. And though *Joseph* never knew the Blessed Virgin, yet he was so much her Husband by the Espousals, that he could not put her away, but by a Bill of Divorce: and was afterwards called her Husband and Christs Father. Affinity had been also defined by all Writers, a Relation arising out of Marriage, and since Marriage was a Sacrament of the Church, its Essence could only consist in the Contract; and therefore as a man in Orders has the Character, though he never consecrated any Sacrament: So Marriage is compleat, though its effect never follow. And it was shewed that the Canonists had only brought in the Consummation of Marriage as essential to it by Ecclesiastical Law. But that as *Adam* and *Eve* were perfectly married before they knew one another, so Marriage was compleat upon the contract; and what followed, was only an effect done in the right of the Marriage. And there was a great deal of filthy stuff brought together, of the different Opinions of the Canonists concerning Consummation, to what Degree it must go, to shew that it could not be essential to the Marriage Contract, which in modesty were suppressed. Both *Hildebert* of *Mans*, *Ivo Carnotensis*, and *Hugo de Sto. Victore*, had delivered this Opinion, and proved it out of *St. Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, and *Isidore*. Pope *Nicholas*, and the Council of *Tribur*, defined, that Marriage was compleated by the Consent, and the Benediction. From all which they concluded, that although it could not be proved that Prince *Arthur* knew the Queen, yet that she being once lawfully married to him, the King could not afterwards marry her.

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“ It was also said, that *violent Presumptions* were sufficient in the Opinion of the Canonists to prove Consummation. Formal proofs could not be expected; and for Persons that were of Age, and in good health, to be in Bed together, was in all Trials about Consummation, all that the Canonists sought for. And yet this was not all in this Case, for it appeared, that upon her Husbands death, she was kept with great care by some Ladies, who did think her with Child; and she never said any thing against it. And in the Petition offered to the Pope in her name (repeated in the Bull that was procured for the second Marriage) it is said, she was *perhaps known by Prince Arthur*, and in the Breve, it is plainly said, she was known by Prince *Arthur*, and though the Queen offered to purge her self by Oath, that Prince *Arthur* never knew her, it was proved by many Authorities out of the Canon-Law, that a Partie's Oath ought not to be taken, when there were *violent presumptions* to the contrary.

Violent presumptions of the Consummation of Prince Arthur's Marriage.

“ As for the validity of the Pope's Dispensation, it was said, That though the School-men and Canonists did generally raise the Pope's Power very high, and stretch it as far as it was possible; yet they all agree that it could not reach the King's Case: Upon this received Maxim, *That only the Laws of the Church are subject to the Pope, and may be dispensed with by him, but that the Laws of God are above him, and that he cannot dispense with them in any case.* This *Aquinas* delivers in many places of his Works, *Petrus de Palude*, says, The Pope cannot dispence with Marriage in these Degrees, because it is against nature. But *Joannes de Turre Cremata*, reports a singular Case, which fell out when he was a Cardinal. A King of *France* desired a Dispensation to Marry his Wives Sister. The matter was long considered of and debated in the *Rota*, himself being there, and bearing a share in the Debate; but

The Pope's Dispensation of force.

In Quod lib Lib. 4. Art. 13. Et in 4tam dist. 15. Q. 3. Art. 2. Sup. Cap. Conjunctionis 35. Q. 2 Et 3.

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Sup. Cap  
Literas de  
Rest. Spons.

Cap. ad Au-  
dien. Sponsal.

“ it was concluded, *That if any Pope, either out of Ignorance, or being Cor-  
rupted, had ever granted such a Dispensation, that could be no precedent or  
warrant for doing the like any more since the Church ought to be governed  
by Laws and not by such Examples.* Antonin, and *Johannes de Tabia*, held  
the same. And one *Bacon* an *English-man*, who had taught the con-  
trary, was censured for it even at *Rome*, and he did detract his Opī-  
nion, and acknowledged, that the Pope could not dispense with the  
Degrees of Marriage forbidden by the Law of God.

“ The Canonists agree also to this, both *Joannes Andreas*, *Joannes de  
Imola*, and *Abbas Panormitanus*, assert it, saying, That the Precepts in  
*Leviticus* oblige for ever, and therefore cannot be dispensed with. And  
*Panormitan* says, *These things are to be observed in Practise, because great  
Princes do often desire Dispensations from Popes.* Pope *Alexander the 3d.*  
would not suffer a Citizen of *Pavia* to marry his younger Son, to the  
Widow of his eldest Son, though he had sworn to do it. For the  
Pope said, it was against the Law of God, therefore it might not  
be done, and he was to repent of his unlawful Oath.

“ And for the Power of dispensing even with the Laws of the Church,  
by Pope’s, it was brought in, in the latter Ages. All the Fathers with  
one consent believed, That the Laws of God could not be dispenced  
with by the Church, for which many places were cited out of *St. Cy-  
prian*, *Basil*, *Ambrose*, *Isidore*, *Bernard*, and *Urban*, *Fabian*, *Marcellus*, and  
*Innocent*, that were Popes; besides an infinite number of later Wri-  
ters. And also the Popes *Zosimus*, *Damasus*, *Leo*, and *Hilarius* did  
freely acknowledge they could not change the Decrees of the Church,  
nor go against the Opinions or Practices of the Fathers. And since  
the Apostles confessed, *they could do nothing against the truth, but for  
the truth*; the Pope being Christs Vicar, cannot be supposed to have  
so great a Power, as to abrogate the Law of God: though it is acknow-  
ledged, that he is Vested with a *fulness of Power*, yet the Phrase must  
be restrained to the matter of it, which is the Pastoral care of Souls.  
And though there was no Court Superior to the Pope’s, yet as *St. Paul*  
had withstood *St. Peter* to his face; so in all Ages upon several oc-  
casions, holy Bishops have refused to comply with, or submit to Or-  
ders sent from *Rome*, when they thought the matter of them un-  
lawful.

Several Bi-  
shops refuse  
to submit to  
the Pope’s De-  
crees.  
*Gul. Malmes-  
bur. Lib. 1.*

“ *Laurence* that succeeded *Austin* the Monk in the See of *Canterbury*,  
having excommunicated King *Edbald* for an incestuous Marriage,  
would not absolve him till he put away his Wife; though the Pope  
plied him earnestly, both by Intreaties and Threatnings, to let it a-  
lone, and absolve him. *Dunstan* did the like to Count *Edwin* for a-  
nother Incestuous Marriage; nor did all the Pope’s Interposition  
make him give over. They found many other such instances which  
occurred in the Ecclesiastical History of Bishops proceeding by Cen-  
sures and other Methods, to stop the course of Sin, notwithstanding  
any encouragement the Parties had from Popes.

“ And it is certain that every man when he finds himself engaged in  
any course, which is clearly sinful, ought presently to forsake it, ac-  
cording to the Opinion of all Divines. And therefore the King upon  
these Evidences of the unlawfulness of his Marriage ought to abstain  
from the Queen; and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with the other  
Bishops, ought to require him to do it, otherwise they must proceed  
to Church-Censures. Many things were also brought from reason (or

“ at

“ at least the Maxims of the School Philosophy, which passed for true  
 “ reasons in those days) to prove Marriage in the degrees forbidden by  
 “ *Moses* to be contrary to the Law of Nature; and much was alledged  
 “ out of Profane Authors, to show what an abhorrency some Heathen  
 “ Nations had of Incestuous Marriages.

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“ And whereas the chief strength of the Arguments for the contrary  
 “ Opinion rested in this, That these Laws of *Moses* were not confirmed  
 “ by *Christ* or his Apostles in the New Testament; To that they answer-  
 “ ed, That if the Laws about Marriage were Moral, as had been proved,  
 “ then there was no need of a particular Confirmation, since those  
 “ Words of our Saviour: *I came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it;*  
 “ do confirm the whole Moral Law. *Christ* had also expressly asserted  
 “ the Relation of Affinity, saying, *That Man and Wife are one Flesh.* *St.*  
 “ *Paul* also condemned a Match as Incestuous for affinity. But though it  
 “ were not expressly set down in the Gospel, yet the Traditions of the  
 “ Church, are received with equal Authority to written Verities. This  
 “ the Court of *Rome*, and all the Learned Writers for the Catholick Faith  
 “ lay down as a Fundamental Truth. And without it, how could the  
 “ Seven Sacraments (some of which are not mentioned in the New Te-  
 “ stament) with many other Articles of Catholick Belief be maintained  
 “ against the Hereticks? The Tradition of the Church being so full  
 “ and formal in this particular, must take place: And if any Corruptions  
 “ have been brought in by some Popes within an Age or two, which  
 “ have never had any other Authority from the Decrees of the Church,  
 “ or the Opinions of Learned Men, they are not to be maintained in  
 “ opposition to the Evidence that is brought on the other side.

The Authority of Tradition.

This I have summed up in as short and Comprehensive words as I could, being the Substance of what I gathered out of the Printed Books and Manuscripts for the King's Cause. But the Fidelity of an Historian leads me next to open the Arguments that were brought against it, by those who wrote on the other side for the Queen's Cause, to prove the validity of the Marriage, and the Pope's Power of dispensing with a Marriage in that degree of Affinity.

I could never by all the search I have made, see either MSS. or Printed Books that defended their Cause, except *Cajetan's* and *Victoria's* Books that are printed in their Works. But from an Answer that was written to the Bishop of *Rocheſter's* Book, and from some other Writings on the other side, I gather the Substance of their Arguments to have been what follows.

“ *Cardinal Cajetan*, had by many Arguments endeavoured to prove,  
 “ that the Prohibitions in *Leviticus*, were not parts of the Moral Law.  
 “ They were not observed before the Law, no not by the holy seed.  
 “ *Adam's* Children married one another, *Abraham* married his Sister,  
 “ *Jacob* married two Sisters, *Judah* gave his two Sons to *Tamar*, and  
 “ promises to give her the third for her Husband. By the Law of  
 “ *Moses*, a Dispensation was granted in one case, for marrying the  
 “ Brother's Wife, which shows the Law was not Moral, otherwise it  
 “ could not be dispenced with; and if *Moses* dispenced with it, why  
 “ might not the Pope as well do it? nor was there any force in the  
 “ places cited from the New Testament. As for that of *Herod*, both  
 “ *Josephus* and *Eusebius* witness, that his Brother *Philip* was alive when  
 “ he took his Wife, and so his Sin was Adultery and not Incest. We  
 “ must also think that the Incestuous Person in *Corinth*, took his Father's

The Arguments for the Marriage.

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“ Wife when he was yet living, otherwise if he had been dead, St. Paul could not say it was a *Fornication not named among the Gentiles*: for we not only find both among the *Persians* and other Nations, the Marriage of Stepmothers allowed, but even among the *Jews*, *Adonijah* desired *Abisbag* in Marriage, who had been his Fathers Concubine.

From all which they concluded, “ That the Laws about the Degrees of Marriage, were only Judiciary Precepts, and so there was no other obligation on Christians to obey them, than what flowed from the Laws of the Church, with which the Pope might dispense. They also said, that the Law in *Leviticus* of not taking the Brother’s Wife must be understood of not taking her while he was alive; for after he was dead, by another Law, a Man might marry his Brothers Wife.

“ They also pleaded, that the Pope’s Power of Dispensing, did reach further than the Laws of the Church, even to the Law of God; for he daily dispensed with the breaking of Oaths and Vows, though that was expressly contrary to the second Commandment: and though the fifth Commandment, *Thou shalt do no Murther*, be against killing, yet the Popes dispenced with the putting Thieves to death, and in some cases, where the reason of the Commandment does not at all times hold, he is the only Judge according to *Summa Angelica*. They concluded the Pope’s Power of Dispensing was as necessary as his Power of Expounding the Scriptures, and since there was a Question made concerning the Obligation of these Levitical Prohibitions, whether they were Moral, and did oblige Christians or not, the Pope must be the only Judge: There were also some late Precedents found, one of *P. Martin*, who in case of a Mans having married his own Sister, who had lived long with her, upon a Consultation with Divines and Lawyers, confirm’d it, to prevent the Scandal, which the dissolving of it would have given. Upon which St. *Antonin* of *Florence* says, that since the thing was dispensed with, it was to be referred to the Judgment of God, and not to be condemned.

“ The Pope had granted this Dispensation, upon a very weighty Consideration, to keep Peace between two great Crowns: it had now stood above twenty years: it would therefore raise an high Scandal to bring it under Debate; besides that it would do much hurt, and bring the Titles to most Crowns into Controversie.

The Answers  
made to these.

“ But they concluded, that whatever Informalities or Nullities were pretended to be in the Bulls or Breves, the Pope was the only competent Judge of it, and that it was too high a Presumption for inferior Prelates to take upon them to examine or discuss it.

But to these Arguments it was answered by the Writers for the King’s Cause, “ that it was strange to see Men, who pretended to be such Enemies to all Heretical Novelties, yet be guilty of that, which Catholick Doctors hold to be the foundation of all Heresie; which was the setting up of private Senses of Scripture, and Reasonings from them, against the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church. It was fully made out, that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church did universally agree in this, that the Levitical Prohibitions of the Degrees of Marriage are Moral, and do oblige all Christians. Against this Authority, *Cajetan* was the first that presumed to write, opposing his private Conceits to the Tradition of the Church: which is the same thing, for which *Luther* and his followers are so severely

“ con-

condemned. May it not then be justly said of such Men that they plead much for Tradition when it makes for them, but reject it when it is against them? Therefore all these Exceptions are overthrown with this one Maxim of Catholick Doctrine, *That they are Novelties against the constant Tradition of the Christian Church, in all Ages.* But if the Force of them be also examined, they will be found as weak as they are new. That before the Law, these degrees were not observed, proves only, that they are not evidently contrary to the common sense of all Men; but as there are some Moral Precepts, which have that natural Evidence in them, that all Men must discern it, so there are others that are drawn from publick Inconvenience and Dishonesty, which are also parts of the Law of Nature: These Prohibitions are not of the first, but of the second sort, since the Immorality of them appears in this, that the Familiarities and Freedoms amongst near Relations are such, that if an Horror were not struck in Men at Conjectures in these Degrees, Families would be much defiled. This is the Foundation of the Prohibitions of Marriages in these Degrees: Therefore it is not strange if Men did not apprehend it, before God made a Law concerning it. Therefore all Examples before the Law, show only the thing is not so Evident, as to be easily collected by the Light of Nature. And for the Story of *Judab and Tamar*, there is so much wickedness in all the Parts of it, that it will be very hard to make a Precedent out of any part of it. As for the Provision about marrying the Brothers Wife, that only proves, the ground of the Law is not of its own Nature Immutable, but may be dispensed with by God in some Cases. And all these Moral Laws, that are founded on publick Convenience and Honesty, are dispensable by God in some Cases; but because *Moses* did it by Divine Revelation, it does not follow, that the Pope can do it by his ordinary Authority.

For that about *Herod*, it is not clear from *Josephus*, that *Philip* was alive when *Herod* married his Wife. For all that *Josephus* says, is, that she separated from her Husband when he was yet alive, and divorced her self from him. But he does not say, that he lived still after she married his Brother. And by the Law of Divorce Marriage was at an end, and broken by it as much, as if the Party had been dead, so that in that case she might have married any other: Therefore *Herods* sin in taking her, was from the Relation of having been his Brothers Wife. And for the Incestuous Person in *Corinth*, it is as certain, that though some few instances of a King of *Syria* and some others, may be brought of Sons marrying their Step-Mothers, yet these things were generally ill looked on, even where they were practised by some Princes, who made their Pleasure their Law. Nor could the Laws of *Leviticus* be understood, of not marrying the Brothers Wife when he was alive; for it was not lawful to take any Man's Wife from him Living. Therefore that cannot be the Meaning. And all those Prohibitions of Marriage in other Degrees, excluding those Marriages simply, whether during the Life, or after the Death of the Father, Son, Uncle, and other such Relations, there is no ground to disjoint this so much from the rest, as to make it only extend to a Marriage before the Husband's Death. And for any Precedents that were brought, they were all in the latter Ages, and were never confirmed by any publick Authority. Nor must the

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“ Practices of latter Popes be laid in the Ballance against the Decisions  
 “ of former Popes, and the Doctrine of the whole Church; and as  
 “ to the Power that was ascribed to the Pope, that began now to be  
 “ enquired into with great Freedom, as shall appear afterwards.

The Queen  
 still intracta-  
 ble.

Hall.

A Session of  
 Parliament.

More.

Convocation.

The whole  
 Clergy used  
 in a *Premunire*.

The Preroga-  
 tives of the  
 King's of Eng-  
 land, in Ec-  
 clefiastical  
 Affairs.

These Reasons on both sides being thus opened, the Censures of them, it is like, will be as different now, as they were then: for they prevailed very little on the Queen, who still persisted to justify her Marriage, and to stand to her Appeal. And though the King carried it very kindly to her in all outward Appearance, and employed every body that had Credit with her, to bring her to submit to him, and to pass from her Appeal, remitting the Decision of the Matter to any four Prelates, and four Secular Men in *England*, she was still unmovable and would hearken to no Proposition. In the Judgments that People passed, the Sexes were divided; the Men generally approved the King's Cause, and the Women favoured the Queen. But now the Session of Parliament came on the sixteenth of *January*, and there the King first brought into the House of Lords, the Determination of the Universities, and the Books that were written for his Cause by Foreigners. After they were read and considered there, the Lord Chancellor did on the 20th of *March*, with Twelve Lords both of the Spirituality and Temporality go down to the House of Commons, and shewed them what the Universities and Learned Men beyond Sea had written for the Divorce, and produced Twelve Original Papers, with the Seals of the Universities to them, which Sir *Brian Tuke* took out of his Hand, and read openly in the House, translating the Latin into English. Then about an Hundred Books written by Foreign Divines, for the Divorce, were also shewed them; none of which were read, but put off to another Time, it being late. When that was done, the Lord Chancellor desired they would report in their Countries, *what they had heard and seen, and then all Men should clearly perceive, that the King hath not attempted this matter of Will and Pleasure, as strangers say, but only for the Discharge of his Conscience, and the Security of the Succession to the Crown.* Having said that, he left the House. The matter was also brought before the Convocation; and they having weighed all that was said on both sides, seemed satisfied that the Marriage was unlawful, and that the Bull was of no Force; more not being required at that time.

But it is not strange, that this matter went so easily in the Convocation, when another of far greater Consequence passed there, which will require a full and distinct Account. Cardinal *Wolfey* by exercising his Legantine Authority had fallen into a *Premunire*, as hath been already shown, and now those who had appeared in his Courts, and had Sutes there, were found to be likewise in the same Guilt by the Law; and this matter, being excepted out of the Pardon that was granted in the former Parliament, was at this time set on Foot: Therefore an Indictment was brought into King's Bench, against all the Clergy of *England*, for breaking the Statutes against Provisions or Provisors. But to open this more clearly,

It is to be considered, that the Kings of *England* having claimed in all Ages, a Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, equal to what the *Roman* Emperors had in that Empire, they exercised this Authority both over the Clergy and Laity: and did at first erect Bishopricks, grant Investures in them, call Synods, make Laws, about Sacred as well as

Civil

Civil Concerns: and in a word, they governed their whole Kingdom. Yet when the Bishops of *Rome* did stretch their Power beyond either the limits of it in the Primitive Church, or what was afterward granted them by the Roman Emperors, and came to assume an Authority in all the Churches of *Europe*; as they found some Resistance every where, so they met with a great deal in this Kingdom; and it was with much difficulty that they gained the Power of giving Investitures, receiving Appeals to *Rome*, and of sending Legates to *England*, with several other things, which were long contested, but were delivered up at length, either by feeble Princes, or when Kings were so engaged at home or abroad, that it was not safe for them to offend the Clergy. For in the First Contest between the Kings and the Popes, the Clergy were generally on the Popes side, because of the Immunity and Protection they enjoyed from that See, but when Popes became ambitious and warlike Princes, then new Projects and Taxes were every where set on foot, to raise a great Treasure. The Pall, with many Bulls and high Compositions for them, Annates or first Fruits and Tenths were the standing Taxes of the Clergy, besides many new ones upon emergent occasions. So that they finding themselves thus oppressed by the Popes, fled again back to the Crown for Protection, which their Predecessors had abandoned.

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The Encroachment of the Papacy.

From the days of *Edward* the first, many Statutes were made to restrain the Exactions of *Rome*. For then the Popes not satisfied with their other oppressions, (which a Monk of that time lays open fully, and from a deep sense of them) did by Provisions, Bulls, and other Arts of that See, dispose of Bishopricks, Abbeys, and lesser Benefices to Foreigners, Cardinals, and others that did not live in *England*. Upon which the Commonalty of the Realm, did represent to the King in Parliament, *That the Bishopricks, Abbeys, and other Benefices were founded by the Kings and People of England, To inform the People of the Law of God, and to make Hospitality, Alms, and other works of Charity, for which end they were endowed by the King and People of England; and that the King, and his other Subjects who endowed them, had, upon Voidances the Presentment and Collations of them, which now the Pope had Usurped and given to Aliens, by which the Crown would be disinherited, and the ends of their Endowments destroyed, with other great Inconveniences. Therefore it was ordained, That these Oppressions should not be suffered in any manner. But notwithstanding this, the abuse went on, and there was no effectual way laid down in the Act, to punish these Transgressions. The Court of Rome was not so easily driven out of any thing, that either increased their Power or their Profits; Therefore by another Act in his Grand-Child Edward the 3d's time, the Commons complained that these abuses did abound, and that the Pope did daily reserve to his Collation Church-Preferments in England, and raised the First-Fruits with other great Profits, by which the Treasure of the Realm was carried out of it, and many Clerks advanced in the Realm, were put out of their Benefices by those Provisors; therefore the King being bound by Oath to see the Laws kept, did with the assent of all the great Men and the Commonalty of the Realm, ordain, That the free Elections, Presentments, and Collations of Benefices, should stand in the Right of the Crown, or of any of his Subjects as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any Provisions from Rome. And if any did disturb the Incumbents by vertue of such Provisions, those Provisors or others employed by them, were to be put in Prison, till they made*

*Mat. Paris.*  
The Laws made against them.25 *Edw. 1.*  
repeated in the Stat. of Provisors.  
25 *Edw. 3.*25 *Edw. 3.*  
Statute of Provisors.

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*Fine and Ransom to the King at his Will ; or if they could not be apprehended, Writs to be issued out to seize them, and all Benefices possessed by them, were to fall into the Kings hands, except they were Abbeyes or Priories, that fell to the Canons or Colledges. By another Act the Provisors were put out of the Kings Protection, and if any man offended against them, in Person or Goods, he was excused, and was never to be impeached for it.*

27 Edw. 3. cap. 1. And two years after that upon another Complaint, of their Suing the Kings Subjects in other Courts, or beyond Sea, it was ordained, *That any who Sued either beyond Sea, or in any other Court, for things that had been Sued, and about which, Judgment had been given in former times, in the Kings Courts, were to be cited to answer for it in the Kings Courts within two Months ; and if they came not. they were to be put out of the Kings Protection, and to forfeit their Lands, Goods, and Chattles to the King, and to be imprisoned and ransomed at the Kings Will.* Both these Statutes received a new Confirmation Eleven years after that. But those Statutes proved ineffectual, and in the beginning of the Reign of Richard the 2d, the former Acts were confirmed by another Statute, and appointed to be Executed ; and not only the Provisors themselves, but all such as took Procuratories, Letters of Attorney, or Farms from them, were involved in the same Guilt. And in the 7th year of that King, Provisions were made against Aliens, having Benefices without the Kings Licence, and the King promised to abstain from granting them Licences : For this was another Artifice of the Roman Court, to get the King of their side, by accepting his Licence, which by this Act was restrained. This failing, they betook themselves to another Course, which was to prevail with the Incumbents that were presented in England according to Law, to take Provisions for their Benefices from Rome, to Confirm their Titles. This was also forbidden under the former pains. As for the Rights of Presentations, by the Law they were tryed and judged in the Kings Courts, and the Bishops were to give Institution according to the Title declared in these Judgments : This the Popes had a mind to draw to themselves, and to have all Titles to Avoufons tryed in their Courts ; and Bishops were excommunicated, who proceeded in this matter according to the Law. Of which great complaint was made in the 16th year of the Reign of Richard the 2d. And it was added to that, that the Pope intended to make many Translations of Bishops, some to be within, and some out of the Realm, which among other inconveniencies reckoned in the Statute, would produce this effect, *That the Crown of England, which had been so free at all times, should be subjected to the Bishop of Rome, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm by him defeated and destroyed at his Will.* They also found those things to be against the Kings Crown, and Regality, used and approved in the time of his Progenitors : Therefore all the Commons resolved to live and dye with him and his Crown, and they required him by way of Justice, to examine all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, what they thought of those things, and whether they would be with the Crown to uphold the Regality of it ? To which all the Temporal Lords answered they would be with the Crown. But the Spiritual Lords being asked, said, they would neither deny nor affirm that the Bishop of Rome might, or might not, Excommunicate Bishops, or make Translations of Prelates : But upon that Protestation, they said, that if such things were done, they thought it was against the Crown, and said they would be with the King, as they were bound by their Legeance ; whereupon it

27 Edw. 3. cap. 1.

28 Edw. 3. cap. 1.

3 Richard 2d. cap. 3.

12 Richard 2d. cap. 15.

16 Richard 2d. cap. 5.



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was ordained that if any did purchase Translations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Instruments from the Court of Rome, against the King or his Crown, or whosoever brought them to England, or did receive, or execute them, they were out of the King's Protection, and that they should forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and their Persons should be imprisoned. And because the Proceedings were to be upon a Writ, called from the most material Words of it, *Præmunire facies*, this was called the *Statute of Præmunire*.

When *Henry* the 4th had Treasonably Usurped the Crown, all the Bishops (*Carlisle* only excepted) did assist him in it, and he did very gratefully oblige them again in other Things; yet he kept up the Force of the former Statutes. For the *Cistercian* Order having procured Bulls, discharging them of paying Tithes, and forbidding them to let their Farms to any, but to possess them themselves. This was complained of in Parliament in the second Year of his Reign, and those Bulls were declared to be of no Force, and if any did put them in Execution, or procured other such Bulls, they were to be proceeded against, upon the Statutes made in the 13th Year of the former Kings Reign, against Provisors. But all this while though they made Laws for the Future, yet they had not the Courage to put them in Execution. And this Feebleness in the Government, made them so much despised, and so oft broken; whereas the severe Execution of one Law in one Instance would more effectually have prevented the Mischief, than all these Laws did without Execution. In the 6th Year of his Reign, Complaints being made of the excessive Rates of Compositions for Archbishopricks and Bishopricks in the Popes Chamber, which were raised to the treble of what had been formerly payed; it was Enacted, That they should pay no more than had been formerly wont to be payed. In the 7th Year of his Reign, the Statute made in the second Year was confirmed, and by another Act, The Licences which the King had granted for the executing any of the Popes Bulls are declared of no Force, to prejudice any Incumbent in his Right. Yet the Abuses and Encroachments of the Court of Rome still encreasing, all former Statutes against Provisors were confirmed again, and all Elections declared free, and not to be interrupted, either by the Pope, or the King. But at the same time, the King pardoned all the former Transgressions against these Statutes. By those Pardons the Court of Rome was more encouraged, than terrified by the Laws; therefore there was a necessity of making another Law in the Reign of *Henry* 5th, against Provisors, That the Incumbents lawfully invested in their Livings, should not be molested by them, though they had the Kings Pardon; and both Bulls and Licences were declared void and of no Value, and those who did upon such grounds molest them, should incur the Pains of the Statutes against Provisors.

Our Kings took the best Opportunity that ever could have been found to depress the Papal Power; for from the beginning of *Richard* the seconds Reign, till the fourth Year of *Henry* the fifth, the Popedom was broken by a long and great Schism; and the Kingdoms of Europe were divided in their Obedience: Some holding for those that sat at Rome, and others for the Popes of *Avignon*: England in Opposition to France, that chiefly supported the *Avignon* Popes, did adhere to the *Roman* Popes. The Papacy being thus divided, the Popes were as much at the Mercy of Kings for their Protection, as Kings had formerly been at theirs; so that they durst not thunder as they were wont

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to do, otherwise this Kingdom had certainly been put under Excommunications and Interdicts for these Statutes, as had been done formerly upon less Provocations.

But now that the Schism was healed, Pope *Martin* the Fifth, began to re-assume the Spirit of his Predecessors, and sent over threatening Messages to *England*, in the beginning of *Henry* the Sixth's Reign: None of our Books have taken any notice of this piece of our History: The Manuscript out of which I draw it, has been written near that Time, and contains many of the Letters, that passed between *Rome* and *England*, upon this Occasion.

Ex. MSS. D.  
Petit.

Reg. Chicheb.  
Fol. 30.

The first Letter is to *Henry Chichebely*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been promoted to that See by the Pope, but had made no Opposition to the Statute against Provisions in the Fourth Year of *Henry* the Fifth; and afterwards in the Eighth Year of his Reign, when the Pope had granted a Provision of the Archbishoprick of *York*, to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Chapter of *York* rejected it, and pursuant to the former Statute, made a Canonical Election. *Henry* the Fifth being then the greatest King in Christendom, the Pope durst not offend him: So the Law took place without any further Contradiction, till the Sixth Year of his Son's Reign, that *England* was both under an Infant King, and had fallen from its former Greatness: Therefore the Pope who waited for a good Conjunction, laid hold on this, and first expostulated severely with the Archbishop for his Remissness, that he had not stood up more for the Right of *St. Peter* and the See of *Rome*, that had bestowed on him the Primacy of *England*; and then says many things against the Statute of *Præmunire*, and Exhorts him to imitate the Example of his Predecessor *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury* the Martyr, in asserting the Rights of the Church; requiring him, under the Pain of Excommunication, to declare at the next Parliament to both Houses the unlawfulness of that Statute, and that all were under Excommunication who obeyed it. But to make sure work among the People, he also commands him, to give orders under the same Pains, that all the Clergy of *England* should preach the same Doctrine to the People. This bears Date the Fifth Day of *December* 1426. and will be found in the Collection of Papers.

Collection  
Number 37.

But it seems the Pope was not satisfied with his Answer, for the next Letter in that MSS. is yet more severe, and in it, his Legantine Power is suspended. It has no Date added to it, but the Paper that follows, bearing Date the Sixth of *April* 1427. leads us pretty near the Date of it. It contains an Appeal of the Archbishops, from the Popes Sentence, to the next General Council; or if none met, to the Tribunal of God and *Jesus Christ*.

There is also another Letter, dated the Sixth of *May*, directed to the Archbishop, and makes mention of Letters written to the whole Clergy to the same Purpose, requiring him to use all his Endeavours for repealing the Statute, and chides him severely because he had said, *That the Popes Zeal in this matter was only, that he might raise much Money out of England*; which he resents as an High Injury, and protests that he designed only to maintain those Rights, that *Christ* himself had granted to his See, which the Holy Fathers, the Councils, and the Catholic Church has always acknowledged. If this does not look like Teaching *ex Cathedra* it is left to the Reader's Judgment.

But

But the next Letter is of an higher Strain. It is directed to the two Archbishops only, and it seems, in despite to *Chibely*, the Archbishop of *York* is named before *Canterbury*. By it the Pope annuls the Statutes made by *Edward* the Third and *Richard* the Second, and commands them to do no Act in pursuance of them: And declares, if they, or any other gave Obedience to them, they were *ipso facto* excommunicated, and not to be relaxed, unless at the Point of Death, by any but the Pope. He charges them also to intimate that his Monitorry Letter to the whole Nation, and cause it to be affixed in the several Places, where there might be Occasion for it. This is dated the 8th of *December*, the Tenth Year of his Popedom. Then follow Letters from the University of *Oxford*, the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, and *Lincoln*, to the Pope; all to mitigate his Displeasure against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in which they gave him the highest Testimony possible, bearing Date the 10th and the 25th Day of *July*. These the Archbishop sent by an Express to *Rome*, and wrote the humblest Submission possible to the Pope; protesting that he had done, and would do all that was in his Power, for repealing these Statutes. One thing in this Letter is Remarkable, he says, *He hears the Pope had proceeded to a Sentence against him, which had never been done from the Days of St. Austin to that Time: But he knew that only by Report, for he had not opened, much less read the Bulls, in which it was contained; being commanded by the King, to bring them with the Seals entire, and lay them up in the Paper-Office, till the Parliament was brought together.*

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There are two other Letters to the King, and one to the Parliament, for the Repeal of the Statute. In those to the King, the Pope writes, that he had often pressed both King and Parliament to it; and that the King had answered, that he could not repeal it without the Parliament. But he excepts to that, as a delaying the Business, and shews it is of it self unlawful, and that the King was under Excommunication, as long as he kept it; therefore he expects that at the furthest, in the next Parliament, it should be repealed. It bears Date the 13th of *October*, in the 10th Year of his Popedom. In his Letter to the Parliament, he tells them, that no Man can be saved, who is for the Observation of that Statute: Therefore he requires them, under pain of Damnation to repeal it, and offers to secure them from any Abuses, which might have crept in formerly with these Provisions. This is dated the third of *October*, *Decimo Pontificat*. But I believe it is an Error of the Transcriber, and that its true Date was the 13th of *October*.

And to the  
King and Par-  
liament.  
Collection  
Number 33.

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Number 38.

The Parliament sate in *January* 1427. being the Sixth Year of King *Henry* the Sixth, during which on the 30th of *January*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, accompanied by the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *St. Davids*, *Ely*, and *Normich*, and the Abbots of *Westminster* and *Reading*, went from the House of Lords, to the place where the House of Commons ordinarily sate, which was the Refectory of the Abbey of *Westminster*, where the Archbishop made a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text; *Render to Caesar the things which are Caesars, and to God the things that are God's*. He began with a Protestation, that he and his Brethren intended not to say any thing, that might derogate from the King, the Crown, or the People of *England*. Then he alledged many things, for the Popes Power in granting Provisions, to prove it was of Divine Right, and admonished and

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But to no pur-  
pose.  
Collection  
Number 40.

required them to give the Pope satisfaction in it, otherwise he laid out to them with Tears, what mischiefs might follow, if he proceeded to Censures; which will appear more fully from the Instrument, that will be found in the Collection at the end. But it seems the Parliament would do nothing for all this, for no Act neither of Repeal nor Explanation was passed.

Yet it appears the Pope was satisfied with the Arch-bishops carriage in this matter; for he soon after restored him to the Exercise of his Legantine Power, as *Godwin* has it; only he by a mistake says, he was made Legate, *Anno* 1428. whereas it was only a Restitution after a Censure.

The Clergy  
excuse them-  
selves.

Thus stood the Law of *England* in that matter, which was neither Repealed nor well Executed; for the Pope's Usurpations still encreasing, those Statutes lay dead among the Records, and several Cardinals had procured and executed a Legantine Power, which was clearly contrary to them. And as Cardinal *Wolfey* was already brought under the lash for it, so it was now made use of; partly to give the Court of *Rome* apprehensions of what they were to expect from the King, if they went on to use him ill; and partly to proceed severely against all those of the Clergy, who adhered obstinately to the Interests of that Court; and to make the rest compound the matter, both by a full Submission and a considerable Subsidy. It was in vain to pretend, it was a publick and allowed Error, and that the King had not only connived at the Cardinal's Proceedings, but had made him all that while his chief Minister: That therefore they were excusable in submitting to an Authority to which the King gave so great Encouragement, and that if they had done otherwise they had been unavoidably ruined. For to all this it was answered, that the Laws were still in force, and that their Ignorance could not excuse them, since they ought to have known the Law; yet since the violation of it was so publick, though the Court proceeded to a Sentence, that they were all out of the King's Protection, and were liable to the pains in the Statutes; the King was willing, upon a reasonable Composition, and a full Submission, to pardon them.

Yet they com-  
pound.

So in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, a Petition was brought in to be offered to the King. In the King's Title, he was called, *the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church, and Clergy of England*. To this some opposition was made, and it was put off to another day; but by the Interposition of *Cromwell*, and others of the King's Council, who came to the Convocation, and used Arguments to perswade them to it, they were prevailed with to pass it with that Title, at least none speaking against it: For when *Warham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* said, *That Silence was to be taken for Consent*, They cried out, *they were then all silent*: Yet it was moved by some to add these words to the Title, *in so far as is lawful by the Law of Christ*. But *Parker* says, The King disliked that Clause, since it left his Power still disputable; therefore it was cast out, and the Petition passed simply, as it was first brought in. Yet in that he was certainly misinformed; for when the Convocation of the Province of *York* demurred about the same Petition, and sent their Reasons to the King, why they could not acknowledge him *Supreme Head*, which (as appears by the King's Answer to them) were chiefly founded on this, that the term *Head* was improper, and did not agree to any under Christ; the King wrote a long and sharp Answer to them, and showed them, that words were not always to be understood in their

And acknow-  
ledge the King  
Supreme Head  
of the Church  
of *England*.  
Lord *Herbert*.

Antiquit. Bri-  
tanic in vita  
*Warham*.

Printed in the  
*Cabala*.

strict sense, but according to the common acceptation. And among other things he showed what an Explanation was made in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, That it was *in so far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ*; by which it appears, that at that time the King was satisfied to have it pass any way, and so it was agreed to by nine Bishops (the Bishop of *Rochester* being one) and 62 Abbots and Priors, and the Major part of the lower House of Convocation in the Province of *Canterbury*. Of which number it is very probable *Reginald Pool* was, for in his Book to the King, he says, he was then in *England*, and adds, that the King would not accept of the Sum the Clergy offered unless they acknowledged him *Supream Head*; he being then Dean of *Exeter*, was of the lower House of Convocation; and it is not likely the King would have continued the Pensions, and other Church-Preferments he had, if he had refused to sign that Petition and Submission. By it they prayed the King to accept of 100000*l.* in lieu of all Punishments which they had incurred, by going against the Statutes of *Provisors*, and did promise for the future, neither to make, nor execute any Constitution without the King's Licence; upon which he granted them a general Pardon: And the Convocation of the Province of *York* offering 18340*l.* with another Submission of the same nature afterwards, though they met with more opposition they were also pardoned.

1531.

When the King's Pardon for the Clergy was brought into the House of Commons they were much troubled to find themselves not included within it; for by the Statutes of *Provisors*, many of them were also liable, and they apprehended, that either they might be brought in trouble or at least it might be made use of to draw a Subsidy from them: so they sent their Speaker with some of their Members, to represent to the King, the great grief of his Commons to find themselves out of his Favour, which they concluded from the Pardon of the Pains of *Præmunire* to his Spiritual Subjects, in which they were not included; and therefore prayed the King that they might be comprehended within it. But the King answered them, That they must not restrain his Mercy, nor yet force it; it was free to him either to execute, or mitigate the severity of the Law: That he might well grant his Pardon by his Great Seal without their assent, but he would be well advised before he Pardoned them, because he would not seem to be compelled to it. So they went away, and the House was in some trouble: many blamed *Cromwell*, who was growing in Favour, for this rough Answer; yet the King's Pardon was passed.

The Commons desire to be included in the King's Pardon. Hall.

But his other Concerns made him judge it very unfit to send away his Parliament discontented, and since he was so easie to them as to ask no Subsidy, he had no mind to offend them; and therefore when the thing was over, and they out of hopes of it, he on his own accord sent another Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, of their Transgressions of the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*; which they received with great Joy, and acknowledged there was a just Temperature of Majesty and Clemency in the King's Proceedings.

Which the King afterwards grants.

During this Session of Parliament, an unheard of Crime was committed by one *Richard Rouse* a Cook, who on the 16th of *February*, Poysoned a Vessel of Yest that was to be used in Porridge, in the Bishop of *Rochester's* Kitchen, with which 17 Persons of his Family were mortally infected, and one of the Gentlemen died of it; and some poor People that were charitably fed with the remainder of it, were also infected, one Woman dying. The Person was apprehended, and by Act

One Attainted for Poysoning.

1531.

22. Her. 8.  
Act. 16.

Hall.

of Parliament, Poysoning was declared *Treason*, and *Rouse* was attainted, and Sentenced to be Boiled to death, which was to be the punishment of Poysoning for all times to come, that the Terror of this unheard-of Punishment might strike a Horror in all Persons at such an unexampled Crime. And the Sentence was executed in *Smithfield* soon after.

Of this I take notice, the rather because of *Sanders's* Malice who says, this *Rouse* was set on by *Anne Boleyn*, to make away the Bishop of *Rochester*, of which there is nothing on Record, nor does any Writer of that time so much as insinuate it. But Persons that are set on to commit such Crimes, are usually, either conveyed out of the way, or secretly dispatched, that they may not be brought to an open Trial. And it is not to be imagined, that a Man that was employed by them that might have preferred him, and found himself given up and adjudged to such a death, would not have published their Names who set him on to have lessened his own Guilt, by casting the Load upon them that had both employed and deserted him. But this must pass among the many other vile Calumnies, of which *Sanders* has been the Inventer, or Publisher, and for which he had already answered to his Judge.

L. Herbert.

The King  
leaves the  
Queen.

When the Session of Parliament was over, the King continued to ply the Queen with all the applications he could think of, to depart from her Appeal. He grew very Melancholy, and used no sort of Diversion, but was observed to be very pensive. Yet nothing could prevail with the Queen. She answered the Lords of the Council, when they pressed her much to it, *That she prayed God to send the King a quiet Conscience, but that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide by it, till the Court of Rome declared the contrary.* Upon which the King forbore to see her, or to receive any Tokens from her, and sent her word, to choose where she had a mind to live, in any of his Mannours. She answered, that to which place soever she were removed, *nothing could remove her from being his Wife.* Upon this answer the King left her at *Windsor*, the 14th of *July* and never saw her more. She removed first to *Moor*, then to *Easthamstead*, and at last to *Amptill*, where she stayed longer.

A disorder  
among the  
Clergy of *London*  
about the  
Subsidy.  
Hall.

The Clergy went now about the raising of the 100000*l.* which they were to pay in five years; and to make it easier to themselves, the Prelates had a great mind to draw in the inferiour Clergy to bear a part of the Burden. The Bishop of *London* called a meeting of some Priests about *London*, on the first of *September* to the Chapter-House at *St. Paul's*: He designed to have had at first only a small number, among whom he hoped it would easily pass, and that being done by a few, others would more willingly follow. But the matter was not so secretly carried, but that all the Clergy about the City hearing of it, went thither. They were not a little encouraged by many of the Laity, who thought it no unpleasant Diversion to see the Clergy fall out among themselves. So when they came to the Chapter-House on the day appointed, the Bishops Officers would only admit some few to enter, but the rest forced the Door and rushed in, and the Bishops Servants were beaten and ill used. But the Bishop seeing the Tumult was such, that it could not be easily quieted, told them all, *That as the State of Men in this life was frail, so the Clergy through frailty and want of Wisdom, had misdemeaned themselves towards the King, and had fallen in a Præmunire, for which the King of his great Clemency was pleased to pardon them, and to accept of a little, instead of the whole of their Benefices, which by the Law had fallen into his hand: Therefore he desired they would patiently bear their share in*  
this

*this burden.* But they answered, They had never medled with any of the Cardinals Faculties, and so had not fallen in the *Præmunire*; and that their Livings were so small, that they could hardly subsist by them. Therefore since the Bishops and Abbots were only Guilty, and had good Preferments, they only ought to be punished, and pay the Tax, but that for themselves they needed not the Kings Pardon, and so would pay nothing for it. Upon which the Bishop's Officers threatened them, but they on the other hand (being encouraged by some Lay-men that came along with them) persisted in their denial to pay any thing; so that from high words the matter came to blows, and several of the Bishops Servants were ill handled by them. But he to prevent a further Tumult, apprehending it might end upon himself, gave them good words, and dismissed the meeting with his blessing, and promised that nothing should be brought in Question that was then done. Yet he was not so good as his word; for he complained of it to the Lord Chancellor, who was always a great Favourer of the Clergy; by whose order fifteen Priests and five Lay-men were committed to several Prisons; but whether the Inferiour Clergy pay'd their proportion of the Tax or not, I have not been able to discover.

This year the State of Affairs beyond Sea changed very considerably. The Pope expected not only to recover *Florence* to his Family by the Emperors means; but also to wrest *Modena* and *Reggio* from the Duke of *Ferrara*, to which he pretended, as being Fiefs of the Papacy; and the Emperor having engaged by the former Treaty to restore them to him. But now that the Popes pretensions were appointed to be examined by some Judges delegated by the Emperor, they determined against the Pope, for the Duke of *Ferrara*: which so disgusted the Pope, that he fell totally from the Emperor, and did unite with the King of *France*, a Match being also projected between the Duke of *Orleance* (afterwards *Henry* the 2d.) and his Neece *Catharina de Medici*: which did work much on the Popes ambition, to have his Family Allied to so mighty a Monarch. So that now he became wholly *French*.

The *French* King was also on account of this Marriage to resign all the pretensions he had to any Territory in *Italy* to his younger Son; which as it would give less Umbrage to the other Princes of *Italy*, who liked rather to have a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperor or the *French* King; so the Pope was wonderfully pleased to raise another great Prince in *Italy*, out of his own Family. On these grounds was the Match at this time designed, which afterwards took effect; but with this Difference, that by the *Dolphin's* death, the Duke of *Orleance* became King of *France*, and his Queen made the greatest Figure that any Queen of *France* had done for many Ages.

This change in the Popes mind might have produced another in the Kings Affairs, if he had not already gone so far, that he was less in fear of the Pope than formerly. He found the Credit of his Clergy was so low, that to preserve themselves from the contempt and fury of the People, they were forced to depend wholly on the Crown. For *Lutheranism* was then making a great progress in *England*, of which I shall say nothing here, being resolved at the end of this Book to give an account of the whole Course of it in those years that fall within this time. But what by the means of the new Preachers, what by the scandals cast on the Clergy, they were all at the Kings Mercy; so he did not fear much from them, especially in the Southern parts, which were the richest and

1531.

The Pope falls off to the *French* Faction.

A Match projected between the Pope's Neece and the Duke of *Orleance*.

best

1531. best people. Therefore the King went on resolutely. The Pope on the other hand was in great perplexity; he saw *England* ready to be lost, and knew not what to do to rescue or preserve it. If he gave way to what was lately done in the business of the *Premunire*, he must thereby lose the greatest advantages he drew from that Nation; and it was not likely that after the King had gone so far, he would undo what was done.

The Emperor is engaged in a War with the Turk.

The Emperor was more remiss in prosecuting the Queens Appeal at *Rome*, for at that time the *Turk* with a most numerous and powerful Army was making an impression on *Hungary*, (which to the great scandal of the *most Christian King* was imputed to his Councils and Presents at the *Port*) and all the Emperor's thoughts were taken up with this. Therefore as he gave the Protestant Princes of *Germany* some present satisfaction in Religion and other matters; so he sent over to *England* and desired the Kings assistance against that vast Army of 300000 Men that was falling in upon Christendom. To this the King made a general answer, that gave some hopes of assisting him. But at the same time the Protestant Princes, resolving to draw some advantage from that conjuncture of Affairs, and being courted by the *French King*, entred into a League with him, for the defence of the Rights of the Empire. And to make this firmer, the King was invited by the *French King* to joyn in it; to which he consented, and sent over to *France* a sum of Money to be employed for the safety of the Empire. And this provoked the Emperor to renew his endeavours in the Court of *Rome* for prosecuting the Queens Appeal.

The *French King* encouraged the King to go on with his Divorce, that he might totally Alienate him from the Emperor. The *French Writers* also add another Consideration, which seems unworthy of so great a King, that he himself being at that time so publick a Courtier of Ladies, was not ill pleased to set forward a thing of that nature. "But though Princes allow themselves their Pleasures, yet they seldom Govern their Affairs by such Maxims.

1532. The Parliament complains of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Hall.

In the beginning of the next year a new Session of Parliament was held, in which the House of Commons went on to complain of many other grievances they lay under from the Clergy, which they put in a writing, and presented it to the King. In it they complained of the proceedings in the Spiritual Courts, and especially their calling men before them, *ex officio*, and laying Articles to their charge, without any Accuser; and then admitting no Purgation, but causing the Party Accused, either to abjure, or to be burnt; which they found very grievous and intolerable. This was occasioned by some violent proceeding against some reputed Hereticks, of which an account shall be given afterwards. But those complaints were stifled, and great misunderstandings arose between the King and the House of Commons upon this following occasion.

But reject a Bill about Wards.

There was a common practice in *England* of mens making such Settlements of their Estates by their Last Wills, or other Deeds, that the King and some great Lords were thereby defrauded of the advantages they made by *Wards*, *Marriages*, and *Primer Seisin*. For regulating which, a Bill was brought into the House of Peers, and assented to there; but when it was sent down to the House of Commons, it was rejected by them, and they would neither pass the Bill, nor any other Qualification of that Abuse. This gave the King great offence, and the House when they addressed to him about the proceedings of the Clergy, also prayed, *That he would consider what Cost, Charge and Pains they had been at since the*

The Commons Petition that they may be dissolved.

*begin-*



*beginning of the Parliament, and that it would please his Grace of his Prince- by Benignity to Dissolve his Court of Parliament, and that his Subjects might return into their Countries.* To which the King answered, "That for

"their complaints of the Clergy, he must hear them also before he could give Judgment, since in Justice he ought to hear both Parties; but that they desiring the Redress of such Abuses, was contrary to the other part of their Petition; for if the Parliament were dissolved how could those things they complained of be amended? And as they complained of their long attendance, so the King had stayed as long as they had done, and yet he had still patience, and so they must have, otherwise their Grievances would be without Redress. But he did expostulate severely upon their rejecting the Bill about Deeds in prejudice of the Rights of the Crown. He said, he had offered them a great mitigation of what by the rigour of the Law he might pretend to; and if they would not accept of it, he would try the utmost severity that the Law allowed, and would not offer them such a favour again. Yet all this did not prevail, for the Act was rejected, and their complaint against the Clergy was also laid aside, and the Parliament was Prorogued till *April* next.

In this Parliament the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards followed with *Rome*, was laid, by an act for restraining the payment of *Annates* to that Court, which since it is not Printed with the other Statutes, shall be found in the end of this Volume: The substance of it is as follows.

"That great Sums of Money had been conveyed out of the Kingdom, under the Title of *Annates* or First-Fruits to the Court of *Rome*, which they extorted by restraint of Bulls and other Writs; that it happened often by the frequent deaths of Arch-bishops, and Bishops, to turn to the utter undoing of their Friends, who had advanced those Sums for them. These *Annates* were founded on no Law; for they had no other way of obliging the Incumbents of Sees to pay them, but by restraining their Bulls. The Parliament therefore considering that these were first begun to be payed, to defend Christendom against Infidels, but were now turned to a duty claimed by that Court against all Right and Conscience, and that vast Sums were carried away upon that account, which from the Second year of King *Henry* the 7th to that present time amounted to 800000 Ducats, besides many other heavy Exactions of that Court, did declare that the King was bound by his Duty to Almighty God, as a good Christian Prince to hinder these oppressions. And that the rather, because many of the Prelates were then very Aged, and like to die in a short time, whereby vast Sums of Money should be carried out of *England*, to the great Impoverishing of the Kingdom. And therefore all payments of First-Fruits to the Court of *Rome* were put down and forever restrained, under the pains of the forfeiture of the Lands, Goods, and Chattels of him that should pay them any more, together with the Profits of his See, during the time that he was vested with it. And in case Bulls were restrained in the Court of *Rome*, any person presented to a Bishoprick, should be notwithstanding Consecrated by the Arch-bishop of the Province; or if he were presented to an Arch-bishoprick, by any two Bishops in the Kingdom, whom the King should appoint for that end; and that being so Consecrated, they should be Invested, and enjoy all the Rights of their Sees in full

1532.

The King's Answer.

An Act against  
*Annates*.  
Collect. Numb.  
41.

" and

“ and ample manner ; yet that the Pope and Court of *Rome* might  
 “ have no just Cause of Complaint, the Persons presented to Bisho-  
 “ pricks are allowed to pay them 5 *lib.* for the Hundred, of the clear  
 “ Profits and Revenues of their several Sees. But the Parliament not  
 “ willing to go to Extremities, remitted the final ordering of that Act  
 “ to the King, that if the Pope would either charitably and reasonably  
 “ put down the Payment of *Annates*, or so moderate them, that they  
 “ might be a tolerable burden, the King might at any time before  
 “ *Easter* 1533. or before the next Session of Parliament, declare by his  
 “ Letters Patents whether the Premises or any part of them should be  
 “ observed or not, which should give them the full Force and Autho-  
 “ rity of a Law. And that if upon this Act the Pope should vex the  
 “ King, or any of his Subjects by Excommunications or other Censures,  
 “ these notwithstanding the King should cause the Sacraments, and o-  
 “ ther Rites of the Church to be administred, and that none of these  
 “ Censures might be published or executed.

This Bill began in the House of Lords, from them it was sent to the Commons, and being agreed to by them, received the Royal Assent, but had not that final Confirmation mentioned in the Act before the 9th of *July* 1533. and then by Letters Patents (in which the Act is at length recited) it was confirmed.

Parl. Rolls.

The Pope writes to the King about the Queen's Appeal.

But now I come to open the final Conclusion of the King's Suit at *Rome*. On the 25th of *January* “ the Pope wrote to the King, that he  
 “ heard Reports, which he very unwillingly believed, that he had put  
 “ away his Queen, and kept one *Anne* about him as his Wife ; which  
 “ as it gave much Scandal, so it was an high Contempt of the Apo-  
 “ stolick See, to do such a thing while his Suit was still depending,  
 “ notwithstanding a Prohibition to the Contrary. Therefore the Pope  
 “ remembring his former Merits, which were now like to be clouded  
 “ with his present Carriage, did exhort him to take home his Queen,  
 “ and to put *Anne* away ; and not to continue to provoke the Empe-  
 “ ror and his Brother by so high an Indignity, nor to break the Gene-  
 “ ral Peace of Christendom, which was its only Security against the  
 “ Power of the *Turk*. What answer the King made to this I do not find, but instead of that I shall set down the Substance of a Dispatch, which the King sent to *Rome* about this Time, drawn from a Copy of it ; to which the Date is not added. But it being an answer to a Letter he received from the Pope the 7th of *October*, it seems to have been written about this Time, and it concluding with a Credence to an Ambassador, I judge it was sent by Doctor *Bennet*, who was dispatched to *Rome* in *January* 1532. to shew the Pope the Opinions of learned Men, and of the Universities, with their Reasons. The Letter will be found in the end of this Volume, the Contents of it are to this Purpose.

J. Herbert.

Collection Number 24.

A Dispatch of the King to the Pope.

“ The Pope had writ to the King, in order to the clearing all his  
 “ Scruples, and to give him quiet in his Conscience ; of which the King  
 “ takes Notice, and is sorry that both the Pope and himself were so  
 “ deceived in that Matter ; the Pope by trusting to the Judgments  
 “ of others, and writing whatever they suggested ; and the King by  
 “ depending so much on the Pope, and in vain expecting Remedy from  
 “ him so long. He imputes the Mistakes that were in the Popes Let-  
 “ ters, (which he says had things in them contrary both to Gods Law  
 “ and Mans Law,) to the Ignorance and Rashness of his Councillors :

“ for

“ for which himself was much to be blamed, since he rested on their  
 “ Advice, and that he had not carried himself as became Christs Vi-  
 “ car, but had dealt both unconstantly and deceitfully : For when the  
 “ King’s Cause was first opened to him, and all things that related to  
 “ it were explained ; he had granted a Commission, with a promise  
 “ not to recal it, but to confirm the Sentence which the Legates should  
 “ give : And a Decretal was sent over defining the Cause. If these  
 “ were justly granted, it was injustice to revoke them, but if they  
 “ were justly revoked, it was unjust to grant them. So he presses the  
 “ Pope, that either he could grant these things, or he could not ; if  
 “ he could do it, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much  
 “ more a Pope since he had broke these Promises ? But if he said he could  
 “ not do them, had he not then just cause to distrust all that came  
 “ from him, when at one time he condemned what he had allowed at  
 “ another. So that the King saw clearly he did not consider the ease  
 “ of his Conscience, but other worldly Respects ; that had put him  
 “ on consulting so many learned Men, whose Judgments differed much  
 “ from those few that were about the Pope, who thought the Pro-  
 “ hibition of such Marriages was only Positive, and might be dispensed  
 “ with by the Pope : Whereas all other learned Men thought the  
 “ Law was Moral and Indispensable. He perceived the Apostolick See  
 “ was destitute of that Learning, by which it should be directed : And  
 “ the Pope had oft professed his own Ignorance, and that he spake  
 “ by other Mens Mouths ; but many Universities in *England, France,*  
 “ and *Italy,* had declared the Marriage unlawful, and the Dispensation  
 “ Null. None honoured the Apostolick See more than he had done,  
 “ and therefore he was sorry to write such things if he could have  
 “ been Silent. If he should obey the Popes Letters, he would offend  
 “ God and his own Conscience, and give Scandal to those who con-  
 “ demned his Marriage : He did not willingly dissent from him with-  
 “ out a very urgent Cause, that he might not seem to despise the A-  
 “ postolick See ; therefore he desired the Pope would forgive the free-  
 “ dom that he used, since it was the Truth that drew it from him. And  
 “ he added, that he intended not to impugn the Popes Authority fur-  
 “ ther, except he compelled him ; and what he did was only to bring it  
 “ within its First and Ancient Limits, to which it was berter to reduce  
 “ it, than to let it always run on headlong and do amifs ; therefore  
 “ he desired the Pope would conform himself to the Opinions of so  
 “ many learned Men, and do his Duty and Office. The Letter ends  
 “ with a Credence to the Ambassador.

1532.

The Pope seeing his Authority was declining in *England,* resolved  
 now to do all he could to recover it, either by Force or Treaty : And  
 so ordered a Citation to be made of the King to appear in Person or by  
 Proxie at *Rome,* to answer to the Queen’s Appeal : Upon which Sir *Ed-*  
*ward Karne* was sent to *Rome,* with a new Character of *Excusator.*  
 “ His Instructions were to take the best Counsel for pleading an Ex-  
 “ cuse of the King’s Appearance at *Rome.* First, upon the grounds that  
 “ might be found in the Canon-Law ; and those being not sufficient,  
 “ he was to insist on the Prerogative of the Crown of *England.* Do-  
 “ ctor *Bonner* went with him, who had expressed much Zeal in the King’s  
 Cause, though his great Zeal was for Preferment, which by the most  
 servile ways he always courted. He was a forward bold Man, and  
 since there were many Threatnings to be used to the Pope and Car-

Sir Edward  
 Karne sent to  
 Rome.

1532.

dinals, he was thought fittest for the Employment, but was neither Learned nor Discreet.

His Negotiation there taken from the Original Letters *Cott. lib. Vitell. B. 13.*

They came to *Rome* in *March*, where they found great Heats in the Consistory about the King's Business. The Imperialists pressed the Pope to proceed, but all the wise and indifferent Cardinals were of another Mind. And when they understood what an Act was passed about *Annates*, they saw clearly, that the Parliament was resolved to adhere to the King in every thing he intended to do against their Interests. The Pope expostulated with the Ambassadors about it, but they told him the Act was still in the King's Power; and except he provoked him, he did not intend to put it in Execution. The Ambassadors finding the Cardinal of *Ravenna* of so great Reputation, both for Learning and Vertue, that in all Matters of that kind his Opinion was heard as an Oracle, and give Law to the whole Consistory; they resolved to gain him by all means possible. And Doctor *Bennet* made a secret Address to him, and offered him what Bishoprick either in *France* or *England* he would desire, if he would bring the King's Matter to a good Issue. He was at first very Shie; at length he said he had been oft deceived by many Princes, who had made him great Promises, but when their Business was ended, never thought of performing them; therefore he would be sure: and so drove a Bargain, and got under Doctor *Bennet*'s Hand a promise, (of which a Copy being sent to the King, written by *Bennet* himself will be found at the end of this Volume;) bearing, that he having Powers from the King for that Effect, dated the 29th of *December* last, did promise (the Cardinal for his help in the King's Affair, Monasteries or other Benefices in *France*, to the Value of 6000 Ducats a Year: And the first Bishoprick that fell Vacant in *England*; and if it were not *Ely*; that whenever that See was Vacant, upon his resigning the other, he should be provided with the Bishoprick of *Ely*; dated at *Rome* the 7th of *February* 1532. This I set down as one of the most considerable Arguments that could be used to satisfy the Cardinals Conscience about the Justice of the King's Cause. This Cardinal was the fittest to work secretly for the King, for he had appeared visibly against him. I find also by other Letters, that both the Cardinals of *Ancona* and *Monte* (afterwards Pope *Julius* the 3d) were prevailed with, by Arguments of the same Nature, though I cannot find out what the Bargains were. *Providellus*, that was accounted the greatest Canonist in *Italy*, was brought from *Bononia*, and entertained, by the Ambassadors, to give Counsel in the King's Cause, and to plead his Excuse, from appearing at *Rome*. The Plea was summed up in 28 Articles which were offered to the Pope; and he admitted them to be examined in the Consistory, appointing three of them to be opened at a Session. But the Imperialists opposed that, and after fifteen of them had been heard, procured a new Order that they should be heard in a Congregation of Cardinals before the Pope; pretending that a Consistory sitting but once a Week, and having a great deal of other Business, it would be long before the Matter could be brought to any Issue. So *Kerne* was served with a new Order to appear in the Congregation the 3d of *April* with this Certification, That if he appeared not they would proceed. Upon which he protested that he would adhere to the former Order: Yet being warned the second Time, he went first and protested against it, which he got entred in the Datary. This being considered

The Cardinal of *Ravenna* corrupted by Bribes.

Collection Numb. 43.

Collection Numb. 44.

in the Congregation, they renewed the Order of hearing it in the Consistory on the 10th of *April*, and then *Providellus* opened three Conclusions. Two of them related to *Kerne's* Powers, the third was concerning the Safety of the Place to both Parties. But the Imperialists and the Queen's Counsel being dissatisfied with his Order would not appear. Upon which *Kerne* complained of their Contumacy, and said, By that it was visible they were distrustful of their Cause. On the 14th of *April* a new Intimation was made to *Kerne* to appear on the 17th with his Advocates; to open all the rest of the Conclusions, but he according to the first Order would only plead to three of them, and selected the 19, 20, and 21; (what these related to I find not.) Upon which *Providellus* appealed and answered the Objections that did seem to militate against them, but neither would the Imperialists appear that Session.

1532.

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Number 45-

In *June* News were brought to *Rome*, which gave the Pope great Offence: A Priest had preached for the Popes Authority in *England*, and was for that cast into Prison. And another Priest being put in Prison by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upon Suspicion of Heresie, had appealed to the King as the Supreme Head: Upon which he was taken out of the Archbishop's Hands, and being examined in the King's Courts was set at Liberty. This the Pope resented much, but the Embassadors said, all such things might have been prevented, if the King had got Justice at the Popes Hands.

The King also at this time desired a Bull for a Commission to erect Six new Bishopricks, to be endowed by Monasteries that were to be suppressed. This was expedited and sent away at this Time: And the old Cardinal of *Ravenna* was so Jealous, that the Ambassadors were forced to promise him the Bishoprick of *Chester*, (one of the new Bishopricks) with which he was well satisfied, having seen by a particular State of the Endowment that was designed for it, what advantage it would yield him. But he had declared himself so openly before against the Reasons for the Excuse, that he could not serve the King in that Matter, but in the main Cause he undertook to do great Service, and so did the Cardinals *De Monte* and *Ancona*.

A Bull for  
erecting new  
Bishopricks.

Upon the 27th of *June* the Debate was brought to a Conclusion about the Plea Excusatory; and when it was expected, that the Pope should have given Sentence against the Articles, he admitted them all *Si & prout de jure*. Upon which the Imperialists made great Complaints: The Cardinals grew weary of the length of the Debate, since it took up all their Time; but it was told them, the Matter was of great Importance, and it had been better for them not to have proceeded so precipitately at first, which had now brought them into this Trouble, and that the King had been at much Pains and Trouble on their Account; therefore it was unreasonable for them to complain, who were put to no other Trouble, but to sit in their Chairs two or three Hours in a Week to hear the King's Defences. The Imperialists had also occasioned the Delays, tho' they complained of them, by their Cavils, and Allegations of Laws and Decisions that never were made, by which much time was spent. But it was objected, That the Kings Excuse for not coming to *Rome*, because it was too remote from his Kingdom, and not safe, was of no Force, since the place was safe to his Proxy. And the Cardinal of *Ravenna* pressed the Ambassadors much to move the King, instead of the Excusatory Process to send a Proxy, for examining and discussing the Merits of the Cause, in which it would be much easier to advance the King's

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The Pope desires the King would submit to him.

Collect.  
Numb. 46.

Matter; and that he having appeared against the King in this Process, would be the less suspected in the other.

The business being further Considered in three Sessions of the Consistory, it was resolved, that since the Vacation was coming on, they would neither allow of, nor reject the King's Excusatory Plea; but the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals would write to the King, intreating him to send a Proxy for judging the Cause against the Winter. And with this *Bonner* was sent over, with Instructions from the Cardinals that were gained to the King, to represent to him that his Excusatory Plea could not be admitted; for since the Debate was to be, whether the Pope could grant the Dispensation or not, it could not be committed to Legates, but must be judged by the Pope and the Consistory. He was also ordered to assure the King, that the Pope did now lean so much to the *French* Faction, that he needed not fear to refer the matter to him.

A Session of Parliament.

But while these things were in debate at *Rome*, there was another Session of Parliament in *April*; and then the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and gave him the Answer which the Clergy had drawn to the Addresses they made in the former Session about their Courts. The King himself seemed not at all pleased with it, but what the House did in it does not appear, further than that they were no way satisfied with it. But there happened another thing that offended the King much: One *Themse* of the House of Commons moved, that they should address to the King to bring the Queen back to the Court, and ran out upon the Inconveniencies that were like to follow if the Queen were put away, particularly the ill consequence of the Illitimation of the Princess. Upon this the King took occasion (when he gave them the Clergies Answer) to tell them, that he wondred at that motion made in their House, for the matter was not to be determined there. It touched his Soul; he wished his Marriage were good, but the Doctors and Learned Men had determined it to be null and detestable; and therefore he was obliged in Conscience to abstain from her, which he assured them flowed from no Lust or foolish Appetite. He was then 41 years old, and at that Age those Heats abate. But except in *Spain* or *Portugal* it had not been heard of, that a Man married two Sisters; and that he never heard, that any Christian Man before himself had Married his Brother's Wife: Therefore he assured them his Conscience was troubled, which he desired them to report to the House. In this Session the Lord Chancellour came down to the Commons, with many of the Nobility about him, and told them the King had considered the Marches between *England* and *Scotland*, which were uninhabited on the *English* side, but well peopled on the *Scottish*; and that laid *England* open to the IncurSION of the *Scots*; therefore the King intended to build Houses there, for planting the *English* side. This the Lords liked very well, and thought it convenient to give the King some Aids for the Charges of so necessary a Work, and therefore desired the Commons to consult about it. Upon which the House voted a Subsidy of a Fifteenth: But before the Bill could be finished, the Plague broke out in *London*, and the Parliament was Prorogued till *February* following. On the 11th of *May* (three days before the Prorogation) the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him, "That he found upon Inquiry, that all the Prelates, whom he had looked on as wholly his Subjects, were but half Subjects; for at their

One moves for bringing the Queen to Court.

At which the King is offended.

A Subsidy is voted.

The King reminds the Oath which the Clergy swore to be confirmed by the Commons.

"Con-

“ Consecration they swore an Oath quite contrary to the Oath they  
 “ swore to the Crown; so that it seemed they were the Pope’s Subjects  
 “ rather than his. Which he referred to their care, that such order  
 “ might be taken in it, that the King might not be deluded. Upon  
 “ which the two Oaths that the Clergy swore to the King and the Pope,  
 “ were read in the House of Commons, but the Consequence of them  
 “ will be better understood by setting them down.

1532.

*The Oath to the Pope.*

“ I *John*, Bishop or Abbot of *A.* from this hour forward shall be faith-  
 “ full and obedient to *St. Peter*, and to the Holy Church of *Rome*, and  
 “ to my Lord the Pope and his Successors canonically entring. I shall  
 “ not be of Counsel nor Consent, that they shall lose either Life or  
 “ Member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong by any  
 “ means. Their Counsel to me credited by them, their Messengers or  
 “ Letters I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of  
 “ *Rome*, the Rules of the Holy Fathers, and Regality of *St. Peter*, I  
 “ shall help and maintain, and defend against all Men. The Legate of  
 “ the See Apostolick going and coming I shall honourably entreat. The  
 “ Rights, Honours, Priviledges, Authorities of the Church of *Rome*,  
 “ and of the Pope and his Successors, I shall cause to be Conserved, De-  
 “ fended, Augmented, and Promoted. I shall not be in Council, Trea-  
 “ ty, or any act in the which any thing shall be imagined against Him  
 “ or the Church of *Rome*, their Rights, Seats, Honours, or Powers.  
 “ And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to  
 “ my Power, and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may  
 “ give him Knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Decrees,  
 “ Ordinances, Sentences, Dispositions, Reservations, Provisions, and  
 “ Commandments Apostolick, to my Power I shall keep, and cause to  
 “ be kept of others. Hereticks, Scismaticks, and Rebels to our Holy  
 “ Father and his Successors, I shall resist and \*persecute to my Power. I  
 “ shall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Ca-  
 “ nonical Impediment. The Thresholds of the Apostles I shall visit year-  
 “ ly personally, or by my Deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my Pos-  
 “ sessions without the Pope’s Counsel. So God me help and the Ho-  
 “ ly Evangelists.

Their Oath to  
the Pope.\* *Prosequar &*  
*in pugnabo in*  
*Orig.**The Oath to the King.*

“ I *John*, Bishop of *A.* utterly renounce, and clearly forsake all such  
 “ Clauses, Words, Sentences and Grants, which I have or shall have  
 “ hereafter of the Pope’s Holiness, of and for the Bishoprick of *A.* that  
 “ in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to  
 “ your Highness, your Heirs, Successors, Dignity, Priviledge, or Estate-  
 “ Royal. And also I do swear, That I shall be faithful and true, and  
 “ Faith and Truth I shall bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your  
 “ Heirs Kings of the same, of Life and Limb, and Earthly Worship above  
 “ all Creatures, for to live and die with you and yours against all People.  
 “ And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business after  
 “ my Wit and Power, and your Counsel I shall keep and hold, acknow-  
 “ ledging my self to hold my Bishoprick of you only, beseeching you  
 “ of Restitution of the Temporalities of the same, promising as before,  
 “ that

Their Oath to  
the King.

1532.

Cleop. E. 6.  
Bib. Cott.  
Fol. 54.

More laid  
down his Of-  
fice.

“ that I shall be faithful, true, and obedient Subject to your said Highness, Heirs, and Successors, during my Life ; and the Services and  
“ other things due to your Highness for the Restitution of the Temporalities of the same Bishopricks, I shall truly do and obediently perform.  
“ So God me help and *All Saints*. In the Original, 'tis only, So help me  
“ God, and these *holy Evangelists*.

The Contradiction that was in these was so visible, that it had soon produced a severe Censure from the House, if the Plague had not hindered both that and the Bill of Subsidy. So on the 14th. of May the Parliament was prorogued. Two days after, Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellor, having oft desired leave to deliver up the Great Seal, and be discharged of his Office, obtained it ; and Sir *Thomas Audly* was made Lord Chancellor. *More* had carried that Dignity with great temper, and lost it with much joy. He saw now how far the Kings Designs went ; and though he was for cutting off the Illegal Jurisdiction which the Popes exercised in *England*, and therefore went chearfully along with the Sute of *Præmunire* ; yet when he saw a total Rupture like to follow, he excused himself, and retired from Business with a Greatness of Mind, that was equal to what the ancient Philosophers pretended in such cases. He also disliked *Anne Boleyn*, and was prosecuted by her Father, who studied to fasten some Criminal Imputations on him, about the discharge of his Employment ; but his Integrity had been such, that nothing could be found to blemish his Reputation.

An Enterview  
with the  
French King.

In *September* following, the King created *Anne Boleyn* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, to bring her by degrees up to the Height for which he had designed her. And in *October* he passed the Seas, and had an Interview with the *French King* ; where all the most obliging Complements that were possible passed on both sides with great Magnificence, and a firm Union was concerted about all their Affairs. They published a League that they made to raise a mighty Army next year against the *Turk* ; but this was not much considered, it being generally believed that the *French King* and the *Turk* were in a good Correspondence. As for the matter of the Kings Divorce, *Francis* encouraged him to go on in it, and in his intended Marriage with *Anne Boleyn*, promising if it were questioned to assist him in it : And as for his appearance at *Rome*, as it was certain he could not go thither in Person, so it was not fit to trust the secrets of his Conscience to a Proxy. The *French King* seemed also resolved to stop the Payments of Annates and other Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, and said he would send an Ambassador to the Pope, to ask Redress of these, and to protest, that if it were not granted, they would seek other remedies by Provincial Councils : And since there was an Interview designed between the Pope and Emperor at *Bononia* in *December*, the *French King* was to send two Cardinals thither to procure Judges for ending the business in *England*. There was also an Interview proposed between the Pope and the *French King*, at *Nice* or *Avignon*. To this the King of *England* had some Inclinations to go for ending all differences, if the Pope were well disposed to it.

Eliot sent to  
Rome with In-  
structions.  
Cott. Lib. VII.  
E. 13.

Upon this Sir *Thomas Eliot* was sent to *Rome* with answer to a Message the Pope had sent to the King, from whose Instructions, both the substance of the Message and of the Answer may be gathered. “ The Pope  
“ had offered to the King, that if he would name any different place out  
“ of his own Kingdom, he would send a Legate and two Auditors of the  
“ *Rota* thither, to form the Process, reserving only the Sentence to him-  
“ self.



" self. The Pope also proposed a Truce of three or four years, and pro-  
 " mised that in that time he would call a general Council. For this Mes-  
 " sage the King sent the Pope thanks, but for the Peace he could receive  
 " no Propositions about it without the concurrence of the *French King* ;  
 " and though he did not doubt the Justice of a general Council, yet con-  
 " sidering the state of the Emperors Affairs at that time, with the *Luthe-*  
 " *rans*, he did not think it was seasonable to call one. That as for  
 " sending a Proxy to *Rome*, if he were a private Person he could do it,  
 " but it was a part of the Perogative of his Crown, and of the Pri-  
 " viledges of his Subjects, That all Matrimonial Causes should be origi-  
 " nally judged within his Kingdom by the *English Church*, which was  
 " consonant to the general Councils and Customs of the Ancient Church,  
 " whereunto he hoped the Pope would have regard : And that for keep-  
 " ing up his Royal Authority, to which he was bound by Oath, he  
 " could not without the consent of the Realm, submit himself to a  
 " Foreign Jurisdiction, hoping the Pope would not desire any violation  
 " of the Immunities of the Realm, or to bring these into publick Con-  
 " tention, which had been hitherto enjoyed without intrusion or mo-  
 " lestation. The Pope had confessed, that without an urgent cause,  
 " the Dispensation could not be granted. This the King laid hold on,  
 " and ordered his Ambassador to shew him that there was no War nor  
 " appearance of any between *England* and *Spain* when it was granted.  
 " To verifie that he sent an attested Copy of the Treaty between his Fa-  
 " ther and the Crown of *Spain* at that time : By the words of which it  
 " appeared that it was then taken for granted, that Prince *Arthur* had  
 " consummated the Marriage, which was also proved by good Witnesses.  
 " In fine, since the thing did so much concern the Peace of the Realm,  
 " it was fitter to judge it within the Kingdom than any where else ; there-  
 " fore he desired the Pope would remit the discussing of it to the Church  
 " of *England*, and then confirm the Sentence they should give. To the  
 " obtaining of this, the Ambassador was to use all possible diligence ;  
 " yet if he found real intentions in the Pope to satisfy the King, he was  
 " not to insist on that as the Kings final Resolution : And to let the  
 " Cardinal of *Ravenna* see, that the King intended to make good what  
 " was promised in his name, the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*  
 " falling vacant, he sent him the offer of it, with a promise of the Bi-  
 " shoprick of *Ely* when it should be void.

Soon after this he married *Anne Boleyn*, on the 14th. of *November*, up-  
 on his landing in *England*, but *Stow* says that it was on the 25th. of  
*January*. *Rowland Lee* (who afterwards got the Bishoprick of *Coventry*  
 and *Litchfield*) did officiate in the Marriage. It was done secretly in  
 the presence of the Duke of *Norfolk* and her Father, her Mother, and  
 Brother. The grounds on which the King did this, were, That his  
 former Marriage being of it self null, there was no need of a Declarative  
 Sentence after so many Universities and Doctors had given their Judg-  
 ments against it. Soon after the Marriage she was with Child, which  
 was looked on as a signal Evidence of her Chastity, and that she had  
 till then kept the King at a due distance.

But when the Pope and the Emperor met at *Bononia*, the Pope expres-  
 sed great Inclinations to favour the *French King*, from which the Em-  
 peror could not remove him, nor engage him to accept of a Match for  
 his Neice *Katherine de Medici* with *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*. But  
 the Pope promised him all that he desired as to the King of *England* ; and

1532.

The King  
 married *Anne*  
*Boleyn* Nov. 14.  
*Comper, Hous-*  
*illies and San-*  
*ders.*

An Interview  
 between Pope  
 and Emperor.

so

1532.  
Some Overtures about the Divorce.  
Lord Herbert.

so that matter was still carried on. Dr. Bennet made several Propositions to end the Matter, either that it should be judged in *England*, according to the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, and that the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* with the whole Clergy of his Province should determine it, or that the King should name one, either *Sr Thomas More* or the Bishop of *London*, the Queen should name another, the *French King* should name a third, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to be the fourth; or that the Cause should be heard in *England*; and if the Queen did Appeal, it should be referred to three Delegates, one of *England*, another of *France*, and a third to be sent from *Rome*, who should sit and judge the Appeal in some indifferent place. But the Pope would hearken to none of these Overtures, since they were all directly contrary to that height of Authority, which he resolved to maintain: Therefore he ordered *Capisucci* the Dean of the *Rota*, to cite the King to answer to the Queens Appeal. *Karne* at *Rome* protested against the Citation, since the Emperor's Power was so great about *Rome*, that the King could not expect justice there; and therefore desired they would desist, otherwise the King would Appeal to the Learned Men in Universities; and said there was a nullity in all their Proceedings, since the King was a Sovereign Prince, and the Church of *England* a free Church, over which the Pope had no just Authority.

1533.  
A Session of Parliament.

An Act against Appeals to Rome. 24 Hen. 8. Act 22.

But while this depended at *Rome*, another Session of Parliament was held in *England*, which began to sit on the 4th of *February*. In this the Breach with *Rome* was much forwarded by the Act they passed against all Appeals to *Rome*. "The Preamble bears, That the Crown of *England* was Imperial, and that the Nation was a compleat Body within it self, "with a full Power to give Justice in all Cases, Spiritual as well as Temporal; and that in the Spirituality as there had been at all times, so "there were then Men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might "declare and determine all doubts within the Kingdom; and that several Kings, as *Edward* the first, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, "and *Henry* the fourth, had by several Laws preserved the Liberties of "the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, from the annoyance of the "See of *Rome*, and other foreign Potentates; yet many inconveniencies "had risen by Appeals to the See of *Rome* in Causes of Matrimony, Divorces, and other Cases, which were not sufficiently provided against "by these Laws; by which not only the King and his Subjects were put "to great Charges, but Justice was much delayed by Appeals, and *Rome* "being at such a distance, Evidences could not be brought thither, nor "Witnesses so easily as within the Kingdom: Therefore it was enacted, "That all such Causes, whether relating to the King, or any of his Subjects, were to be determined within the Kingdom in the several Courts "to which they belonged, notwithstanding any Appeals to *Rome*, or Inhibitions and Bulls from *Rome*; whose Sentences should take effect, and "be fully executed by all Inferior Ministers; and if any Spiritual Persons "refused to execute them because of Censures from *Rome*, they were to "suffer a years Imprisonment, and Fine and Ransom at the King's Will; "and if any Persons in the King's Dominions procured or executed any "Process or Censures from *Rome*, they were declared liable to the pains "in the Statute of *Provisors* in the 16th of *Richard* the second. But that "Appeals should only be from the Arch-Deacon or his Official to the Bishop of the Diocess, or his Commiffary, and from him to the Arch-bishop of the Province, or the Dean of the Arches, where the final De-

"ter-

“ termination was to be made without any further Process; and in every Process concerning the King or His Heirs and Successors, an Appeal should lie to the upper House of Convocation, where it should be finally Determined, never to be again called in question.

1533.

As this Bill passed the sense of both Houses of Parliament about the King's Marriage did clearly appear, but in the Convocation, the business was more fully debated. The Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* was at this time destitute of its Head and principal Member. For *Warham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was dead since *August* last year. He was a great Canonist, an able States-man, a dextrous Courtier, and a favourer of Learned Men. He always hated Cardinal *Wolsey*, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the Dignity of his See. He was not so peevishly engaged to the Learning of the Schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of Knowledge; yet he was a severe Persecutor of them whom he thought Hereticks, and inclined to believe idle and Fanatical People, as will afterwards appear, when the Impostors of the Maid of *Kent* shall be related.

*Warham's*  
Death, *Aug.*  
23.

The King saw well of how great Importance it was to the designs he was then forming, to fill that See, with a Learned, prudent, and Resolute Man; but finding none in the Episcopal Order that was qualified to his Mind, and having observed a native Simplicity joyned with much Courage, and tempered with a great deal of Wisdom in Dr. *Cranmer*, who was then Negotiating his Business among the Learned Men of *Germany*, he of his own accord, without any addresses from *Cranmer*, designed to raise him to that Dignity, and gave him notice of it, that he might make hast and come home to enjoy that Reward which the King had appointed for him. But *Cranmer* having received this, did all he could to excuse himself from the Burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned very slowly to *England*, hoping that the King's Thoughts cooling, some other Person might step in between him and a Dignity, of which having a just and primitive Sense, he did look on it with Fear and Apprehension, rather than Joy and Desire. This was so far from setting him back, that the King, (who had known well what it was to be importuned by ambitious and aspiring Churchmen, but had not found it usual that they should decline and fly from Preferment) was thereby confirmed in his high Opinion of him; and neither the delays of his Journey, nor his Intreaties to be delivered from a Burden, which his Humility made him imagine himself unable to bear, could divert the King. So that though six Months elapsed before the thing was settled, yet the King persisted in his Opinion, and the other was forced to yield.

The King resolves to promote *Cranmer*.

For.

In the end of *January* the King sent to the Pope for the Bulls for *Cranmer's* Promotion; and though the Statutes were passed against procuring more Bulls from *Rome*, yet the King resolved not to begin the Breach till he was forced to it by the Pope. It may easily be imagined, that the Pope was not hearty in his Promotion, and that he apprehended ill Consequences from the Advancement of a Man, who had gone over many Courts of Christendom, disputing against his Power of Dispensing, and had lived in much Familiarity with *Osfander* and the *Lutherans* in *Germany*: Yet on the other hand he had no mind to precipitate a Rupture with *England*; therefore he consented to it, and the Bulls were expedited, though instead of *Annates* there was only 900 Duckats paid for them.

*Cranmer's* Bulls from *Rome*.

1533.

They were the last Bulls that were received in *England* in this King's Reign; and therefore I shall give an account of them, as they are set down in the beginning of *Cranmer's Register*. By one Bull he is upon the King's Nomination, promoted to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, which is directed to the King. By a second directed to himself, he is made Arch-bishop. By a third he is absolved from all Censures. A fourth is to the Suffragans. A fifth to the Dean and Chapter. A sixth to the Clergy of *Canterbury*. A seventh to all the Laity in his See. An eighth to all that held Lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as Arch-bishop. All these bear date the 21<sup>st</sup> of *February*, 1533. By a ninth Bull dated the 22<sup>d</sup>. of *February*, he was ordained to be Consecrated, taking the Oath that was in the *Pontifical*. By a tenth Bull dated the second of *March*, the Paul was sent him. And by an eleventh of the same Date, the Arch-bishop of *York* and the Bishop of *London* were required to put it on him. These were the several Artifices to make Compositions high, and to enrich the Apostolical Chamber; for now that about which *St. Peter* gloried, that he had none of it (*neither Silver nor Gold*) was the thing in the World for which his Successors were most careful.

When these Bulls were brought into *England*, *Thomas Cranmer* was on the 30<sup>th</sup> of *March* Consecrated by the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and *St. Asaph*. But here a great Scruple was moved by him concerning the Oath that he was to swear to the Pope, which he had no mind to take; and Writers near that time say, the dislike of that Oath was one of the motives that made him so unwillingly accept of that Dignity. He declared, that he thought there were many things settled by the Laws of the Popes, which ought to be Reformed, and that the Obligation which that Oath brought upon him, would bind him up from doing his Duty, both to God, the King, and the Church. But this being communicated to some of the Canonists and Casuists, they found a temper that agreed better with their Maxims, than *Cranmer's* sincerity; which was, that before he should take the Oath, he should make a good and formal Protestation, That he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his Duty to God, or the King, or the Country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This Protestation he made in *St. Stephen's Chappel at Westminster*, in the hands of some Doctors of the Canon-Law before he was Consecrated, and he afterwards repeated it when he took the Oath to the Pope; by which if he did not wholly save his Integrity, yet it was plain he intended no Cheat, but to act fairly and above-board.

His Protestation about his Oath to the Pope.

*Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranmer.*

As soon as he was Consecrated, and had performed every thing that was necessary for his Investiture, he came and sat in the upper House of Convocation. There were there at that time hot and earnest Debates upon these two Questions; whether it was against the Law of God, and indispensable by the Pope, for a Man to marry his Brothers Wife, he being dead without Issue, but having consummated the Marriage? And whether Prince *Arthur* had consummated his Marriage with the Queen? As for the first, it was brought first into the Lower House of Convocation, and when it was put to the Vote, 14 were for the Affirmative, 7 for the Negative; one was not clear, and another voted the Prohibition to be Moral, but yet dispensable by the Pope. In the Upper House it was long Debated, *Stokesly* Bishop of *London* argu-

ing

ing for the Affirmative, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* for the Negative. The Opinions of 19 Universities were read for it, and the one Houſe being as full as the other was empty, 216 being preſent either in Perſon or by Proxy, it was carried in the Affirmative *Nemine Contradicente*; thoſe few of the Queens Party that were there it ſeems going out. For the other Queſtion about the Matter of Fact, it was remitted to the Faculty of the Canon Law (it being a Matter that lay within their Studies) whether the Preſumptions were Violent, and ſuch as in the courſe of Law muſt be look'd on as good Evidences of a Thing that was Secret, and was not capable of formal Proof? They all except five or ſix were for the Affirmative, and all the Upper Houſe confirmed this, the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* only excepted.

In this Account it may ſeem ſtrange, that there were but 23 Perſons in the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and 216 in the Upper Houſe. It is taken from an unqueſtioned Authority, ſo the Matter of Fact is not to be doubted. The moſt Learned Sir *Henry Spelman* has in no place of his Collection of our Councils, conſidered the Conſtitution of the two Houſes of Convocation; and in none of our Records have I been able to diſcover of what Perſons they were made up in the Times of Popery: And therefore ſince we are left to Conjecture, I ſhall offer mine to the Learned Reader. It is, that none ſate in the Lower Houſe, but thoſe who were deputed by the Inferior Clegy; and that Biſhops, Abbots, Mitred and not Mitred, and Priors, Deans and Archdeacons ſate then in the Upper Houſe of Convocation. To which I am induced by theſe two Reaſons: It is probable that all who were declared *Prelates* by the Pope, and had their Writ to ſit in a General Council, had likewiſe a Right to come to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, and ſit with the other Prelates. And we find in the Tomes of the Councils, that not only Abbots and Priors, but Deans and Archdeacons were ſummoned to the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, and to that at *Vienna*. Another Reaſon is, that their ſitting in two Houſes (for in all other Nations they ſit together) looks as if it had been taken from the Conſtitution of our Parliament, in which all that have Writs perſonally ſit in the Lord's Houſe; and thoſe who come upon an Election ſit in the Lower Houſe. So it is not improbable, that all who were ſummoned perſonally ſate in the Upper Houſe, and thoſe who were returned with an Election, ſate in the Lower Houſe of Convocation.

This Account of that Convocation I take from that Collection of the *British Antiquities*, which is believed to have been made by *Matthew Parker*, who lived at that time, and was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But the Convocation-Books being burnt, there are no Records to be appealed to; yet it is not to be ſuppoſed, that in a Matter of Fact that was ſo publick and well known, any Man (eſpecially one of that High Rank) would have delivered Falſhoods, while the Books were yet Extant that would have diſproved them.

The Church of *England* having in her Representative made ſuch a full Deciſion, nothing remained but to give Judgment, and to declare the Marriage Null. The Thing was already determined, only the Formality of a Sentence Declarative was wanting. But before they proceeded to that, a new Meſſage was ſent to the Queen, to lay all that had paſſed before her, and to deſire her to acquieſce in the Opinions of ſo many Universities and learned Men. But ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her Reſolution to own her Marriage, and to adhere to her Appeal till the Pope ſhould judge

New Endeavours to make the Queen ſubmit.

1533.  
But in vain.

judge in it. And when it was told her, that the King would settle the Joynture that she was to have by his Brother, and that the Honour of Princess of *Wales* should still be paid her, she rejected it. But the new Queen was now with Child, and brought forth Queen *Elizabeth* the 7<sup>th</sup>. of *September* this year; from which looking backwards nine months, to the beginning of *December*, it shews that she must have been married at or before that time: for all the Writers of both sides agree, that she was married before she conceived with Child. The King therefore thought not fit to conceal it much longer, so on *Easter* Eve she was declared Queen of *England*. It seems it was not thought needful at that time to proceed to any further Sentence about the former Marriage, otherwise I cannot see what made it be so long delayed, since the thing was in their power now, as well as after. And it was certainly a preposterous Method to judge the first Marriage Null, after the second was published. So that it seems more probable, they did not intend any Sentence at all, till afterwards perhaps upon Advertisements from beyond Sea, they went on to a formal Proceſs. Nor is it unlikely that the King remembring the old Advice that the Pope sent him, once to marry a second Wife, and then to send for a Commission to try the matter, which the Pope was willing to confirm, though he would not seem to allow it originally. resolved to follow this Method; for the Pope was now closing with *Francis*, from which Union the King had reason to expect great Advantages.

Cranmer proceeds to a Sentence of Divorce taken from the Originals. Cot. lib. 07b. c. 15.

Whatsoever were the Reasons of the Delay, the Proceſs was framed in this Method. First, *Cranmer* wrote to the King, that the World had been long scandalized with his Marriage, and that it lay on him as his Duty to see it tryed and determined; therefore craved his Royal Leave to proceed in it. Which being obtained, both the King and Queen were cited to appear before the Arch-bishop, at *Dunstable* the 20<sup>th</sup>. of *May*, and the Arch-bishop went thither with the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester* (*Gardiner*,) *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Lincoln*, and many Divines and Canonists. That place was choten because the Queen lay then very near it at *Amptill*, and so she could not pretend ignorance of what was done; and they needed not put many days in the Citation, but might end the Proceſs so much the sooner. On the 10<sup>th</sup>. of *May* the Arch-bishop sat in Court, and the King appeared by Proxy, but the Queen appeared not. Upon which she was declared *Contumax*, and a second Citation was issued out, and after that a third: But she intended not to appear, and so she was finally declared *Contumax*. Then the Evidences that had been brought before the Legates, of the Consummation of the Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, were read. After that the Determinations of the Universities and Divines, and Canonists, were also produced and read. Then the Judgments of the Convocations of both Provinces were also read, with many other Instruments, and the whole merits of the Cause were opened. Upon which after many Sessions, on the 23<sup>d</sup>. of *May* Sentence was given with the Advice of all that were there present, declaring it only to have been a Marriage *de facto*, but not *de jure*, pronouncing it Null from the beginning. One thing is to be observed, That the Arch-bishop in the Sentence is called, *The Legate of the Apostolick See*. Whether this went of Course as one of his Titles, or was put in to make the Sentence firmer, the Reader may judge. Sentence being given, the Arch-bishop with all the rest returned to *London*; and five days after on the 28<sup>th</sup>. of *May*, at *Lambeth*, by another Judgment he in general words (no Reasons being given in the Sentence) confirmed the

Collett.  
Numb. 47.

the Kings Marriage with the new Queen *Anne*, and the first of *June* she was crowned Queen.

1533.

The Censures  
pass at that  
time.

When this great business, which had been so long in agitation, was thus concluded, it was variously censured as men stood affected. Some approved the Kings Proceedings as Canonical and Just, since so many Authorities, which in the intervall of a general Council were all that could be had, (except the Pope be believed *Infallible*) had concurred to strengthen the Cause; and his own Clergy had upon a full and long examination judged it on his side. Others, who in the main agreed to the Divorce, did very much dislike the Kings second Marriage before the first was dissolved; for they thought it against the common course of Law, to break a Marriage without any publick Sentence; and since one of the chief politick Reasons that was made use of in this Suit, was to settle the Succession of the Crown, this did embroil it more, since there was a fair colour given to except to the Validity of the second Marriage, because it was contracted before the first was annulled. But to this others answered, That the first Marriage being judged by the Interpreters of the Doctrine of the Church, to have been Null from the beginning, there was no need of any Sentence, but only for Form. And all concluded, it had been better there had been no Sentence at all, than one so late. Some excepted to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury's* being Judge, who by his former Writings and Disputes had declared himself partial. But to this it was answered, that when a Man changes his Character, all that he did in another Figure is no just Exception: so Judges decide Causes in which they formerly gave Counsel; and Popes are not bound to the Opinions they held when they were Divines or Canonists. It was also said, That the Arch-bishop did only declare in Legal Form, that which was already judged by the whole Convocation of both Provinces. Some wondered at the Popes stiffness, that would put so much to hazard, when there wanted not as good Colours to justify a Bull, as they had made use of to excuse many other things. But the Emperors Greatness, and the fear of giving the *Lutherans* advantages in disputing the Popes Authority, were on the other hand so prevalent Considerations, that no wonder they wrought much on a Pope, who pretended to no other knowledge but that of Policy; for he had often said, *He understood not the matter*, and therefore left it in other Mens Hands. All Persons excused Queen *Katharine* for standing so stiffly to her ground; only her denying so confidently that Prince *Arthur* consummated the Marriage, seems not capable of an excuse. Every body admired Queen *Anns* Conduct, who had managed such a Kings Spirit so long, and had neither surfeited him with great freedom, nor provoked him by the other Extreme: for the King who was extremely nice in these matters, conceived still an higher Opinion of her; and her being so soon with Child after the Marriage, as it made people concluded she had been chaste till then, so they hoped for a Blessing upon it, since there were such early appearances of Issue. Those that favoured the Reformation expected better days under her protection, for they knew she favoured them: But those who were in their hearts for the established Religion did much dislike it; and many of the Clergy, especially the Orders of Monks and Friers, condemned it both in their Sermons and Discourses.

But the King little regarding the Censures of the Vulgar, sent Embassadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to give notice of his new Marriage, and to justify it by some of those Reasons, which have been opened

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1533. ed in the former parts of this History. He also sent the Lord *Mountjoy* to the Divorced Queen, to let her know what was done, and that she was no more to be treated as *Queen*, but as *Princess Dowager*. He was to mix Promises with Threatnings, particularly concerning her Daughters being put next to the Queens Issue in the Succession. But the afflicted Queen would not yield, and said she would not damn her Soul, nor submit to such an Infamy: That she was his Wife, and would never call her self by any other Name, whatever might follow on it, since the Proceſs ſtill depended at *Rome*. That Lord having written a Relation of what had paſſed between him and her, ſhewed it to her; but ſhe daſhed with a Pen all thoſe places in which ſhe was called *Princess Dowager*; and would receive no Service at any ones hands, but of thoſe who called her *Queen*: and ſhe continued to be ſtill ſerved as *Queen* by all about her. Againſt which though the King uſed all the Endeavours he could, not without both threatning and violence to ſome of the Servants, yet he could never drive her from it: and what he did in that, was thought far below that Height of Mind which appeared in his other Actings; for ſince he had ſtriped her of the real Greatneſs of a *Queen*, it ſeemed too much, to vex her for keeping up the Pageantry of it.

Cot. lib. Orb.  
C. 10.

The Pope unites himſelf to the *French* King.

But the news of this made great impreſſions elſewhere. The Emperor received the Kings juſtification very coldly, and ſaid he would conſider what he was to do upon it, which was looked on as a Declaration of War. The *French* King, though he expreſſed ſtill great Friendſhip to the King, yet was now reſolved to link himſelf to the Pope; for the crafty Pope apprehending that nothing made the King of *England* ſo confident, as that he knew his Friendſhip was neceſſary to the *French* King, and fearing they had reſolved to proceed at once to the putting down the Papal Authority in their Kingdoms, (which it appears they had once agreed to do) reſolved by all means to make ſure of the *French* King, which as it would preſerve that Kingdom in his obedience, ſo would perhaps frighten the King of *England* from proceeding to ſuch extremities; ſince that Prince, in whoſe conjunction he truſted ſo much, had forſaken him: Therefore the Pope did ſo vigorouſly purſue the Treaty with *Francis*, that it was as good as ended at this time, and an Interview was projected between them at *Marſeilles*. The Pope did alſo grant him ſo great Power over his own Clergy, that he could ſcarce have expected more, if he had ſet up a Patriarch in *France*; ſo that *Francis* did reſolve to go on in the deſigns, which had been concerted between him and the King of *England*, no further; but ſtill he conſidered his alliance ſo much, that he promiſed to uſe his moſt effectual interceſſion with the Pope to prevent all Cenſures and Bulls againſt the King; and if it were poſſible to bring the matter to an amicable Concluſion. And the Emperor was not ill pleaſed to ſee *France* and *England* divided. Therefore though he had at firſt oppoſed the Treaty between the Pope and *Francis*; yet afterwards he was not troubled that it took effect, hoping that it would diſ-unite thoſe two Kings, whoſe conjunction had been ſo troubleſom to him.

And condemns the Kings proceedings in *England*.

But when the news was brought to *Rome* of what was done in *England*, with which it was alſo related that Books were coming out againſt the *Popes Supremacy*, all the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction preſſed the Pope to give a definitive Sentence, and to proceed to Cenſures againſt the King. But the more moderate Cardinals thought, *England* was not to be

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be thrown away with such precipitation: And therefore a Temper was found, that a Sentence should be given upon what had been attempted in *England*, by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* (which in the Stile of the Canon-Law were called the *Attentates*;) for it was pretended that the matter depending in the Court of *Rome*, by the Queens Appeal and the other steps that had been made, it was not in the Arch-bishop's Power to proceed to any Sentence. Therefore in general it was declared, that all that had been attempted or done in *England* about the Kings Suit of Divorce was null, and that the King by such attempts was liable to Excommunication, unless he put things again in the State they were in, and that before *September* next, and that then they would proceed further; and this Sentence was affixed in *Dunkirk* soon after.

1533.

The King resolving to follow the thing as far as it was possible, sent a great Embassy to *Francis*, who was then on his Journey to *Marseilles*, to dissuade the Interview and Marriage, till the Pope gave the King satisfaction. But the *French* King was engaged in honour to go forward; yet he protested he would do all that lay in his Power to compose the matter, and that he would take any injury that were done to the King as highly as if it were done to himself; and he desired the King would send some to *Marseilles*, who thereupon sent *Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian*.

But at this time the Queen brought forth a Daughter who was Christened *Elizabeth* (the renowned Queen of *England*) the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* being her God-Father. She was soon after declared Princess of *Wales*; though Lawyers thought that against Law, for she was only *Heir presumptive*, but not *apparent* to the Crown, since a Son coming after, he must be preferred. Yet the King would justify what he had done in his Marriage with all possible respect, and having before declared the Lady *Mary* Princess of *Wales*, he did now the same in favour of the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Queen Elizabeth Born, Sept. 7.

The Interview between the Pope and the *French* King was at *Marseilles* in *October*, where the Marriage was made up between the Duke of *Orleance* and *Katherine de Medici*; to whom besides 100000 Crowns Portion, the Principality of many Towns in *Italy*, as *Milan*, *Reggio*, *Pisa*, *Legorn*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, and the Dutchy of *Urbio* were given. To the former, the Pope pretended in the Right of the Popedom, and to the last in the Right of the House of *Medici*. But the *French* King was to clear all those Titles by his Sword. As for the Kings business the Pope referred it to the Consistory. But it seems there was a secret Transaction between him and *Francis*, that if the King would in all other things return to his wonted obedience to the Apostolick See, and submit the matter to the judgment of the Consistory, (excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction as partial and incompetent Judges) the Decision should be made to his hearts content. This I collect from what will afterwards appear. The King upon the Sentence that was passed against him, sent *Bonner* to *Marseilles*, who procuring an Audience of the Pope, delivered to him the Authentick Instrument of the Kings Appeal from him to the next general Council lawfully called. At this the Pope was much incensed, but said he would consider of it in Consistory; and having consulted about it there, he answered that the Appeal was unlawful, and therefore he rejected it; and for a general Council, the calling of it belonged to him, and not to the King. About the same time the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* being threatned with a Procces from *Rome*, put in also his appeal to the next general Council. Upon which *Bonner* deliver-

An Interview between the Pope and French King at Marseilles.

The Pope promises to give Sentence for the King of England's Divorce.

Et. serv. In. de. sub. et Responsio.

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ed the Threatnings which he was ordered to make, with so much Vehemency and Fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him in a Cauldron of melted Lead, or of burning him alive; and he apprehending some Danger made his Escape. About the middle of *November* the interview ended, the Pope returning to *Rome*, and the *French King* to *Paris*, a firm Alliance being established between them. But upon the Duke of *Orleance* his marrying the Pope's Neece, I shall add one Observation, that will neither be unpleasant or impertinent. The Duke of *Orleance* was then but Fourteen Years and Nine Months old, being born on the last of *March*, 1518. and yet was believed to have consummated his Marriage the very first Night after: So the Popes Historians tell us with much Triumph; though they represented that improbable, if not impossible in Prince *Arthur*, who was Nine Months elder when he died.

Brevins.

The *French King* prevails with the King of *England* to submit to the Pope.

Upon the *French Kings* return from *Marseilles*, the Bishop of *Paris*, was sent over to the King; which (as may be reasonably collected) followed upon some Agreement made at *Marseilles*, and he prevailed with the King to submit the whole Matter to the Pope and the Consistory, on such Terms that the Imperialists should not be allowed a Voice, because they were Parties, being in the Emperors Power. None that has observed the Genius of this King, can think that after he had proceeded so far, he would have made this Submission without very good Assurances; and if there had not been great grounds to expect good effects from it, the Bishop of *Paris* would not in the middle of Winter have undertaken a Journey from *England* to *Rome*. But the King, it seems, would not abase himself so far as to send any Submission in Writing, till he had fuller Assurances. The Lord *Herbert* has published a Letter (which he transcribed from the Original, written by the Archbishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Duresme*, to the King the 11th of *May*, 1534.) giving an Account of a Conference they had with a Queen *Katharine*; in which, among other Motives they used, this was one, to perswade her to comply with what the King had done: *That the Pope had said at Marseilles, that if the King would send a Proxy to Rome, he would give the Cause for him against the Queen, because he knew his Cause was good and just.* Which is a great Presumption, that the Pope did really give some Engagements to the *French King* about the Kings Business.

Which was well received at *Rome*.

Hist. Council of *Trent* by *Padre Paulo*.

When the Bishop of *Paris* came to *Rome*, the Motion was liked, and it was promised, that if the King sent a promise of that under his Hand, with an Order to his Proxies to appear in Court, there should be Judges sent to *Cambray* to form the Process, and then the Matter should be Determined for him at *Rome*. This was sent to the King, with the Notice of the Day that was prefixed for the return of his Answer, and with other Motives which must have been very Great, since they prevailed so much. For in answer there was a Courier dispatch'd from the King, with a formal promise under his Hand. And now the Matter seemed at a Point, the *French Interest* was great in the Court of *Rome*; four new Cardinals had been made at *Marseilles*, and there were six of that Faction before, which with the Popes Creatures, and the indifferent or venal Voices, ballanced the Imperial Faction, so that a wound that was looked on as Fatal, was now almost healed. But God in his wise and unsearchable Providence had designed to draw other great ends out of this Rupture, and therefore suffered them that were the most concerned to hinder it, to be the chief Instruments of driving it on. For the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction were now very Active, they liked not the Precedent of excluding

But the Imperialists opposed it.

cluding the Cardinals of the Nation concerned, out of any Business. But above all things they were to hinder a Conjunction between the Pope and the King of *England*; for the Pope being then allied to *France*, there was nothing the Emperor feared more than the closing the Breach with *England*, which would make the Union against him so much stronger. Therefore when the Day that had been prefixed for the return of the Courier from *England* was elapsed, they all pressed the Pope to proceed to a Sentence Definitive and to Censures. *Bellay* the Bishop of *Paris* represented the injustice of proceeding with so much Precipitation, since, where there were Seas to cross, in such a Season, many Accidents might Occasion the Delay of the Express. The King of *England* had followed this Suit Six Years, and had patience so long; therefore he desired the delay of six Days, and if in that time no return came, they might proceed. But the Imperialists represented, that those were only Delays to gain Time; and that the King of *England* was still proceeding in his Contempt of the Apostolick See, and of the Cardinals, and publishing Books and Libels against them. This so wrought on the angry Pope, that without consulting his ordinary Prudence, he brought the Business into the Consistory, where the Plurality of Voices carried it to proceed to a Sentence. And though the Process had been carried on all that Winter in their usual Forms, yet it was not so Ripe, but by the Rules of the Consistory, there ought to have been three Sessions before Sentence was given. But they concluded all in one Day, and so on the 23d of *March*, the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katherine* was declared good, and the King required to take her as his Wife; otherwise Censures were to be denounced against him.

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And with great Preparation procure a Sentence against the King.

Two days after that, the Courier arrived from *England* with the King's Submission under his Hand in due Form, and earnest Letters from the *French* King to have it accepted, that so the Business might be composed. When this was known at *Rome*, all the indifferent and wise Cardinals (among whom was *Farnese*, that was afterwards Pope *Paul* the 3d) came to the Pope, and desired that it might be again considered before it went further. So it was brought again into the Consistory. But the secret Reason of the Imperialists opposing it, was now more pressing, since there was such an appearance of a Settlement, if the former Sentence were once recalled. Therefore they so managed the Matter, that it was confirmed a-new by the Pope and the Consistory, and they ordered the Emperour to execute the Sentence.

The King resolves to abolish the Popes Power in *England*.

The King was now in so good hope of his Business, that he sent Sir *Edward Carne* to *Rome* to prosecute his Suit; who on his way thither met the Bishop of *Paris*, coming back with his Melancholick Account of his unprosperous Negotiation. When the King heard it and understood that he was used with so much Scorn and Contempt at *Rome*, being also the more vexed, because he had come to such a Submission, he resolved then to break totally from *Rome*. And in this he was before-hand with that Court. For judging it the best way to procure a Peace, to manage the War vigorously, he had held a Session of Parliament from the 15th of *January*, till the 30th of *March*, in which he had procured a great change of the whole Constitution of the Government of the Church. But before I give an Account of that, I shall first open all the Arguments and Reasons, upon which I find they proceeded in this Matter.

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Which had  
been much  
disputed  
there.

Veterine In-  
gulse.

Hall.

The Popes Power had been then for Four Years together much examined and disputed in *England*; in which they went by these Steps, one leading to another. They first controverted his Power of Dispensing with the Law of God. From that they went to examine what Jurisdiction he had in *England*, upon which followed the convicting the Clergy of a *Præmunire* with their Submission to the King. And that led them to controvert the Pope's Right to *Annates*, and other Exactions, which they also condemned. The condemning all Appeals to *Rome* followed that naturally. And now so many Branches of that Power were cut off, the Root was next struck at, and the Foundations of the Papal Authority were examined. For near a Year together there had been many publick Debates about it; and both in the Parliament and Convocation the thing was long disputed, and all that could be alledged on both sides were considered. The Reader will be best able to judge of their Reasons, (and thereby of the Ripeness of their Judgments, when they enacted the Laws that passed in this Parliament,) when he sees a full Account of them; which I shall next set down; not drawn from the Writings and Apologies that have been published since, but from these that came out about that Time. For then were written *The Institution for the necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*, concluded in the Convocation, and published by Authority; and another Book, *De Differentia Regiæ & Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*. The former of these was called the Bishops, and the latter the King's Book. *Gardiner* also wrote a Book, *De vera Obedientia*, to which *Bonner* prefixed a Preface upon the same Subject. *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, and *Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresme*, wrote a long Letter in Defence of the King's Proceedings in this Matter to *Reginald* (soon after Cardinal) *Pool*: From these Writings, and the Sermons preached by some Bishops at this Time, with other Authentick Pieces, I have extracted the Substance of the Arguments upon which they grounded their Laws, which I shall divide in two Heads. The one of the Reasons for rejecting the Popes pretended Power. The other for setting up the King's Supremacy, with the Explanations and Limitations of it.

The Argu-  
ments upon  
which it was  
rejected.

“ First, of the Popes Power, they declared that they found no ground  
“ for it in the Scripture. All the Apostles were made equal by Christ,  
“ when he committed the Church to their Care in Common. And  
“ he did often declare, there was no Superiority of one above another.  
“ *St. Paul* claimed an equality with the chief Apostles both *Peter*,  
“ *James*, and *John*; and when he thought *St. Peter* blame-worthy,  
“ he withstood him to his Face. But whatsoever Preheminence *St. Peter*  
“ might have, that was only Personal, and there was no reason to af-  
“ fix it to his Chair at *Rome*, more than at *Antioch*. But if any See be  
“ to be preferred before another, it should be *Jerusalem*, where *Christ*  
“ died, and out of which the Faith was propagated over all Nations,  
“ *Christ* commanding his Disciples to begin their Preaching in it; so  
“ that it was truly the *Mother Church*, and is so called by *St. Paul*, where-  
“ as in the Scripture, *Rome* is called *Babylon*, according to *Tertullian*  
“ and *St. Jerome*.

“ For the places brought from Scripture in favour of the Papacy,  
“ they judged that they did not prove any thing for it. That *thou*  
“ *art Peter*, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, if it prove any  
“ thing in this Matter, would prove too much; even that the Church

“ was

“ was founded on *St. Peter*, as he was a private Person, and so on  
 “ the Popes in their personal Capacity. But both *St. Ambrose*, *St. Je-*  
 “ *rome*, and *St. Austin*, think, that by the *Rock*, the Confession he had  
 “ made was only to be meant. Others of the Fathers thought by the  
 “ *Rock*, *Christ* himself was meant, who is the only true Foundation  
 “ of the Church; though in another Sense all the Apostles are also  
 “ called Foundations by *St. Paul*. That, *Tell the Church*, is thought  
 “ by *Gerfon* and *Aeneas Silvius*, ( afterwards *Pope Pius* the 2d ) ra-  
 “ ther to make against the Pope and for a general Council. And  
 “ the Fathers have generally followed *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Austin*,  
 “ who thought that, *the giving of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*,  
 “ and the Charge, *Feed my Sheep*, were addressed to *St. Peter*, in be-  
 “ half of all the rest of the Apostles. And that, *I have prayed for*  
 “ *thee, that thy Faith fail not*, was only Personal, and related to his  
 “ Fall, which was then Imminent. It is also clear by *St. Paul*, that  
 “ every Apostle had his peculiar Province, beyond which he was not  
 “ to stretch himself; and *St. Peters* Province was the Circumcision, and  
 “ his, the Uncircumcision, in which he plainly declares his equality  
 “ with him.

“ This was also clear from the constant Tradition of the Church.  
 “ *St. Cyprian* was against Appeals to *Rome*. and would not submit to  
 “ *P. Stephen's* Definition in the Point of Re-baptizing of Hereticks; and  
 “ expressly says, *That all the Apostles were equal in Power, and that all*  
 “ *the Bishops were also equal, since the whole Office and Episcopate was*  
 “ *one entire thing, of which every Bishop had a compleat and equal Share.*  
 “ And though some Places are brought out of him concerning the  
 “ Unity of the *Roman Church*, and of other Churches with it; yet  
 “ those places have no Relation to any Authority that the *Roman*  
 “ Church had over other Churches, but were occasioned by a Schism  
 “ that *Novation* had made there at *Rome*, being elected in Opposition  
 “ to the Bishop that was rightly chosen; and of that Unity only *St. Cy-*  
 “ *prian* writes in those Places. But from all his Epistles to the Bi-  
 “ shops of *Rome*, it is visible he look'd on himself as their Equal,  
 “ since he calls them *Brother, Colleague, and Fellow-Bishop*. And what-  
 “ soever is said by any Ancient Writer of *St. Peter's Chair*, is to be  
 “ understood of the pure Gospel, which he delivered, as *St. Austin*  
 “ observes, that by *Moses Chair*, is to be understood *The delivering of*  
 “ *Moses Law*. But though *St. Peter* sat there, the succeeding Popes  
 “ have no more Right to pretend to such Authority, than the Kings  
 “ of *Spain* to claim the *Roman Empire*, because he that is now their  
 “ King, is Emperor. When *Constantine* turned Christian, the Digni-  
 “ ty of the chief City of the Empire made *Rome* to be accounted  
 “ the first See, but by the General Council of *Nice* it was declared,  
 “ that the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* had the same Autho-  
 “ rity over the Countries round about them, that he of *Rome* had o-  
 “ ver those that lay about that City. It is true, at that time the  
 “ *Arrian* Heresie, having spread generally over the *Eastern Churches*,  
 “ from which the *Western* were free; the oppressed Catholick Bishops  
 “ of the *East* made Appeals to *Rome*, and extolled that See by a na-  
 “ tural Maxim in all Men, who magnifie that from which they have  
 “ Protection. But the second General Council took Care, that that  
 “ should not grow a President, for they decreed that every Province,  
 “ should be governed by its own Synod, and that Bishops when they

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“ were accused, must first be judged by the Bishops of their own Province, and from them they might appeal to the Bishops of the Dioceses, but no higher appeal was allowed : and by that Council it appears, what was the Foundation of the greatness of the Bishop of Rome ; for when *Constantinople* was made the Seat of the Empire and *New Rome*, it had the same Priviledges that *Old Rome* had, and was set next to it in order and dignity. In a Council at *Milevi*, in which *St. Austin* sate, they appointed that every Clerk, that should appeal to any Bishop beyond the Sea, should be excommunicated. And when *Fauftianus* was sent by the Pope to the *African* Churches, to claim the Right of receiving Appeals, and pretended a Canon of the Council of *Nice* for it, the Pretension was rejected by the *African* Fathers, who acknowledged no such Right, and had never heard of that Canon. Upon which they sent to the *Eastern* Churches, and search was every where made for the Copies of the Canons of that Council, but it was found that it was a Forgery. From whence two things were observable: The one, that the Church in that Age had no Tradition of any Divine Institution for the Authority of that See, since as the Popes, who claimed it, never pretended to any such thing ; so the *African* Bishops by their rejecting that Power, shew, that they knew nothing of any Divine Warrant ; all the Contest being only about the Canon of the Church. It also appeared how early the Church of *Rome* aspired to Power, and did not stick at making use of Forged Writings to support it. But Pope *Agatho* more modestly writing to the Emperor in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Synods that were Subject to his See, calls them *a few Bishops in the Northern and Western Parts*. When afterwards the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was declared by the Emperor *Mauritius*, *The Universal Bishop*, *Gregory the Great* did exclaim against the Ambition of that Title, as being equal to the Pride of *Lucifer*, and declared, that he who assumed it was the Fore-runner of *Antichrist* ; saying that none of his Predecessors had ever claimed such a Power. And this was the more observable, since the *English* were converted by those whom he sent over ; so that this was the Doctrine of that See, when this Church received the Faith from it.

“ But it did not continue long within those limits ; for *Boniface* the Third assumed that Title, upon the Grant of *Phocas*. And as that *Boniface* got the Spiritual Sword put in his hand, so the Eighth of that Name pretended also to the Temporal Sword ; but they owe these Powers to the Industry of those Popes, and not to any Donation of *Christ*. The Popes when they are Consecrated promise to obey the Canons of the Eight first General Councils, which if they observe, they will receive no Appeals, nor pretend to any higher Jurisdiction than these give to them, and the other Patriarchs equally.

“ As for the Decrees of Latter Councils, they are of less Authority. For those Councils consisted of Monks and Friars in great part, whose exemptions obtained from *Rome* obliged them to support the Authority of that Court, and those who sate in them knew little of the Scriptures, Fathers, or the Tradition of the Church, being only conversant in the Disputes and Learning of the Schools. And for the *Florentine* Council, the *Eastern* Churches, who sent the *Greek* Bishops that sate there, never received their Determination, neither then, nor at any time since.

“ Many

" Many places were also brought out of the Fathers to show, that they  
 " did not look on the Bishops of *Rome* as superiour to other Bishops;  
 " and that they understood not those places of Scripture, which were  
 " afterwards brought for the Popes Supremacy, in that sense; so that if  
 " Tradition be the best Expounder of Scripture, those latter glosses must  
 " give place to the more ancient. But that passage of *St. Jerome*, in  
 " which he equals the Bishops of *Eugubium* and *Constantinople* to the  
 " Bishop of *Rome*, was much made use of, since he was a Presbyter of  
 " *Rome*, and so likely to understand the Dignity of his own Church  
 " best. There were many things brought from the Contests that other  
 " Sees had with *Rome*, to show, that all the Priviledges of that and o-  
 " ther Sees, were only founded on the practice and Canons of the Church,  
 " but not upon any Divine Warrant. *Constantinople* pretended to equal  
 " Priviledges. *Ravenna*, *Milan*, and *Aquileia*, pretended to a Patriar-  
 " chal Dignity and Exemption. Some Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* con-  
 " tended, that Popes could do nothing against the Laws of the Church;  
 " so *Laurence* and *Dunstan*. *Robert Grosstest* Bishop of *Lincoln*, assert-  
 " ed the same, and many Popes confessed it. And to this day no Con-  
 " stitution of the Pope's is binding in any Church, except it be recei-  
 " ved by it; and in the daily practice of the Canon-Law, the Customs  
 " of Churches are pleaded against Papal Constitutions; which shows  
 " their Authority cannot be from God; otherwise all must submit to their  
 " Laws. And from the Latter Contests up and down *Europe*, about giv-  
 " ing Investitures, receiving Appeals, admitting of Legates, and Papal  
 " Constitutions, it was apparent, that the Papal Authority was a Ty-  
 " ranny, which had been managed by cruel and fraudulent Arts, but  
 " was never otherwise received in the Church, than as a Conquest to  
 " which they were constrained to yield. And this was more fully  
 " made out in *England*, from what passed in *William* the Conqueror,  
 " and *Henry* the Second's time, and by the Statutes of *Provisors* in  
 " many Kings Reigns, which were still renewed, till within an hun-  
 " dred years of the present time.

Upon these Grounds they concluded, that the Popes Power in *Eng-  
 land* had no Foundation, neither in the Law of God, nor in the Laws  
 of the Church, or of the Land.

" As for the Kings Power over Spiritual Persons, and in Spiritual Cau-  
 " ses, they proved it from the Scriptures. In the Old Testament they  
 " found the Kings of *Israel* intermedled in all matters Ecclesiastical. *Sam-  
 " uel*, though he had been Judge, yet acknowledged *Saul's* Authority:  
 " so also did *Abimelech* the High-Priest, and appeared before him when  
 " cited to answer upon an Accusation. And *Samuel* (1 Sam. 15. 18.)  
 " says, *he was made the Head of all the Tribes*. *Aaron*, in that, was an  
 " Example to all the following High-Priests who submitted to *Moses*.  
 " *David* made many Laws about Sacred things, such as, the Order of  
 " the Courses of the Priests and their Worship; and when he was dying,  
 " he declared to *Solomon* how far his Authority extended. He told him,  
 " 1 Chron. 28. 21. *That the Courses of the Priests and all the People were  
 " to be wholly at his commandment*: pursuant to which *Solomon*, 2 Chron.  
 " 8. 14, 15. did appoint them *their charges in the Service of God*, and  
 " *both the Priests and Levites departed not from his commandment in any  
 " matter*: and though he had turned out *Abiathar* from the High-Priest-  
 " hood, yet they made no opposition. *Jehosopha*, *Hexekiah* and *Josias*  
 " made likewise Laws about Ecclesiastical Matters.

The Argu-  
 ments for the  
 Kings Supre-  
 macy.  
 From the old  
 Testament.

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And the New.

“ In the New Testament, Christ himself was Obedient, he payed Taxes, he declared that he pretended to no earthly Kingdom, he charged the People to *render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsars*, and his Disciples not to affect temporal Dominion, as the Lords of the Nations did. And though the Magistrates were then Heathens, yet the Apostles wrote to the Churches to obey Magistrates, to submit to them, to pay Taxes, they call the King *Supream*, and say he is God’s Minister to encourage them that do well, and to punish the evil-doers, which is said of all persons without exception, and every Soul is charged to be subject to the Higher Power.

“ Many Passages were cited out of the Writings of the Fathers, to shew, that they thought Church-men were included in these places as well as other Persons, so that the Tradition of the Church was for the King’s Supremacy: and by one place of Scripture the King is called *Supream*, by another he is called *Head*, and by a third *every Soul must be subject to him*, which laid together, make up this Conclusion, *That the King is the Supream Head over all persons*. In the Primitive Church, the Bishops in their Councils made Rules for ordering their Diocesess, which they only called *Canons* or *Rules*, nor had they any compulsive Authority, but what was derived from the Civil Sanctions.

And the Practices of the Primitive Church.

“ After the Emperors were Christians, they made many Laws about Sacred things, as may be seen in the *Codes*; and when *Justinian* digested the *Roman Law*, he added many *Novel Constitutions* about Ecclesiastical Persons and Causes. The Emperors called General Councils, presided in them, and confirmed them. And many Letters were cited of Popes to Emperors, to call Councils, and of the Councils to them to Confirm their Decrees. The Election of the Popes themselves, was sometimes made by the Emperors, and sometimes confirmed by them. Pope *Hadrian* in a Synod decreed, that the Emperor should choose the Pope: And it was a late and unheard of thing, before the days of *Gregory the 7th*, for Popes to pretend to depose Princes, and give away their Dominions. This they compared to the pride of *Anti-Christ* and *Lucifer*.

And from Reason.

“ They also argued from Reason, that there must be but one Supream; and that the King being Supream over all his Subjects, Clergy-men must be included, for they are still Subjects. Nor can their being in Orders, change that former Relation, founded upon the Law of Nature and Nations, no more than Wives or Servants, by becoming Christians, were not according to the Doctrine of the Apostles, discharged from the Duties of their former Relations.

“ For the great Objection from those Offices that are peculiar to their Functions, it was answered, That these notwithstanding the King might well be Supream Head; for in the Natural Body, there were many vital Motions that proceeded not from the Head, but from the Heart, and the other inward Parts and Vessels; and yet the Head was still the chief Seat and Root of Life: So though there be peculiar Functions appropriated to Church-men, yet the King is still Head, having Authority over them, and a Power to direct and coerce them in these.

And from the Laws of England.

“ From that, they proceeded to show, that in *England*, the Kings have always assumed a Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters. They began with the most Ancient Writing that relates to the Christian  
“ Reli-



“ Religion in *England* then extant, Pope *Eleutherius's* Letter to King  
 “ *Lucius*, in which he is twice called by him *God's Vicar in his King-*  
 “ *dom*, and he writ in it, *that it belong'd to his Office, to bring his Sub-*  
 “ *jects to the Holy Church, and to Maintain, Protect, and Govern them*  
 “ *in it. Many Laws were cited, which Caxutus, Ethelred, Edgar,*  
 “ *Edmond, Athelstan and Ina had Enacted concerning Church-men;*  
 “ *many more Laws since the Conquest were also made, both against*  
 “ *Appeals to Rome, and Bishops going out of the Kingdom without*  
 “ *the King's leave.*

“ The whole business of the Articles of *Clarendon*, and the Contests  
 “ that followed between King *Henry* the second, and *Thomas Becket*,  
 “ were also opened. And though a Bishops Pastoral Care be of Divine  
 “ Institution, yet as the Kings of *England* had divided Bishopricks as  
 “ they pleased, so they also converted Benefices from the Institution of  
 “ the Founders, and gave them to Cloisters and Monasteries as King *Ed-*  
 “ *gar* did; all which was done by the Consent of their Clergy and No-  
 “ bility, without dependance on *Rome*; They had also granted these  
 “ Houses Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction, so *Ina* exempted *Gla-*  
 “ *stenbury*, and *Offa St. Albans*, from their Bishops Visitation: and this  
 “ continued even till the days of *William* the Conqueror, for he to  
 “ perpetuate the Memory of the Victory he obtained over *Harald*, and  
 “ to endear himself to the Clergy, founded an Abbey in the Field where  
 “ the Battel was fought, and called it *Battel-Abbey*, and in the Charter  
 “ he granted them, these words are to be found. *It shall be also free*  
 “ *and quiet for ever, from all subjection to Bishops, or the Dominion of*  
 “ *any other Persons, as Christs Church in Canterbury is.* Many other  
 “ things were bought out of King *Alfred's* Laws, and a Speech of King  
 “ *Edgars*, with several Letters written to the Popes from the Kings, the  
 “ Parliaments, and the Clergy of *England*, to show, that their Kings  
 “ did always make Laws about Sacred Matters, and that their Power  
 “ reach'd to that, and to the Persons of Church men as well as to their  
 “ other Subjects.

But at the same time that they pleaded so much for the King's Su-  
 premacy, and Power of making Laws for Restraining and Coercing  
 his Subjects, it appeared that they were far from vesting him with  
 such an absolute Power, as the Popes had pretended to, for they thus  
 defined the extent of the King's Power. *To them specially and princi-*  
*pally, it pertaineth to defend the Faith of Christ and his Religion, to con-*  
*serve and maintain the true Doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true*  
*Preachers and setters forth thereof; and to abolish Abuses, Heresies, and*  
*Idolatries, and to punish with corporal pains such as of Malice be the oc-*  
*casion of the same. And finally to oversee and cause that the said Bishops*  
*and Priests do execute their Pastoral Office truly and faithfully, and spe-*  
*cially in these Points, which by Christ and his Apostles was given and com-*  
*mitted to them; and in case they shall be negligent in any part thereof, or*  
*would not diligently execute the same, to cause them to redouble and sup-*  
*ply their lack: and if they obstinately withstand their Princes kind moniti-*  
*on, and will not amend their Faults, then and in such case to put others*  
*in their rooms and places. And God hath also commanded the said Bi-*  
*shops and Priests to obey with all humbleness and reverence, both Kings,*  
*and Princes, and Governours, and all their Laws, not being contrary to*  
*the Laws of God, whatsoever they be: and that not only propter Iram,*  
*but*

The Qualifica-  
 tion of that  
 Supremacy.

Necessary E-  
 radition upon  
 the Sacrament  
 of Orders.

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but also propter Conscientiam, that is to say, not only for fear of punishment, but also for discharge of Conscience.

Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the Kings Laws, with the due Caution of their not being contrary to the Law of God, and acknowledged the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the discharge of the Pastoral Office, committed to the Pastors of the Church by Christ and his Apostles; and that the Supremacy then pretended to, was no such Extravagant Power as some imagine.

The necessity  
of extirpating  
the Popes  
Power.

“ Upon the whole matter, it was Concluded, that the Popes Power in *England* had no good Foundation, and had been managed with as much Tyranny, as it had begun with Usurpation; the Exactions of their Courts were every where heavy, but in no Place so intolerable as in *England*: and though many complaints were made of them in these last 300 years, yet they got no ease, and all the Laws about Provisors were still defeated and made ineffectual; Therefore they saw it was impossible to moderate their proceedings, so that there was no other Remedy, but to extirpate their pretended Authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the Pope only Bishop of *Rome*, with the Jurisdiction about it, defined by the Ancient Canons: and for the King to re-assume his own Authority, and the Prerogatives of his Crown, from which the Kings of *England* had never formally departed, though they had for this last Hundred years connived at an Invasion and Usurpation upon them, which was no longer to be endured.

Pains taken to  
satisfie *Fisher*  
about it.

These were the Grounds of casting off the Popes Power, that had been for two or three years studied and enquired into by all the Learned men in *England*, and had been debated both in Convocation and Parliament; and except *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, I do not find that any Bishop appeared for the Popes Power: and for the Abbots and Priors, as they were generally very ignorant, so what the Cardinal had done in suppressing some Monasteries, and what they now heard, that the Court had an eye on their Lands, made them to be as compliant as could be. But *Fisher* was a man of great reputation, and very ancient, so that much pains was taken to satisfie him. A week before the Parliament sate down, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* proposed to him, that he and any Five Doctors, such as he should choose, and the Bishop of *London*, and Five Doctors with him might confer about it, and examine the Authorities of both sides, that so there might be an Agreement among them, by which the Scandal might be removed, which otherwise would be taken from their Janglings and Conteſts among themselves. *Fisher* accepted of this, and *Stokesley* wrote to him on the eighth of *January*, that he was ready whenever the other pleased, and desired him to name time and place; and if they could not agree the matter among themselves, he moved to refer it to two Learned men whom they should choose, in whose determination they would both acquiesce. How far this Overture went, I cannot discover, and perhaps *Fishers* sickness hindred the progress of it. But now on the 15th of *January*, the Parliament sate down; by the Journals I find no other Bishops present but the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Landaffe* and *Carlisle*. There were also twelve Abbots present, but upon what pretences the rest excused their Attendance, I do not know; perhaps some made a difference

The Original  
is in the Cott.  
lib. Otho C. 10.

rence between submitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the Change. During the Session a Bishop preached every *Sunday* at *Pauls-Cross*, and declared to the People, That the Pope had no Authority at all in *England*. In the two former Sessions the Bishops had Preached, that the General Council was above the Pope, but now they struck a Note higher. This was done to let the People see what Justice and Reason was in the Acts that were then passing, to which I now turn, and shall next give an Account of this great Session of Parliament, which I shall put rather in the natural Method according to the matter of the Acts, than in the order of time as they passed.

On the 9th of *March* a Bill came up from the Commons for discharging the Subjects of all dependance on the Court of *Rome*; it was read the first time in the House of Lords the 13th of *March*, and on the 14th was read the second time, and committed. The Committee reported it on the 19th, by which it appears there was no stiff nor long Opposition, and he that was likeliest to make it was both obnoxious and absent, as will afterwards appear. On the 19th it was read the third time, and on the 20th the fourth time, and then passed without any Protestation. Some Proviso's were added to it by the Lords, to which the Commons agreed, and so it was made ready for the Royal Assent.

“ In the Preamble the intolerable Exactions for *Peter-pence*, Provisi-  
 “ ons, Pensions and Bulls of all sorts are complained of, which were  
 “ contrary to all Laws, and grounded only on the Pope's Power of dis-  
 “ pensing, which was usurped. But the King and the Lords and Com-  
 “ mons within his own Realm had only Power to consider how any of  
 “ the Laws were to be dispensed with or abrogated; and since the King  
 “ was acknowledged the Supream Head of the Church of *England* by  
 “ the Prelates and Clergy in their Convocations, therefore it was En-  
 “ acted that all Payments made to the Apostolick Chamber, and all Pro-  
 “ visions, Bulls or Dispensations should from thenceforth cease. But  
 “ that all Dispensations or Licences for things that were not contrary  
 “ to the Law of God, but only to the Law of the Land, should be  
 “ granted within the Kingdom, by and under the Seals of the two Arch-  
 “ bishops in their several Provinces; who should not presume to grant  
 “ any contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, and should only grant  
 “ such Licences as had been formerly in use to be granted, but give no  
 “ Licence for any new thing till it were first examined by the King and  
 “ his Council whether such things might be dispensed with; and that  
 “ all Dispensations which were formerly taxed at or above 4 *l.* should  
 “ be also confirmed under the Great Seal. Then many Clauses follow  
 “ about the Rates of Licences, and the ways of procuring them. It was  
 “ also declared, That they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ's  
 “ Church about the Articles of the Catholick Faith of Christendom, or  
 “ in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the Word of God  
 “ necessary for their Salvation; confirming withal the Exemptions of  
 “ Monasteries formerly granted by the Bishop of *Rome*, exempting them  
 “ still from the Archbishops Visitations; declaring that such Abbeyes  
 “ whose Elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, shall be now con-  
 “ firmed by the King; who likewise shall give Commission under his  
 “ Great Seal for visiting them, providing also that Licences and other  
 “ Writs obtained from *Rome* before the 12th of *March* in that Year should  
 “ be valid and in force, except they were contrary to the Laws of the  
 “ Realm; giving also to the King and his Council Power to order and re-

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Journal,  
ProcerThe Act for  
taking away  
the Pope's  
Power.It is the Act  
21 in the  
Statute-  
Book, 27 in  
the Record,  
and 8 in the  
Journal.

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The Judgments pass'd on that Act.

form all indulgences and Privileges (or the abuses of them) which had been granted by the See of *Rome*. The Offenders against this Act were to be punished according to the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*.

This Act, as it gave great ease to the Subject, so it cut off that base Trade of Indulgences about Divine Laws, which had been so gainful to the Church of *Rome*, but was of late fatal to it. All in the Religious Houses saw their Privileges now struck at, since they were to be reformed as the King saw cause, which put them in no small Confusion. Those that favoured the Reformation rejoiced at this Act, not only because the Pope's Power was rooted out, but because the Faith that was to be adhered to, was to be taken from those things, which the Scriptures declared necessary to Salvation; so that all their Fears were now much qualified, since the Scripture was to be the Standard of the Catholick Faith. On the same day that this Bill passed in the House of Lords, another Bill was read for confirming the Succession to the Crown in the Issue of the King's present Marriage with *Queen Anne*. It was read the second time on the 21st of *March*, and committed. It was reported on the 23d, and read the third time and passed, and sent down to the Commons, who sent it back again to them on the 26th; so speedily did this Bill go through both Houses without any Opposition.

An Act about the Succession to the Crown; 22 in the Statute Books, 34 in the Record, 26 in the Journal.

The Preamble of it was, " The Distractions that had been in *England* about the Succession to the Crown, which had occasioned the effusion of much Blood, with many other Mischiefs, all which flowed from the want of a clear Decision of the true Title, from which the Popes had usurped a Power of investing such as pleased them in other Princes Kingdoms, and Princes had often maintained such Donations for their other ends; therefore to avoid the like Inconveniences, the King's former Marriage with the Princess *Katharine*, is judged contrary to the Laws of God, and void and of no effect, and the Sentence passed by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* annulling it, is confirmed, and the Lady *Katharine* is thenceforth to be reputed only Princess Dowager, and not Queen, and the Marriage with *Queen Anne* is established and confirmed: And Marriages within the degrees prohibited by *Moses* (which are enumerated in the Statute) are declared to be unlawful, according to the Judgment of the Convocations of this Realm, and of the most famous Universities and Learned Men abroad, any Dispensations to the contrary notwithstanding, which are also declared null, since contrary to the Laws of God; and all that were married within these degrees are appointed to be divorced, and the Children begotten in such Marriages were declared Illegitimate: And all the Issue that should be between the King and the present Queen is declared Lawful, and the Crown was to descend on his Issue Male by her, or any other Wife; or in default of Issue Male, to the Issue Female by the Queen; and in default of any such, to the right Heirs of the King's Highness for ever: and any that after the first of *May* should maliciously divulge any thing to the slander of the King's Marriage, or of the Issue begotten in it, were to be adjudged for misprision of Treason, and to suffer Imprisonment at the King's Will, and forfeit all their Goods and Chattels to him: And if the Queen out-lived the King, she is declared Regent till the Issue by her were of Age, if a Son 18, and if a Daughter 16 Years of Age; and all the King's Subjects were to swear that they would maintain the Contents of this Act, and whoever being required, did refuse it, was to be judged guilty of misprision of Treason, and punished

“ nished accordingly. The Oath it seems was likewise agreed on in the  
 “ House of Lords, for the Form of it is set down in their Journal as follows.  
 “ Ye shall swear to bear Faith, Truth and Obedience alonely to the  
 “ King’s Majesty, and to his Heirs of his Body of his most dear and en-  
 “ tirely beloved lawful Wife *Queen Anne*, begotten and to be begotten.  
 “ And further, to the Heirs of our said Sovereign Lord according to the  
 “ limitation in the Statute made for Surety of his Succession in the  
 “ Crown of this Realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other  
 “ within this Realm, nor Foreign Authority or Potentate. And in case  
 “ any Oath be made, or hath been made by you, to any Person or Per-  
 “ sons that then ye to repute the same as vain and annihilate. And that  
 “ to your Cunning, Wit, and uttermost of your Power, without guile,  
 “ fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and  
 “ defend the said Act of Succession, and all the whole Effects and Con-  
 “ tents thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes made in Confirmation, or  
 “ for Execution of the same, or of any thing therein contained. And  
 “ this ye shall do against all manner of Persons of what Estate, Dignity,  
 “ Degree or Condition soever they be; and in no wise to do or attempt,  
 “ nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indi-  
 “ rectly, any thing or things, privily or apartly, to the lett, hindrance, da-  
 “ mage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any man-  
 “ ner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and  
 “ all Saints, and the Holy Evangelists:

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 The Oath  
 about the  
 Succession.

And thus was the King’s Marriage confirmed. But when the Com-  
 mons returned this Bill to the Lords, they sent them another with it,  
 concerning the proceedings against Hereticks. There had been com-  
 plaints made formerly, as was told before, of the severe and intolerable  
 proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts against Hereticks: And on the  
 4th of *February* the Commons sent up a Complaint made by one *Thomas*  
*Philips* against the Bishop of *London*, for using him cruelly in Prison,  
 upon the suspicion of Heresie; but the Lords doing nothing in it, on  
 the first of *March* the House of Commons sent some of their number to  
 the Bishop, requiring him to make answer to the Complaints exhibited  
 against him, who acquainted the House of Lords with it the next day:  
 but as they had formerly laid aside the Complaint as not worthy of their  
 time, so they all with one consent answered, That it was not fit for any  
 of the Peers to appear or answer at the Bar of the House of Commons.  
 Upon this the House of Commons finding they could do nothing in that  
 particular case, resolved to provide an effectual remedy for such abuses  
 for the future: And therefore sent up a Bill about the Punishment of  
 Hereticks, which was read that day for the first time, and the second  
 and third time on the 27th and 28th, in which it passed.

Journal  
 Procer.

“ The Act was a Repeal of the Statute of 2d of *Henry* the 4th by  
 “ which Bishops upon suspicion of Heresie might commit any to Prison,  
 “ as was before told, but in that Act there was no Declaration made,  
 “ what was Heresie, except in the general Words of what was contrary  
 “ to Scriptures, or *Canonical Sanctions*. This was liable to great Ambi-  
 “ guity, by which Men were in much danger, and not sufficiently in-  
 “ structed what was Heresie. They also complained of their Proceedings  
 “ without Presentment or Accusation, contrary to what was practised  
 “ in all other Cases, even of Treason it self; and many *Canonical Sancti-*  
 “ *ons* had been established only by Popes without any Divine Pre-  
 “ cept, therefore they repealed the Act of *Henry* the 4th, but left the

Act about  
 punishing  
 Hereticks,  
 14 in the  
 Statute-  
 Book, 33 in  
 the Record,  
 31 in the  
 Journal.

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“ Statutes of *Richard* the 2d and *Henry* the 5th still in force, with the following Regulation : That Hereticks should be proceeded against upon Presentments by two Witnesses at least, and then be committed, but brought to answer to their Enditements in open Court ; and if they were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapse, to be adjudged to death ; the King’s Writ *De Hæretico comburendo* being first obtained. It was also declared, that none should be troubled upon any of the Pope’s Canons or Laws, or for speaking or doing against them. It was likewise provided that Men committed for Heresie might be bailed.

It may easily be imagined how acceptable this Act was to the whole Nation, since it was such an effectual limitation of the Ecclesiastical Power, in one of the uneasiest parts of it ; and this Regulation of the Arbitrary Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, was a particular Blessing to all that favoured Reformation. But as the Parliament was going on with these good Laws, there came a Submission from the Clergy then sitting in Convocation, to be passed in Parliament. With what Opposition it went through the two Houses of Convocation, and the House of Commons, is not known ; for as the Registers of the Convocation are burnt, so it does not appear that there were any Journals kept in the House of Commons at that time. On the 27th of *March* it was sent up to the Lords, and since the Spiritual Lords had already consented to it, there was no reason to apprehend any opposition from the Temporal Lords. The Session was now near an end, so they made haste and read it twice that day, and the third time the next day, and passed it. The Contents of it were : “ The Clergy acknowledged that all Convocations had been and ought to be assembled by the King’s Writ ; and promised *in verbo Sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute any new Canons or Constitutions, without the Royal Assent to them ; and since many Canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the King’s Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and heavy to the Subjects, That therefore there should be a Committee of thirty two persons, sixteen of the two Houses of Parliament, and as many of the Clergy to be named by the King, who should have full power to abrogate or confirm Canons as they found it expedient ; the King’s Assent being obtained. This was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and by the same Act all Appeals to *Rome* were again condemned. If any party found themselves agrieved in the Archbishops Courts, an Appeal might be made to the King in the Court of *Chancery* ; and the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission under the Great Seal for some Delegates, in whose determination all must acquiesce. All exempted Abbots were also to appeal to the King ; and it concluded with a Proviso, that till such Correction of the Canons was made all those which were then received should still remain in force, except such as were contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realms, or were to the damage or hurt of the King’s Prerogative.

This Proviso seemed to have a fair colour, that there might still be some Canons in force to govern the Church by ; but since there was no day prefixed to the Determination of the Commission, this Proviso made that the Act never took effect ; for now it lay in the Prerogative, and in the Judges Breast, to declare what Canons were contrary to the Laws, or the Rights of the Crown : And it was judged more for the King’s Greatness to keep the matter undetermined, than to make such a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws as should be fixed and unmoveable.

The Submission made by the Clergy to the King, 19 in the Statute-Book, 25 in the Record.

able. The last of the publick Acts of this Session that related to the Church, was about the Election and Consecration of Bishops. On the fourth of *February* the Commons sent up a Bill to the Lords about the Consecration of Bishops; it lay on the Table till the 27th of *February*, and was then cast out, and a new one drawn. On what reason it was cast out, is not mentioned, and the Journal does not so much as say that it was once read. The new Bill had its second reading the third of *March*, and on the fifth it was ordered to be engross'd; and on the ninth it was read the third time, and agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who returned it to the Lords on the 16th of *March*. "The first part of it is a confirmation of their former Act against *Annates*, to which they added, that Bishops should not be any more presented to the Bishop of *Rome*, or sue out any Bulls there, but that all Bishops should be presented to the Arch-bishop, and Arch-bishops to any Arch-bishop in the King's Dominions, or to any four Bishops whom the King should name; and that when any See was vacant, the King was to grant a Licence, for a new Election, with a Letter missive, bearing the name of the Person that was to be chosen: and twelve days after these were delivered, an Election was to be returned by the Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, under their Seals. Then the Person elected was to swear Fealty to the King, upon which a Commission was to be issued out, for consecrating and investing him with the usual Ceremonies; after which he was to do Homage to the King, and be restored both to the Spiritualities and Temporalities of his See, for which the King granted Commissions during the vacancy: and whosoever refused to obey the Contents of the Act, or acted contrary to it, were declared within the Statute of *Premunire*. There passed a private Act for depriving the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, who were Cardinal *Campegio* and *Jerome de Ghinuccii*; the former deserved greater Severities at the King's hand, but the latter seems to have served him faithfully, and was recommended both by the King and the *French* King about a year before to a Cardinals Hat. "The Preamble of the Act bears, That Persons promoted to Ecclesiastical Benefices ought to reside within the Kingdom for preaching the Laws of Almighty God, and for keeping Hospitality; and since these Prelates did not that, but lived at the Court of *Rome*, and neglected their Diocesses, and made the Revenues of them be carried out of the Kingdoms, contrary to the intentions of the Founders, and to the prejudice of the Realm, 3000 *l.* being at least carried yearly out of the Kingdom; therefore their Diocesses were declared vacant.

But now I come to the Act of the Attainder of *Elizabeth Barton*, and her Complices, which I shall open fully, since it was the first step that was made to Rebellion, and the first occasion of putting any to death upon this Quarrel; and from it one may clearly see, the *Genius* of that part of the Clergy that adhered to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*. On the 21st of *February* the Bill was sent up to the Lords, and read the first time; on the 26th it was read the second time, and committed; then the Witnesses and other Evidences were brought before them, but chiefly she with all her Complices, who confessed the Crimes charged on her. It was reported and read the sixth of *March* the third time, and then the Lords addressed to the King to know his pleasure, whether Sir *Thomas More*, and others mentioned in the Act as *Complices*, or at least *Concealers*, might not be heard to speak for themselves in

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Journal Pro-  
cer.

Acts about  
Election of  
Bishops, 20  
in Statute-  
Book, 26 in  
the Record.

Collection  
Number 48.

The Act a-  
bout the  
Maid of *Kent*  
and her  
Complices.

12 in Statute-  
Book, 31 in  
the Record,  
7 in the  
Journal.

the

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See his  
Works, Pag.  
1435.

the Star-Chamber: as for the Bishop of *Rocheſter* he was ſick, but he had written to the Houſe all that he had to ſay for his own excuſe. 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 Exceptions; yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her, for in diſcourſe with his beloved Daughter Miſtreſs *Roper*, he called her commonly the ſilly Nun. But for juſtifying himſelf, he wrote a full account of all the entercourſe he had with the Nun and her Complices to *Cromwell*; but tho' by his other printed Letters, both to *Cromwell* and the King, it ſeems ſome ill Impreſſions remained in the King's Mind about it, he ſtill continued to juſtify not only his Intentions, but his Actions in that particular. One thing is not unworthy of obſervation, that *Raſſal*, who publiſhed his Works in Queen *Maries* time, printed the ſecond Letter he wrote to *Cromwell*, yet did not publiſh that account which he ſent firſt to him concerning it, to which *More* refers himſelf in all his following Letters; though it is more like a Copy of that would have been preſerved, than of thoſe other Letters that refer to it. But perhaps it was kept up on deſign; for in Queen *Maries* time they had a mind to magnify that ſtory of the Nun's, ſince ſhe was thought to have ſuffered on her Mothers account: and among the other things ſhe talked, one was that the Lady *Mary* ſhould one day Reign in *England*, for which *Sanders* has ſince thought fit to make a Prophetes of her. And it is certain, *More* had a low opinion of her, which appears in many places of his printed Letters; but that would have been much plainer, if that full account he wrote of that Affair had been publiſhed; and therefore that one of their Martyrs might not leſſen the eſteem of another, it was fit to ſuppreſs it. Whether my Conjectures in this be well grounded or not, is left to the Readers Judgment. In Concluſion, *More's* Juſtifications ſeconded with the good Offices that the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, and *Cromwell* did him, (who, as appears by his Letters, ſtood his Friends in that matter) did ſo work on the King, that his Name was put out of the Bill, and ſo the Act was agreed on by both Houſes, and the Royal Aſſent followed. The matter was this, "*Elizabeth Barton* of *Kent*, in the Pariſh of *Aldington*, being ſick and diſtempered in her Brain, fell in ſome Trances, (it ſeems by the Symptoms they were Hyſterical Fits) and ſpoke many words that made great Impreſſions on ſome about her, who thought her inſpired of God, and *Richard Maſter*, Parſon of the Pariſh, hoping to draw great advantages from this, went to *Warham* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and gave him a large account of her Speeches, who ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a further report of any new Trances, ſhe might afterwards fall in. But ſhe had forgot all ſhe had ſaid in her Fits, yet the crafty Prieſt would not let it go ſo, but perſwaded her, that what ſhe had ſaid, was by the Inſpiration of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and that ſhe ought to own that it was ſo. Upon which he taught her to counterfeit ſuch Trances, and to utter ſuch Speeches as ſhe had done before; ſo that after a while's Practice, ſhe became very ready at it. The thing was much noiſed abroad, and many came to ſee her, but the Prieſt had a mind to raiſe the reputation of an Image of the Bleſſed *Virgin*, that was in a Chappel within his Pariſh, that ſo Pilgrimages being made to it, he might draw theſe advantages from it, that others made from their famed Images, but choſe for his Associate one Doctor *Becking*, a Canon of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*:

Upon



1534.

“ Upon which they instructed her to say in her counterfeited Trances, that the Blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her she could never recover, till she went and visited her Image in that Chappel. They had also taught her in her Fits to make strange motions with her Body, by which she was much disfigured, and to speak many Godly Words against Sin, and the new Doctrines, which were called Heresies, as also against the King's Suit of Divorce. It was also noised abroad, on what day she intended to go and visit the Image of the Virgin, so that about 200 People were gathered together, and she being brought to the Chappel, fell into her Fits, and made many strange Grimaces and Alterations of her Body, and spake many words of great Piety, saying, that by the Inspiration of God, she was called to be a Religious Woman, and that *Bocking* was to be her Ghostly Father. And within a little while she seemed by the intercession of our Lady, to be perfectly recovered of her former Distempers, and she afterwards professed a Religious Life. There were also violent suspicions of her Incontinency, and that *Bocking* was a Carnal, as well as a Spiritual Father. She fell in many Raptures and pretended she saw strange Visions, heard Heavenly Melody, and had the Revelation of many things that were to come, so that great credit was given to what she said, and People generally looked on her as a Prophetess, and among those the late Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was led away with the rest. A Book was writ of her Revelations and Prophecies by one *Deering* another Monk, who was taken in to the Conspiracy with many others. It was also given out that *Mary Magdalen* gave her a Letter that was writ in Heaven, which was shewed to many, being all writ in Golden Letters. She pretended when the King was last at *Calais*, that he being at Mass, an Angel brought away the Sacrament and gave it to her, being then invisibly present, and that she was presently brought over the Sea to her Monastery again. But the design of all these Trances was to alienate the People from their Duty to the King, for the Maid gave it out, that God revealed to her, that if the King went on in the Divorce and married another Wife, *he should not be King a Month longer, and in the reputation of Almighty God not one hour longer, but should die a Villains Death.* This, she said was revealed to her in answer to the Prayers she had put up to God, to know whether he approved of the King's Proceedings or not? Which coming to the knowledge of the Bishop of *Rochester* and some others, who adhered to the Queens Interests, they had frequent meetings with the Maid, and concealed what she spake concerning the King, and some of them gave such credit to what she said, that they practised on many others to draw them from their Allegiance, and prevailed with several of the Fathers and Nuns of *Sion*, of the *Charter-House* in *London* and *Shene*, and of the Observants of *Richmont*, *Greenwich* and *Canterbury*, with a great many other Persons.

This appeared most signally at *Greenwich*, where the King lived most in Summer, for one *Peto* being to preach in the King's Chappel, denounced heavy Judgments upon him to his face, and told him, *that many lying Prophets had deceived him, but he as a true Micaiah warned him that the Dogs should lick his Blood as they had done Ahabs* (for that Prophecy about *Ahab* was his Text) with many other bitter words, and concluded, *that it was the greatest misery of Princes, to be daily so abused by Flatterers as they were.* The King bore it patiently, and expressed

The Inolence of some of the Friars.

Stow.

1534. pressed no signs of any Commotion, but to undeceive the People, he took care that Dr. *Corren* or *Curwin* should preach next *Sunday*, who justified the King's Proceedings, and condemned *Peto* as a Rebel, a Slanderer, a Dog, and a Traytor. *Peto* was gone to *Canterbury*, but another observant Friar of the same House, *Elsson*, interrupted him. and said he was one of the lying Prophets, that sought by Adultery to establish the Succession to the Crown, and that he would justify all that *Peto* had said, and spake many other things with great vehemency, nor could they silence him, till the King himself commanded him to hold his Peace. And yet all that was done either to him, or *Peto*, was, that being called before the Privy Council, they were rebuked for their insolence, by which it appears, that King *Henry* was not very easily inflamed against them, when a Crime of so high a Nature was so slightly passed over.

Stow.

“ Nor was this all, but the Fathers that were in the Conspiracy, “ had confederated to publish these Revelations in their Sermons up “ and down the Kingdom. They had also given notice of them to the “ Popes Ambassadors, and had brought the Maid to declare her Reve- “ lations to them, they had also sent an account to Queen *Katharine* “ for encouraging her to stand out and not submit to the Laws, of “ which Confederacy *Thomas Abel* was likewise one. The thing that was in so many hands could not be a Secret, therefore the King who had despised it long, ordered that in *November* the former year the Maid and her Complices, *Richard Master*, Doctor *Bocking*, *Richard Deering*, *Henry Gold* a Parson in *London*, *Hugh Rich* an observant Friar, *Richard Risby*, *Thomas Gold* and *Edward Iwaites* Gentlemen, and *Thomas Laurence* should be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a great appearance of many Lords, they were examined upon the premises, and did all without any rack or torture confess the whole Conspiracy, and were adjudged to stand in *Pauls* all the Sermon time; and after Sermon, the King's Officers were to give every one of them his Bill of Confession to be openly read before the People, which was done next *Sunday*, the Bishop of *Bangor* preaching, they being all set in a Scaffold before him. This publick manner was thought upon good grounds, to be the best way to satisfy the People of the Imposture of the whole matter, and it did very much convince them, that the Cause must needs be bad, where such methods were used to support it. From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the Session of Parliament, but when they lay there, some of their Complices sent Messages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that she had said; and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad of her being forced or cheated into a Confession, made the King think it necessary to proceed more severely against her: The thing being considered in Parliament, it was judged a Conspiracy against the King's Life and Crown. So the Nun and *Master*, *Bocking*, *Deering*, *Rich*, *Risby*, and *Henry Gold*, were attainted of High Treason. And the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Gold*, *Thomas Laurence*, *Edward Iwaites*, *John Adeſon*, and *Thomas Abel*, were judged guilty of misprision of Treason, and to forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned during his Pleasure, and all the Books that were written of her Revelations, were ordered to be sent in, to some of the chief Officers of State, under the pains of Fine and Imprisonment. It had been also found, that the Letter which she pretended to have got from *Mary Magdalen*, was written by one *Hankberſt* of *Canterbury*, and that the Door of the *Dormitorie*, which was given out to be made open

open by Miracle, that she might go into the Chappel for Converte with God, was opened by some of her Complices, for beastly and carnal Ends. But in the Conclusion of the Act, all others who had been corrupted in their Allegiance by these Impostures, except the Persons before named, were at the earnest intercession of Queen Anne pardoned.

The Two Houses of Parliament (having ended their business) were prorogued on the 29th of March, to the third of November, and before they broke up, all the Members of both Houses, that they might give a good example to the King's other Subjects, swore the Oath of Succession, as appears from the Act made about it in the next Session of Parliament. The Execution of these Persons was delayed for some time, it is like, till the King had a return from Rome, of the Messenger he had sent thither with his Submission

Soon after that, on the 20th of April, the Nun and Bocking, Master, Deering, Risby and Gold (Rich is not named, being perhaps either dead or pardoned) were brought to Tyburn. The Nun spake these words. *Hither I am come to die, and I have not been only the cause of mine own Death, which most justly I have deserved, but also I am the cause of the Death of all those Persons, which at this time here suffer. And yet to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed considering that it was well known to these Learned Men, that I was a poor Wench without Learning, and therefore they might easily have perceived, that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in no such sort; but their Capacities and Learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but because the thing which I feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praised me; and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghost and not I, that did them; and then I being puffed up with their Praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish Fantasie with my self, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case: and for the which now, I cry God and the Kings Highness most heartily Mercy, and desire you all good People, to pray to God to have Mercy on me, and on all them that here suffer with me.*

The Nuns  
Speech at  
her Death.

Hall.

On all this I have dwelt the longer, both because these are all called Martyrs by Sanders, and that this did first provoke the King against the Regular Clergy, and drew after it all the Severities that were done in the rest of his Reign. The foulness and the wicked designs of this Imposture, did much alienate People from the Interest of Rome, and made the other Acts both pass more easily, and the better received by the People. It was also generally believed, that what was now discovered was no new Practice, but that many of the Visions and Miracles, by which Religious Orders had raised their Credit so high, were of the same Nature: and it made way for the destroying of all the Monasteries in England, tho' all the Severity which at this time followed on it, was, that the Observant Friars of Richmond, Greenwich, Canterbury, Newark, and Newcastle, were removed out of their Houses, and put with the other Gray-Friars, and Augustin-Friars were put in their Houses.

Stow.

But because of the great name of Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and since this was the first step to his ruin, it is necessary to give a fuller account of his Carriage in this matter. When the Cheat was first discovered, Cromwell then Secretary of State, sent the Bishops Brother to him, with a sharp reproof for his Carriage in that business; but withal advised him to write to the King, and acknowledge his Of-

Fisher gently  
dealt with.

1534.  
 But is obstinate and intractable.

fence, and desire his Pardon, which he knew the *King*, considering his Age and Sicknes, would grant. But he wrote back, excusing himself, that all he did, was only to try whether her Revelations were true: He confessed, he conceived a great Opinion of her Holiness, both from common Fame, and her entring into Religion; from the report of her Ghostly Father, whom he esteemed Learned and Religious, and of many other Learned and Vertuous Priests; from the good opinion the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had of her, and from what is in the Prophet *Amos*, *That God will do nothing without revealing it to his Servants*. That upon these grounds, he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the truth about her, he had sometimes spoken with her, and sent his Chaplains to her, but never discovered any Falshood in her. And for his concealing what she had told him about the King, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needless for him to speak of it to the King; since she had said to him, that she had told it to the King her self: She had named no Person who should kill the King, which by being known, might have been prevented. And as in Spiritual Things, every Church-man was not bound to denounce Judgments against those that could not bear it; so in Temporal Things, the case may be the same; and the King had on other occasions spoken so sharply to him that he had reason to think, the King would have been offended with him for speaking of it, and would have suspected that he had a hand in it; therefore he desired for the passion of Christ to be no more troubled about that matter, otherwise he would speak his Conscience freely. To all which, *Cromwell* wrote a long Letter, which the Reader will find in the Collection, copied from the rude draught of it, written with his own hand. In which he charges the Matter upon him heavily, and shews him, that he had not proceeded as a grave *Prelate* ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon trust, and had examined nothing; that if every Person that pretends to Revelations were believed on their own words, all Government would be thereby destroyed. He had no reason to conclude from the Prophecy of *Amos*, that every thing that is to fall out must be revealed to some Prophet, since many notable things had fallen out, of which there was no Revelation made before-hand. But he told him the true reason that made him give credit to her, was, the matter of her Prophecies: to which he was so addicted, as he was to every other thing in which he once entred, that nothing could come amiss that served to that end. And he appealed to his Conscience, whether if she had prophesied for the King, he would have given such easie credit to her, and not have examined the matter further. Then he shows how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the King's Life, and how frivolous all his excuses were. And after all, tells him, that though his excusing the matter had provoked the King, and that if it came to a Trial, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he advises him to beg the King's Pardon for his Negligence and Offence in that matter; and undertakes that the King would receive him into his favour, and that all matters of Displeasure pass'd before that time, should be forgiven and forgotten. This shows that though *Fisher* had in the progress of the King's Cause, given him great Offence, yet he was ready to pass it all over, and not to take the advantage which he now had against him.

Collection  
 Number 49.  
 Cott. Lib  
 Cleop. st. B. 4.

him. But *Fisher* was still obstinate, and made no submission, and so was included within the Act for misprision of Treason; and yet I do not find, that the King proceeded against him upon this Act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier storm of Indignation upon himself.

1534.

When the Session of Parliament was at an end, Commissioners were sent every where to offer the Oath of the Succession to the Crown, to all, according to the Act of Parliament, which was universally taken by all sorts of Persons. *Gardiner* wrote from *Winchester* the sixth of *May* to *Cromwell*, that in the presence of the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord *Audley*, and many other Gentlemen, all Abbots, Priors, Wardens, with the Curates of all Parishes and Chappels within the Shire, had appeared and taken the Oath very obediently; and had given in a List of all the Religious Persons in their Houses of 14 years of Age and above, for taking whose Oaths some Commissioners were appointed. The forms in which they took the Oath are not known, and it is no wonder, for though they were enrolled, yet in *Queen Maries* time there was a Commission given to *Bonner* and others, to examine the Records, and raze out of them all things that were done either in contempt of the See of *Rome*, or to the defamation of Religious Houses, pursuant to which, there are many things taken out of the Rolls, which I shall sometimes have occasion afterwards to take notice of; yet some Writings have escaped their Diligence, so there remains but two of the Subscriptions of Religious Orders, both bearing date the 4th of *May* 1534. One is by the Prior and Convent of *Langley Regis*, that were Dominicans, the Franciscans of *Ailesbury*, the Dominicans of *Dunstable*, the Franciscans of *Bedford*, the Carmelites of *Hecking*, and the Franciscans *de Mare*. The other is by the Prioress and Convent of the Dominican Nuns at *Deptford*.

The Oath for the Succession generally sworn.  
Orig. Cott.  
11b Otho. C.  
10.

“ In these, besides the renewing their Allegiance to the King, they swear the Lawfulness of his Marriage with *Queen Anne*, and that they shall be true to the Issue begotten in it; that they shall always acknowledge the King Head of the Church of *England*; and that the Bishop of *Rome* has no more Power than any other Bishop has in his own Diocess; and that they should submit to all the King’s Laws, notwithstanding the Pope’s Censures to the contrary. That in their Sermons they should not pervert the Scriptures, but preach Christ and his Gospel sincerely according to the Scriptures, and the Tradition of Orthodox and Catholick Doctors; and in their Prayers, that they should pray first for the King, as Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, then for the Queen and her Issue, and then for the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the other ranks of the Clergy. To this these six Priors set their Hands with the Seals of their Convents, and in their Subscriptions declared, that they did it freely and uncompelled, and in the name of all the Brethren in the Convent.

Collect.  
Numb. 50.  
Rot. Claus.

Those last Clauses are not in the other Writing.

But Sir *Thomas More* and the Bishop of *Rochester*, refused to take the Oath as it was conceived: Whose Fall being so remarkable, I shall shew the steps of it. There was a meeting of the Privy Council at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited to appear, and take the Oath. Sir *Thomas More* was first called, and the Oath was tendred to him under the great Seal: then he called for the Act of Succession, to which it related, which was also shewed him: having considered of them, he said he would neither blame these that made the Act, nor those that swore the Oath, but for his part, though he was willing to swear

*More and Fisher* refuse the Oath.

See his Works, P. 1428.

1534.

to the Succession, if he might be suffered to draw an Oath concerning it, yet for the Oath that was offered him, his Conscience so moved him, that he could not without hazarding his Soul take it. Upon this, the Lord Chancellour told him, that he was the first who had refused to swear it, and that the King would be highly offended with him for denying it, and so he was desired to withdraw and consider better of it. Several others were called upon, and did all take the Oath, except the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who answered upon the matter as *More* had done. When the Lords had dispatched all the rest, *More* was again brought before them: they shewed him how many had taken it; he answered, he judged no Man for doing it, only he could not do it himself. Then they asked the Reasons why he refused it: He answered, he feared it might provoke the King more against him, if he should offer Reasons which would be called a disputing against Law: but when he was further pressed to give his Reasons, he said if the King would command him to do it, he would put them in Writing.

The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* urged him with this Argument, That since he said he blamed no other Person for taking it, it seemed he was not perswaded it was a Sin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did certainly know, he ought to obey the King, and the Law, so there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithstanding these his doubtings. This did shake him a little, especially (as himself writes,) *coming out of so Noble a Prelates Mouth*: but he answered, that though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his Conscience leaned positively to the other side; and he offered to purge himself by his Oath, that it was purely out of a Principle of Conscience, and out of no light Fantasie or Obstinacy that he thus refused it. The Abbot of *Westminster* pressed him, that however the matter appeared to him, he might see his Conscience was erroneous, since the great Council of the Realm was of another mind; and therefore he ought to change his Conscience. (A Reasoning very fit for so rich an Abbot, which discovers of what temper his Conscience was.) But to this *More* answered, that if he were alone against the whole Parliament, he had reason to suspect his own Understanding; but he thought he had the whole Council of Christendom on his side, as well as the great Council of *England* was against him. Secretary *Cromwell*, who (as *More* writes) *tenderly favoured him*, seeing his Ruine was now inevitable, was much affected at it; and protested with an Oath, he had rather his own only Son had lost his Head, than that he should have refused the Oath. Thus both he and the Bishop of *Rocheſter* refused it, but both offered to swear another Oath for the Succession of the Crown to the Issue of the King's present Marriage, because that was in the Power of the Parliament to determine it. *Cranmer*, who was a moderate and wise Man, and foresaw well the ill effects that would follow on contending so much, with Persons so highly esteemed over the World, and of such a temper, that Severity would bend them to nothing, did by an earnest Letter to *Cromwell*, dated the 27th of *April*, move, that what they offered might be accepted; for they once swore to the Succession, it would quiet the Kingdom, for they acknowledging it, all other Persons would acquiesce and submit to their Judgments. But this sage Advice was not accepted.

*Weavers* Monuments,  
page 504,  
and 506.

The King was much irritated against them, and resolved to proceed with them according to Law, and therefore they were both indicted upon the Statute, and committed Prisoners to the Tower. And it being apprehended, that if they had Books and Paper given them, they would write against the King's Marriage or his Supremacy, these were denied them. The old Bishop was hardly used, his Bishoprick was seized on, and all his Goods taken from him, only some old Rags were left to cover him; and he was neither supplied well in Diet or other Necessaries, of which he made sad Complaints to *Cromwell*. But the remainder of the Tragical Business, which left one of the greatest Blots on this Kingdom's Proceedings, falling within the limits of the next Book, I haste on to the Conclusion of this.

1534.  
And are proceeded against.

The Separation from *Rome* was made in the former Session of Parliament, but the King's Supremacy was not yet fully settled. This was reserved for the next Session that sat in *November* from the third of that Month, to the 18th of *December*, about which we can have no light from the Journals, they being lost. The first Act confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the Clergy, "That the King was the Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, which was to be annexed to his other Titles. It was also enacted, that the King and his Heirs and Successors should have Power to visit and reform all Heresies, Errors, and other Abuses, which in the Spiritual Jurisdiction ought to be reformed.

Another Session of Parliament.

The King's Supremacy declared.

By the second Act they confirmed the Oath about the Succession, concerning which some doubts had been made, because there was no Oath specified in the former Act, though both Houses had taken it: it was now enacted, That all the Subjects were obliged to take it when offered to them, under the pains contained in the Act passed in the former Session. By the third Act, the First-fruits and Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Benefices were given to the King, as the Supreme Head of the Church. The Clergy were easily prevailed on, to consent to the putting down of the *Annates*, payed to the Court of *Rome*; for all Men readily concur to take off any Imposition: But at that time it had perhaps abated much of their heartiness, if they had imagined that these Duties should have been still payed; therefore that was kept up till they had done all that was to be done against *Rome*. And now as the Commons and the Secular Lords would no doubt easily agree to lay a Tax on the Clergy; so the others having no Foreign Support, were not in a condition to wrestle against it.

The Oath about the Succession confirmed.

The First-Fruits of Benefices given to the King.

In the thirteenth Act, among other things that were made Treason, one was the denying the King the Dignity, Title or Name, of his Estate Royal; or the calling the King Heretick, Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Usurper of the Crown. This was done to restrain the Insolencies of some Friars; and all such Offenders were to be denied the Privilege of Sanctuaries. By the fourteenth Act, provision was made for Suffragan Bishops, which, as is said, *had been accustomed to be had within this Realm, for the more speedy administration of the Sacraments, and other good wholesome and devout things, and laudable Ceremonies, to the encrease of God's Honour, and for the commodity of good and devout People*: therefore they appointed for Suffragans Secs, the Towns of *Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Gilsford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftsbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penreth, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon,*

Sundry things are declared Treason.

An Act for Suffragan Bishops.

1534.

Collect.  
Numb. 51.Act. 26. Rot.  
Parl.  
A Subsidy  
granted.More and  
Fisher at-  
tainted.  
Act 3. & 4.  
Rot. Parl.The Pro-  
ceedings a-  
gainst them  
variously  
censured.

*Huntington, Cambridge, and the Towns of Pereth and Barwick, St. Germans in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight.* For these Sees, the Bishop of the Diocess was to present two to the King, who might chuse either of them, and present the Person so named, to the Archbishop of the Province, to be consecrated; after which, they might exercise such Jurisdiction as the Bishop of the Diocess should give to them, or as Suffragans had been formerly used to do, but their Authority was to last no longer than the Bishop continued his Commission to them. But that the Reader may more clearly see how this Act was executed, he shall find in the Collection, a Writ for making a Suffragan Bishop. These were believed to be the same with the *Chorepiscopi* in the Primitive Church, which as they were begun before the first Council of *Nice*, so they continued in the Western Church till the Ninth Century, and then a Decretal of *Damascus* being forged, that condemned them, they were put down every where by degrees, and now revived in *England*. Then followed the grant of a Subsidy to the King: it was now twelve Years since there was any Subsidy granted. A Fifteenth and a Tenth were given, to be paid in three Years, the final Payment being to be at Allhallontide, in the Year 1537. The Bill began with a most glorious Preamble “ of the King’s High Wisdom and Policy in the Government of “ the Kingdom these twenty four Years in great Wealth and Quietness, “ and the great Charges he had been at in the last War with *Scotland*, “ in fortifying *Calais*, and in the War of *Ireland*, and that he intended “ to bring the wilful, wild, and unreasonable and savage People of “ *Ireland*, to Order and Obedience, and intended to build Forts on the “ Marches of *Scotland*, for the Security of the Nation, to amend the “ Haven of *Calais*, and make a new one at *Dover*. By all which they “ did perceive the entire Love and Zeal which the King bore to his Peo- “ ple, and that he sought not their Wealth and Quietness, only for his “ own time, being a Mortal Man, but did provide for it in all time com- “ ing: Therefore they thought that of very Equity, Reason, and good “ Conscience, they were bound to show like correspondence of Zeal, “ Gratitude and Kindness. Upon this the King sent a general Pardon with some Exceptions ordinary in such cases. But *Fisher* and *More* were not only excluded from this Pardon by general Clauses, but by two particular Acts they were attainted of misprision of Treason. By the third Act according to the Record, *John* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Christopher Plummer*, *Nicholas Wilson*, *Edward Powel*, *Richard Fetherstone*, and *Miles Wyllir* Clerks, were attainted for refusing the Oath of Succession, and the Bishoprick of *Rocheſter*, with the Benefices of the other Clerks were declared void from the 2d of *January* next, yet it seems few were fond of succeeding him in that See; for *John Hilsey* the next Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was not consecrated before the Year 1537. By the fourth Act, *Sir Thomas More* is by an invidious Preamble charged with Ingratitude, for the great Favours he had received from the King, and for studying to sow and make Seditious among the King’s Subjects, and refusing to take the Oath of Succession: Therefore they declared the King’s Grants to him to be void, and attain him of misprision of Treason.

This Severity, though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was necessary in so great a Change; since the Authority of these two Men was such, that if some signal notice had not been taken of them, many might by their Endeavours, especially encouraged by that Impunity, have been corrupted in their Affections to the King. Others thought



thought the prosecuting them in such a manner, did rather raise their Reputation higher, and give them more Credit with the People, who are naturally inclined to pity those that suffer, and to think well of those Opinions, for which they see Men resolved to endure all Extremities. But others observed the Justice of God in retaliating thus upon them their own Severities to others: For as *Fisher* did grievously prosecute the Preachers of *Luther's* Doctrine: so *More's* hand had been very heavy on them as long as he had Power, and he had shewed them no Mercy, but the Extremity of the Law, which himself now felt to be very heavy. Thus ended the Session of Parliament, with which this Book is also to conclude, for now I come to a third Period of the King's Reign, in which he did govern his Subjects without any Competitor: But I am to stop a little, and give an account of the Progress of the Reformation in these Years that I have past through.

The Cardinal was no great Persecutor of Hereticks, which was generally thought to flow from his Hatred of the Clergy, and that he was not ill pleased to have them depressed. During the agitation of the King's Process, there was no Prosecution of the Preachers of *Luther's* Doctrine: Whether this flowed from any Intimation of the King's Pleasure to the Bishop or not, I cannot tell, but it is very probable it must have been so, for these Opinions were received by many, and the Popish Clergy were so inclined to Severity, that as they wanted not Occasions, so they had a good mind to use those Preachers cruelly, so that it is likely the King restrained them, and that was always mixed with the other Threatnings to work upon the Pope, that Heresie would prevail in *England*, if the King got not Justice done him, so that till the Cardinal fell, they were put to no further trouble.

But as soon as *More* came into favour, he pressed the King much, to put the Laws against Hereticks in execution, and suggested that the Court of *Rome* would be more wrought upon by the King's supporting the Church, and defending the Faith vigorously, than by Threatnings: And therefore a long Proclamation was issued out against the Hereticks, many of their Books were prohibited, and all the Laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great Care was taken to seize them as they came into *England*, but many escaped their Diligence.

There were some at *Antwerp*, *Tindal*, *Jove*, *Constantine*, with a few more, that were every Year writing and printing new Books chiefly against the Corruptions of the Clergy, the Superstition of Pilgrimages, of worshipping Images, Saints, and Relicks; and against relying on these things, which were then called in the common stile, *Good Works*, in opposition to which they wrote much about Faith in Christ, with a true Evangelical Obedience, as the only means by which Men could be saved. The Book that had the greatest Authority and Influence, was *Tindal's* Translation of the New Testament, of which the Bishops made great Complaints, and said, it was full of Errors. But *Toustal*, then Bishop of *London*, being a Man of invincible Moderation, would do no body hurt, yet endeavoured as he could to get their Books into his Hands: So being at *Antwerp* in the Year 1529, as he returned from his Embassie at the Treaty of *Cambray*, he sent for one *Packington* an *English* Merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of *Tindal's* Translation he might have for Money. *Packington*, who was a secret favourer of *Tindal*, told him, what the Bishop proposed.

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The Progress of the Reformation.

Fox.

Tindal and others at Antwerp.

Hall.

was

1524.

The New Testament burnt.

was very glad of it, for being convinced of some Faults in his Works, he was a designing a new and more correct Edition ; but he was poor, and the former Impression not being sold off, he could not go about it: So he gave *Packington* all the Copies that lay in his Hands, for which the Bishop payed the Price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in *Cheapside*. This had such an hateful Appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that People from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety between that Book and the Doctrines of those who so handled it ; by which both their prejudice against the Clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament was increased. So that next Year, when the Second Edition was finished, many more were brought over, and *Constantine* being taken in *England*, the Lord Chancellor in a private Examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him, if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at *Antwerp* ; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest Encouragement they had, was from the Bishop of *London*, who had bought up half the Impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious Persons discerned the great temper of that Learned Bishop in it. When the Clergy condemned *Tindal's* Translation of the New Testament, they declared they intended to set out a true Translation of it ; which many thought was never truly designed by them, but only pretended, that they might restrain the Curiosity of seeing *Tindal's* Works, with the hopes of one that should be authorized : And as they made no progress in it, so at length on the 24th of *May*, Anno 1530, there was a Paper drawn and agreed to by Archbishop *Warham*, Chancellor *More*, Bishop *Tonstal* and many Canonists and Divines, which every Incumbent was commanded to read to his Parish, as a warning to prevent the Contagion of Heresie. The Contents of which were,

“ That the King having called together many of the Prelates, with other  
 “ Learned Men out of both Universities, to examine some Books lately  
 “ set out in the *English* Tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as  
 “ containing several points of Heresie in them ; and it being proposed to  
 “ them, whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the Vul-  
 “ gar Tongue, they were of opinion, that though it had been some-  
 “ times done, yet it was not necessary, and that the King did well, not  
 “ to set it out at that time in the *English* Tongue. So by this all the  
 hopes of a Translation of the Scriptures vanished.

The last Paper in Sir Henry Spelman's 2 vol.

Supplication of the Beggars.

There came out another Book which took mightily, it was entit'led, *The Supplication of the Beggars*, written by one *Simon Fish* of *Grays-Inn*. In it the Beggars complained to the King, that they were reduced to great Misery, the Alms of the People being intercepted by Companies of strong and idle Friars ; for supposing that each of the five Mendicant Orders had but a Penny a quarter from every Household, it did rise to a vast Sum, of which the Indigent and truly Necessitous Beggars were defrauded. Their being unprofitable to the Commonwealth, with several other things, were also complained of. He also taxed the Pope for Cruelty and Covetousness, that did not deliver all Persons out of Purgatory, and that none but the Rich, who payed well for it, could be discharged out of that Prison. This was written in a witty and taking Stile, and the King had it put in his Hands by *Anne Boleyn*, and lik'd it well, and would not suffer any thing to be done to the Author.

The answer to it.

Chancellor *More* was the most zealous Champion the Clergy had, for I do not find that any of them wrote much, only the Bishop of *Rochester*

*chester* wrote for Purgatory ; but the rest left it wholly to him, either because few of them could write well, or that he being much esteemed, and a disinterested Person, things would be better received from him, than from them who were look'd on as Parties. So he answered this Supplication by another, in the name of the Souls that were in Purgatory ; representing the Miseries they were in, and the great Relief they found by the Masses the Friars said for them, and brought in every Man's Ancestors calling earnestly upon him to befriend those poor Friars now, when they had so many Enemies. He confidently asserted it had been the Doctrine of the Church for many Ages, and brought many places out of the Scriptures to prove it, besides several reasons that seemed to confirm it. This, being writ of a Subject that would allow of a great deal of popular and moving Eloquence, in which he was very eminent, took with many.

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But it discovered to others what was the Foundation of those Religious Orders ; and that if the belief of Purgatory were once rooted out, all that was built on that Foundation must needs fall with it. So *John Frith* wrote an Answer to *More's* Supplication, to shew, that there was no ground for Purgatory in Scripture ; and that it was not believed in the Primitive Church. He also answered the Bishop of *Rochester's* Book, and some Dialogues that were written on the same Subject, by *Rastal* a Printer, and Kinsman of *Mores* : He discovered the Fallacy of their Reasonings, which were built on the weakness, or defects of our Repentance in this Life ; and that therefore there must be another State in which we must be further purified. To this he answered, That our Sins were not pardoned for our Repentance, or the Perfection of it, but only for the Merits and Sufferings of Christ ; and that if our Repentance is sincere, God accepts of it ; and Sin being once pardoned, it could not be further punished. He shewed the difference between the Punishments we may suffer in this Life, and those in Purgatory ; the one are either Medicinal Corrections for reforming us more and more, or for giving Warning to others : The other are terrible Punishments, without any of these ends in them : therefore the one might well consist with the free Pardon of Sin, the other could not. So he argued from all these places of Scripture, in which we are said to be freely pardoned our Sins by the Blood of Christ, that no Punishment in another State could consist with it : He also argued from all those places in which it is said, that we shall at the day of Judgment receive according to what we have done in the Body, that there was no State of Purgatory beyond this Life. For the places brought out of the Old Testament, he shewed they could not be meant of Purgatory, since according to the Doctrine of the School-men, there was no going to Purgatory before Christ. For the places in the New Testament he appealed to *More's* great Friend, *Erasmus*, whose Exposition of these places differed much from his Glosses. That place in the Epistle to the *Corinthians* about the *Fire*, that was to try every Man's Work, he said, was plainly Allegorical ; and since the Foundation, the Building of Gold, Silver, and precious Stone ; of Wood, Hay and Stubble, were figuratively taken, there was no reason to take the *Fire* in a literal sense : therefore by *Fire* was to be understood the Persecution then near at hand ; called in other places, *the fiery Tryal*.

For the Ancient Doctors, he shewed, that in the fourth Century, *St. Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and *St. Austin*, the three great Doctors of that Age, did not believe it, and cited several Passages out of their Writings. It

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is true, St. *Austin* went farther than the rest, for though in some Passages he delivered his Opinion against it, yet in other places he spake of it more doubtfully as a thing that might be enquired into, but that it could not be certainly known; and indeed before *Gregory the Great's* time, it was not received in the Church, and then the *Benedictine* Monks were beginning to spread and grow numerous, and they to draw Advantages from it, told many Stories of Visions and Dreams, to possess the World with the belief of it; then the trade grew so profitable, that ever since it was kept up, and improved: and what succeeded so well with one Society and Order, to enrich themselves much by it, was an encouragement to others to follow their tract in the same way of Traffick. This Book was generally well received, and the Clergy were so offended at the Author, that they resolved to make him feel a real Fire whenever he was caught, for endeavouring to put out their imaginary one.

That from which *More* and others took greatest advantage, was, that the new Preachers prevailed only on simple Tradesmen, and Women, and other illiterate Persons: but to this the others answered, That the *Pharisees* made the same objection to the Followers of *Christ*, who were Fisher-men, Women, and rude Mechanicks; but *Christ* told them, that to the Poor the Gospel was preached; and when the Philosophers and Jews objected that to the Apostles, they said God's Glory did the more appear, since not many rich, wise, or noble, were called, but the poor and despised were chosen: that Men who had much to lose, had not that Simplicity of Mind or that Disengagement from Worldly Things, that was a necessary Disposition to fit them for a Doctrine, which was like to bring much Trouble and Persecution on them.

The cruel Proceedings against the Reformers.

Thus I have opened some of these things, which were at that time disputed by the Pen, in which Opposition new things were still started and examined. But this was too feeble a Weapon for the defence of the Clergy, therefore they sought out sharper Tools. So there were many brought into the Bishop's Courts, some for teaching their Children the *Lord's-Prayer* in English, some for reading the forbidden Books, some for harbouring the Preachers, some for speaking against Pilgrimages, or the worshipping and adorning of Images, some for not observing the Church-Fasts, some for not coming to Confession and the Sacrament, and some for speaking against the Vices of the Clergy. Most of these were simple and illiterate Men, and the terror of the Bishops Courts, and Prisons, and of a Faggot in the end, wrought so much on their Fears and Weakness, that they generally abjured and were dismissed. But in the end of the year 1530, one *Thomas Hitton*, who had been Curate of *Maidstone*, and had left that place, going off to *Antwerp*, he bringing over some of the Books that were printed there, was taken at *Gravesend*, and brought before *Warham* and *Fisher*, who after he had suffered much by a long and cruel Imprisonment, condemned him to be burnt.

More.

Tindal.

Bilney's Trial.

Latimer's Sermons.

The most eminent person that suffered about this time, was *Thomas Bilney*, of whose Abjuration an account was given in the first Book; he after that went to *Cambridge* and was much troubled in his Conscience for what he had done, so that the rest of that Society at *Cambridge*, were in great apprehension of some violent effect, which that desperation might produce, and sometimes watched him whole nights. This continued about a year, but at length his mind was more quieted, and he resolved to expiate his Abjuration, by as publick and solemn a Confession

feſſion of the truth: and to prepare himſelf the better both to defend and ſuffer for the Doctrines, which he had formerly through fear denied; he followed his ſtudies for two years. And when he found himſelf well fortified in this reſolution, he took leave of his Friends at *Cambridge*, and went to his own Country of *Norfolk*, to whom he thought he owed his firſt endeavours.

He preached up and down the Country, confeſſing his former ſin of denying the Faith, and taught the people to beware of Idolatry, or truſting to Pilgrimages, to the Cowle of *St. Francis*, to the Prayers of Saints, or to Images; but exhorted them to ſtay at home, to give much Alms, to believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and to offer up their Hearts, Wills, and Minds, to him in the Sacrament. This being noiſed about, he was ſeized on by the Biſhops Officers, and put in priſon at *Norwich*, and the Writ was ſent for to burn him as a Relapſe, he being firſt condemned and degraded from his Prieſthood: while he was in Priſon the Friars came oft about him to perſwade him to recant again, and it was given out that he did read a Bill of Abjuration.

*More* not being ſatiſfied to have ſent the Writ for his burning, ſtudied alſo to defame him, publiſhing this to the World; yet in that he was certainly abuſed, for if he had ſigned any ſuch Paper, it had been put in the Biſhops Register, as all things of that nature were; but no ſuch Writing was ever ſhewn, only ſome ſaid they heard him read it, and others who denied there was any ſuch thing, being queſtioned for it, ſubmitted and confeſſed their fault. But at ſuch a time it was no ſtrange thing, if a lye of that nature was vented with ſo much Authority, that men were afraid to contradi& it; and when a man is a cloſe Priſoner, thoſe who only have acceſs to him, may ſpread what report of him they pleaſe, and when once ſuch a thing is ſaid, they never want officious Vouchers to lie and ſwear for it. But ſince nothing was ever ſhew'd under his hand, it is clear there was no truth in theſe reports, which were ſpread about to take away the honour of Martyrdom from the new Doctrines. It is true he had never enquired into all the other Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, and ſo did not differ from them about the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and ſome other things. But when men durſt ſpeak freely, there were ſeveral perſons, that witneſſed the Conſtancy and Sincerity of *Bilney* in theſe his laſt Conſlicts; and among the reſt, *Matthew Parker*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was an eye-witneſs of his ſufferings, which from his relation were publiſhed afterwards: he took his death patiently and conſtantly, and in the little time that was allowed him to live after his Sentence, he was obſerved to be chearful; and the poor Victuals that were brought him, Bread and Ale, he eat up heartily, of which when one took notice, he ſaid he muſt keep up that ruinous Cottage till it fell; and often repeated that paſſage in *Iſaiab*, *When thou walk'ſt through the fire thou ſhalt not be burnt*; and putting his finger in the flame of the Candle, he told thoſe about him, that he well knew what a pain burning was, but that it ſhould only conſume the Stubble of his Body, and that his Soul ſhould be purged by it.

When the day of Execution came, being the 10th of *November*, as he was led out, he ſaid to one that exhorted him to be patient and conſtant, that as the Mariners endured the toiling of the Waves, hoping to arrive at their deſired Port, ſo though he was now entring into a Storm, yet he hop'd he ſhould ſoon arrive at the Haven, and de-

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The things objected to him.

Ex.

It is given out that he abjured.

The Falſhood of which afterwards appeared.

Ex.

The manner of his Suffering.

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fired their Prayers. When he came to the Stake, he repeated the Creed, to shew the People that he dyed in the Faith of the Apostles; then he put up his Prayers to God with great shews of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143 *Psalms*, and paus'd on these words of it, *Enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified*, with deep recollection: and when Doctor *Warner*, that accompanied him to the Stake, took leave of him with many tears, *Bilney* with a cheerful countenance exhorted him, to feed his flock, that at his Lord's coming he might find him so doing. Many of the begging Friars desired him to declare to the People, that they had not procur'd his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the People would give them no more Alms: so he desired the Spectators not to be the worse to these men for his sake, for they had not procur'd his death. Then the fire was set to, and his Body consum'd to ashes

Byfield's Sufferings.

Thus it appears, both what Opinion the People had of him, and in what charity he dyed even towards his Enemies, doing them good for evil. But this, though it perhaps struck terror in weaker minds, yet it no less encourag'd others to endure patiently all the severities that were us'd to draw them from this Doctrine. Soon after, one *Richard Byfield* suffered, he was a Monk of *St. Edmundsbury*, and had been instructed by Doctor *Barnes* who gave him some Books; which being discovered, he was put in Prison, but through fear abjured, yet afterward he left the Monastery and came to *London*. He went oft over to *Antwerp*, and brought in forbidden Books, which being smell'd out, he was seiz'd on, and examined about these Books; he justified them, and said he thought they were good and profitable, and did openly exclaim against the dissolute lives of the Clergy: so being judg'd an Heretick, he was burnt in *Smithfield* the 11th of *November*.

And Tewksbury's.

In *December*, one *John Tewksbury* a Shop-keeper in *London*, who had formerly abjured, was also taken and try'd in Sir *Thomas Mores* House at *Chelsey*, where Sentence was given against him by *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, (for *Tonstall* was translated the former year to *Duresme*) and was burnt in *Smithfield*. There were also three burnt at *York* this year, two Men and one Woman.

Bainham's Sufferings.

Fox.

These proceedings were complain'd of in the following Session of Parliament, as was formerly told, and the Ecclesiastical Courts being found both Arbitrary and Cruel, the House of Commons desired a Redress of that from the King; but nothing was done about it till Three years after that, the new act against Hereticks was made, as was already told. The Clergy were not much moved at the Address which the House of Commons made, and therefore went on in their extream Courses, and to strike a Terror in the Gentry, they resolv'd to make an example of one *James Bainham* a Gentleman of the *Temple*: he was carried to the Lord Chancellor's House, where much pains was taken to perswade him to discover such as he knew in the *Temple*, who favour'd the new Opinions; but fair means not prevailing, *More* made him be whipt in his own presence, and after that, sent him to the *Tower*, where he look'd on and saw him put to the Rack. Yet it seems nothing could be drawn from him, that might be made use of, to any other persons hurt; yet he himself afterwards overcome with fear, abjured and did penance, but had no quiet in his

his Conscience, till he went publickly to Church, with a New Testament in his Hand, and confess'd with many Tears, that he had denied God, and prayed the People not to do as he had done, and said, that he felt an Hell in his own Conscience, for what he had done. So he was soon after carried to the *Tower*, (for now the Bishops, to avoid the Imputation of using Men cruelly in their Prisons, did put Hereticks in the King's Prisons) he was charged for having said, " That *Thomas Becket* was a Murderer, and damned in Hell if he did not repent, and for speaking contemptuously of praying to Saints, and saying that the Sacrament of the Altar was only Christ's Mystical Body, and that his Body was not chew'd with the Teeth, but received by Faith. So he was judged an obstinate and relaps'd Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield* about the end of *April*, 1532. There were also some others burnt a little before this time, of whom a particular account could not be recovered by *Fox* with all his Industry. But with *Bainham*, *More's* Persecution ended, for soon after he laid down the great Seal, which set the poor Preachers at ease.

*Crome* and *Latimer* were brought before the Convocation, and accus'd of Heresie. They both subscribed the Articles offered to them, " That there was a Purgatory: That the Souls in it were profited by Masses said for them: That the Saints are now in Heaven, and as Mediators pray for us: That Men ought to pray to them, and honour them: That Pilgrimages were Pious and Meritorious: That Men who vowed Chastity might not Marry without the Pope's Dispensation: That the Keys of binding and loosing were given to *St. Peter*, and to his Successors, though their Lives were bad, and not at all to the Laity: That Men merited by Prayers, Fasting, and other good Works: That Priests prohibited by the Bishop, should not preach till they were purged and restored: That the Seven Sacraments conferr'd Grace: That Consecrations and Benedictions used by the Church were good: That it was good and profitable to set up the Images of Christ and the Saints in the Churches, and to adorn them and burn Candles before them, and that Kings were not obliged to give their People the Scriptures in a Vulgar Tongue. By these Articles it may be easily collected, what were the Doctrines then preach'd by the Reformers. There was yet no dispute about the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which was first called in question by *Frith*, for the Books of *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* came later into *England*, and h therto they had only seen *Luther's* Works, with those written by his Followers.

But in the Year 1532, there was another memorable instance of the Clergies Cruelty against the dead Bodies of those whom they suspected of Heresie. The common Stile of all Wills and Testaments at that time was, First, " I bequeath my Soul to Almighty God, and to our Lady *St. Mary*, and to all the Saints in Heaven: But one *William Tracy* of *Gloucester* dying, left a Will of a far different strain, for he bequeathed his Soul only to God through Jesus Christ, to whose intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other Saint, therefore he left no part of his Goods to have any pray for his Soul. This being brought to the Bishop of *London's* Court, he was condemn'd as an Heretick, and an Order was sent to *Parker* Chancellor of *Worcester* to raise his Body. The officious Chancellor went beyond his Order, and burnt the Body; but the Record bears, that though he might by the Warrant he had, raise the Body according to the Law of the Church,

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Regist. *Tonst.*

Articles which some abjured.

*Tracy's* Testament.Regist. *Fitz-James.*Regist. *Stokef. Poi.* 72.

1534. yet he had no Authority to burn it. So two Years after *Tracy's* Heirs sued him for it, and he was turn'd out of his Office of Chancellor, and fined in 400 Pound.

*Harding's*  
Sufferings.

There is another instance of the Cruelty of the Clergy this Year. One *Thomas Harding* of *Buckinghamshire*, an ancient Man, who had abjured in the Year 1506, was now observed to go often into Woods, and was seen sometimes reading. Upon which his House was search'd, and some parcels of the New Testament in *English* were found in it. So he was carried before *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who as he was a cruel Persecutor, so being the King's Confessor, acted with the more Authority. This aged Man was judg'd a Relapse, and sent to *Chesham*, where he lived, to be burnt, which was executed on *Corpus Christi* Eve: At this time there was an Indulgence of 40 days pardon proclaimed to all that carried a Faggot to the burning of an Heretick: So dextrously did the Clergy endeavour to infect the Laity with their own cruel Spirit; and that wrought upon this occasion a signal effect, for as the Fire was kindled, one flung a Faggot at the old Man's Head, which dash'd out his Brains.

*Fox.*

1533.

In the Year 1533, it was thought fit by some signal Evidence to convince the World, that the King did not design to change the establish'd Religion, though he had then proceeded far in his breach with *Rome*; and the crafty Bishop of *Winchester*, *Gardiner*, as he complied with the King in his second Marriage and Separation from *Rome*, so being an inveterate Enemy to the Reformation, and in his Heart addicted to the Court of *Rome*, did by th's Argument often prevail with the King to punish the Hereticks, That it would most effectually justifie his other Proceedings, and convince the World that he was still a good Catholick King; which at several times drew the King to what he desired. And at this time the steps the King had made in his Separation from the Pope, had given such Heart to the new Preachers, that they grew bolder and more publick in their Assemblies.

*Frith's* Suf-  
ferings.

*John Frith*, as he was an excellent Scholar, which was so taken notice of, some Years before, that he was put in the List of those whom the Cardinal intended to bring from *Cambridge*, and put in his College at *Oxford*; so he had offended them by several Writings, and by a Discourse which he wrote against the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, had provoked the King, who continued to his Death to believe that firmly. "The substance of his Arguments was, That Christ in "the Sacrament gave Eternal Life, but the receiving the bare Sacra- "ment did not give Eternal Life, since many took it to their Damna- "tion; therefore Christ's Presence there was only felt by Faith. This "he further proved by the Fathers before Christ, who did eat "the same Spiritual Food, and drink of the Rock, which was Christ, "according to *St. Paul*. Since then, they and we communicate in the "same thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Christ's Flesh cor- "porally, but fed by Faith on a *Messias* to come, as Christians do on a " *Messias* already come: Therefore we now do only communicate by " Faith. He also insisted much on the signification of the Word Sacra- "ment, from whence he concluded, that the Elements must be the " Mystical Signs of Christ's Body and Blood; for if they were truly " the Flesh and Blood of Christ, they should not be Sacraments. He " concluded, that the ends of the Sacrament were these three, by a vi- " sible action to knit the Society of Christians together in one body, to " be

His Argu-  
ments a-  
gainst the  
Corporal  
Presence.



“ be a means of conveying Grace upon our due participating of them,  
“ and to be Remembrances to stir up Men to bless God for that un-  
“ speakable Love, which in the Death of Christ appeared to mankind.  
“ To all these ends the Corporal Presence of Christ availed nothing,  
“ they being sufficiently answered by a Mystical Presence: Yet he  
“ drew no other Conclusion from these Premises, but that belief of the  
“ Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, was no necessary Article of our  
“ Faith. This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a sure  
persuasion in the Matter, or that he chose in that modest Stile, to en-  
counter an Opinion of which the World was so fond, that to have op-  
posed it in downright Words, would have given Prejudices against all  
that he could say.

*Frith* upon a long Conversation with one upon this Subject, was de-  
sired to set down the Heads of it in Writing, which he did. The  
Paper went about, and was by a false Brother conveyed to Sir *Thomas*  
*More's* Hands, who set himself to answer it in his ordinary Stile,  
treating *Frith* with great Contempt, calling him always the young  
Man. *Frith* was in Prison before he saw *More's* Book, yet he wrote  
a Reply to it, which I do not find was then published; but a Copy  
of it was brought afterwards to *Cranmer*, who acknowledged when  
he wrote his Apology against *Gardiner*, that he had received great  
light in that matter from *Frith's* Book, and drew most of his Argu-  
ments out of it. It was afterwards printed with his Works Anno  
1573. And by it may appear, how much Truth is stronger than Error.  
For though *More* wrote with as much Wit and Eloquence as any  
Man in that Age did, and *Frith* wrote plainly without any Art; yet  
there is so great a difference between their Books, that whoever com-  
pares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the Ingenious Defen-  
der of an ill Cause, and the other a simple asserter of Truth. *Frith*  
wrote with all the disadvantage that was possible, being then in the  
Goal, where he could have no Books, but some Notes he might have  
collected formerly; he was also so loaded with Irons, that he could  
scarce sit with any ease. He began with confirming what he had deli-  
vered about the Fathers before Christ, their feeding on his Body in the  
same manner that Christians do since his Death: This he proved  
from Scripture, and several places of *St. Austin's* Works; he proved  
also from Scripture, that after the Consecration, the Elements were  
still *Bread* and *Wine*, and were so called both by our Saviour and his  
Apostles; that our Senses shew they are not changed in their Na-  
tures, and that they are still subject to Corruption, which can no  
way be said of the Body of Christ. He proved that the eating of  
Christ's Flesh in the sixth of *St. John*, cannot be applied to the Sacra-  
ment; since the wicked receive it, who yet do not eat the Flesh of  
Christ, otherwise they should have Eternal Life. He shewed also,  
that the Sacrament coming in the room of the Jewish Paschal Lamb,  
we must understand Christ's Words, *This is my Body*, in the same Sense  
in which it was said, that the Lamb was the *Lord's Passover*. He  
confirmed this by many Passages cited out of *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*,  
*Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, *Austin*, *Fulgentius*, *Eusebius*, and some  
later Writers, as *Beda*, *Bertram* and *Druthmar*, who did all assert that  
the Elements retained their former Natures, and were only the My-  
steries, Signs and Figures of the Body and Blood of Christ. But *Ge-*  
*lasius's* Words seemed so remarkable, that they could not but deter-  
mine the Controversie, especially considering he was Bishop of *Rome*:

1534. he therefore writing against the *Eutychians*, who thought the humane nature of Christ was changed into the divine, says, *That as the Elements of Bread and Wine being Consecrated to be the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, did not cease to be Bread and Wine in Substance, but continued in their own proper natures; so the Humane Nature of Christ continued still, though it was united to the Divine Nature: this was a manifest Indication of the belief of the Church in that Age, and ought to weigh more than a hundred high Rhetorical Expressions. He brought likewise several Testimonies out of the Fathers, to shew that they knew nothing of the Consequences that follow Transubstantiation; of a Body being in more places at once, or being in a place after the manner of a Spirit, or of the Worship to be given to the Sacrament. Upon this he digresses, and says, that the German Divines believed a Corporal Presence; yet since that was only an Opinion that rested in their minds, and did not carry along with it any Corruption of the Worship, or Idolatrous practice, it was to be born with, and the peace of the Church was not to be broken for it: but the Case of the Church of Rome was very different, which had set up gross Idolatry, building it upon this Doctrine.*

Thus I have given a short Abstract of *Frith's* Book, which I thought fit the rather to do, because it was the first Book that was written on this Subject in *England* by any of the Reformers. And from hence it may appear, upon what solid and weighty Reasons they then began to shake the received Opinion of Transubstantiation: and with how much learning this Controversie was managed by him who first undertook it.

One thing was singular in *Frith's* Opinion, that he thought there should be no contest made about the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament; for whatever Opinion men held in Speculation, if it went not to a practical error (which was the Adoration of it, for that was Idolatry in his Opinion) there were no disputes to be made about it, therefore he was much against all heats between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*; for he thought in such a matter that was wholly speculative, every man might hold his own Opinion without making a breach in the Unity of the Church about it.

He was apprehended in *May* 1533, and kept in Prison till the 20th of *June*, and then he was brought before the Bishop of *London*, *Gardiner*, and *Longland* sitting with him. They objected to him his Opinions about the *Sacrament* and *Purgatory*. He answered, that for the first he did not find *Transubstantiation* in the Scriptures, nor in any approved Authors; and therefore he would not admit any thing as an Article of Faith, without clear and certain grounds: for he did not think the Authority of the Church reached so far. They argued with him upon some passages out of *St. Austin* and *St. Chrysostome*: to which he answered, by opposing other places of the same Fathers, and shew'd how they were to be reconciled to themselves; when it came to a Conclusion, these words are set down in the Register as his Confession.

Register Stokel. Fol. 71. and a Letter of his in Box.

His opinion of the Sacrament.

“ *Frith* thinketh and judgeth, that the natural Body of Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in one place only at once. *Item*, he saith, that neither part is a necessary Article of our Faith, whether the Natural Body be there in the Sacrament, or not.

As for *Purgatory*, he said a Man consisted of two parts, his Body and Soul; his Body was purged by Sickness and other Pains, and at last by Death, and was not by their own Doctrine sent to Purgatory. And for the Soul, it was purged through the Word of God received by Faith. So his Confession was written down in these Words. *Item*,  
 “ *Frith* thinketh and judgeth that there is no Purgatory for the Soul,  
 “ after that it is departed from the Body, and as he thinketh herein,  
 “ so hath he said, written, and defended; howbeit he thinketh neither  
 “ part to be an Article of Faith, necessarily to be believed under pain  
 “ of Damnation.

1534.

And of Purgatory.

The Bishops with the Doctors that stood about them, took much pains to make him change; but he told them, that he could not be induced to believe, that these were Articles of Faith. And when they threatened to proceed to a final Sentence, he seemed not moved with it, but said, *Let Judgment be done in Righteousness*. The Bishops, though none of them were guilty of great tenderness, yet seemed to pity him much; and the Bishop of *London* professed, he gave Sentence with great grief of heart. In the end he was judged an obdurate Heretick, and was delivered to the Secular Power: There is one Clause in this Sentence, which is not in many others, therefore I shall set it down.

He is condemned.

“ Most earnestly requiring in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ,  
 “ that this Execution and Punishment worthily to be done upon thee,  
 “ may be so moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extream, nor  
 “ yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the Sal-  
 “ vation of thy Soul, to the extirpation, terror and conversion of Here-  
 “ ticks, and to the Unity of the Catholick Faith. This was thought a  
 scorning of God and Men, when those, who knew that he was to be burnt, and intended it should be so, yet used such an Obtestation by the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that the Rigour might not be extreme. This being certified, the Writ was issued out, and as the Register bears, he was burnt in *Smithfield* the 4th of *July*, and one *Andrew Hewet* with him, who also denied the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. This *Hewet* was an Apprentice, and went to the Meetings of these Preachers, and was twice betrayed by some Spies whom the Bishops Officers had among them, who discovered many. When he was examined, he would not acknowledge the Corporal Presence, but was illiterate, and resolved to do as *Frith* did, so he was also condemned and burnt with him.

When they were brought to the Stake, *Frith* expressed great Joy at his approaching Martyrdom, and in a Transport of it, hugged the Faggots in his Arms, as the Instruments that were to send him to his Eternal Rest. One Doctor *Cook* a Parson of *London* called to the People, that they should not pray for them any more than they would do for a Dog: At which *Frith* smiled, and prayed God to forgive him; so the Fire was set to, and they were consumed to Ashes.

His Con-  
fancy in his  
Sufferings.

This was the last Act of the Clergies Cruelty against Mens Lives, and was much condemned: It was thought an unheard of Barbarity, thus to burn a moderate and learned young Man, only because he would not acknowledge some of their Doctrines to be Articles of Faith; and though his private Judgment was against their Tenet, yet he was not positive in it, any further, than that he could not believe the contrary to be necessary to Salvation. But the Clergy were now so bathed in  
 X Blood,

1534.

Blood, that they seemed to have stript themselves of those Impressions of Pity and Compassion, which are natural to Mankind; they therefore held on in their severe Courses, till the Act of Parliament did effectually restrain them.

*Philips's  
Sufferings.*

In the Account that was given of that Act, mention was made of one *Thomas Philips*, who put in his Complaint to the House of Commons against the Bishop of *London*. The Proceedings against him, had been both extreme and illegal; he was first apprehended, and put in the *Tower* upon suspicion of Heresie; and when they searched him, a Copy of *Tracy's Testament* was found about him, and Butter and Cheefe were found in his Chamber, it being in the time of *Lent*. There was also another Letter found about him, exhorting him to be ready to suffer constantly for the Truth. Upon these presumptions the Bishop of *London* proceeded against him, and required him to abjure. But he said, he would willingly swear to be obedient as a Christian Man ought, and that he would never hold any Heresie during his Life, nor favour Hereticks; but the Bishop would not accept of that, since there might be Ambiguities in it: Therefore he required him to make the Abjuration in common form, which he refused to do, and appealed to the King as the Supreme Head of the Church. Yet the Bishop pronounced him *Contumax*, and did excommunicate him; but whether he was released on his Appeal, or not, I do not find; yet perhaps this was the Man of whom the Pope complained to the *English* Ambassadors, 1532. that an Heretick having appealed to the King as the Supreme Head of the Church, was taken out of the Bishops hands, and judged and acquitted in the King's Courts. It is probable this was the Man, only the Pope was informed, that it was from the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that he appealed, in which there might be a mistake for the Bishop of *London*. But whatever ground there may be for that Conjecture, *Philips* got his Liberty, and put in a Complaint to the House of Commons, which produced the Act about Hereticks.

A stop is  
put to these  
cruel Pro-  
ceedings.

And now that Act being passed, together with the Extirpation of the Pope's Authority, and the Power being lodged in the King to correct and reform Heresies, Idolatries and Abuses, the Standard of the Catholick Faith being also declared to be the Scriptures, the persecuted Preachers had Ease and Encouragement every where. They also saw that the necessity of the King's Affairs would constrain him to be gentle to them; for the Sentence which the Pope gave against the King, was committed to the Emperor to be executed by him, who was then aspiring to an universal Monarchy; and therefore as soon as his other Wars gave him leisure to look over to *England* and *Ireland*, he had now a good colour to justify an Invasion both from the Pope's Sentence, and the Interests and Honour of his Family in protecting his Aunt and her Daughter: Therefore the King was to give him work elsewhere, in order to which his Interest obliged him to joyn himself to the Princes of *Germany*, who had at *Smalcald* entred into a League offensive and defensive, for the liberty of Religion, and the Rights of the Empire. This was a Thorn in the Emperor's Side, which the King's Interest would oblige him by all means to maintain. Upon which the Reformers in *England* concluded, that either the King, to recommend himself to these Princes, would relax the Severities of the Law against them; or otherwise, that their Friends in *Germany* would see to it: for in these first Fervours of Reformations, the  
Princes

Princes made that always a Condition in their Treaties, that those who favoured their Doctrine, might be no more persecuted.

1534.

But their chief Encouragement was from the Queen, who reigned in the King's Heart, as absolutely as he did over his Subjects; and was a known favourer of them. She took *Shaxton* and *Latimer* to be her Chaplains, and soon after promoted them to the Bishopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, then vacant by the deprivation of *Campegio* and *Ghinuccii*; and in all other things cherished and protected them; and used her most effectual Endeavours with the King to promote the Reformation. Next to her, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was a professed Favourer of it, who besides the Authority of his Character and See, was well fitted for carrying it on, being a very Learned and Industrious Man. He was at great pains to collect the sense of Ancient Writers, upon all the Heads of Religion, by which he might be well directed in such an important matter. I have seen two Volumes in Folio written with his own Hand, containing upon all the Heads of Religion, a vast heap both of places of Scripture, and Quotations out of Ancient Fathers, and later Doctors, and Schoolmen; by which he governed himself in that Work. There is also an Original Letter of the Lord *Burghly's* extant, which I have seen, in which he writes that he had six or seven Volumes of his Writings, all which, except two other, that I have seen are lost, for ought I can understand. From which it will appear in the Sequel of this Work, that he neither copied from Foreign Writers, nor proceeded rashly in the Reformation. He was a Man of great Temper; and as I have seen in some of his Letters to *Osfander*, and some of *Osfander's* Answers to him, he very much disliked the violence of the *German* Divines. He was gentle in his whole behaviour, and though he was a Man of too great Candour and Simplicity to be refined in the Arts of Policy, yet he managed his Affairs with great Prudence; which did so much recommend him to the King, that no ill Offices were ever able to hurt him. It is true, he had some singular Opinions about Ecclesiastical Functions and Offices, which he seemed to make wholly dependent on the Magistrate, as much as the Civil were; but as he never studied to get his Opinion in that made a part of the Doctrine of the Church, reserving only to himself the freedom of his own Thoughts, which I have reason to think he did afterwards, either change, or at least was content to be over-ruled in it: So it is clear that he held not that Opinion to get the King's Favour by it; for in many other things, as in the business of the six Articles, he boldly and freely argued, both in the Convocation and the House of Peers, against that which he knew was the King's Mind, and took his Life in his Hands, which had certainly been offered at a Stake, if the King's Esteem of him had not been proof against all Attempts.

The Queen favoured the Reformers.

*Cranmer* promoted the Reformation.

Next him, or rather above him, was *Cromwell*, who was made the King's Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical Matters. A Man of mean Birth, but noble Qualities, as appeared in two signal Instances, the one being his Pleading in Parliament so zealously and successfully for the fallen and disgrac'd Cardinal, whose Secretary he was when *Gardiner*, though more obliged by him, had basely forsaken him. This was thought so just and generous in him, that it did not at all hinder his Preterment, but raised his Credit higher: Such a demonstration of Gratitude and Friendship in Misfortune, being so rare a thing in a Court. The other was his remembering the Merchant of *Lucca*, that had pitied and relieved him, when he

Affited by *Cromwell*.

1534.

was a poor Stranger there, and expressing most extraordinary Acknowledgments and Gratitude, when he was afterwards in the top of his Greatness; and the other did not so much as know him, much less pretend to any returns for passed Favours, which shew'd that he had a noble and generous Temper; only he made too much haste to be great and rich. He joyned himself in a firm Friendship to *Cranmer*, and did promote the Reformation very vigorously.

The Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner opposed it.

But there was another Party in the Court, that wrestled much against it; the Head of it was the Duke of *Norfolk*, who though he was the Queens Uncle, yet was her mortal Enemy. He was a dextrous Courtier, and complied with the King, both in his Divorce and Separation from *Rome*, yet did upon all occasions perswade the King to innovate nothing in Religion: His great Friend that joyned all along with him in those Counsels, was *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was a crafty and politick Man, and understood the King well, and complied with his Temper in every thing; he despised *Cranmer*, and hated all Reformation. *Longland*, that had been the King's Confessor, was also managed by them, and they had a great Party in the Court, and almost all the Churchmen were on their side.

Reasons against the Reformation.

That which prevailed most with the King, was, that himself had writ a Book in Defence of the Faith, and they said, would he now retract that, which all Learned Men admired so much? or would he encourage *Luther* and his Party, who had treated him with so little respect? If he went to change the Doctrines that were formerly received, all the World would say he did it in spite to the Pope, which would cast a great dishonour on him, as if his Passion govern'd his Religion. Foreign Princes, who in their hearts did not much blame him for what he had hitherto done, but rather wished for a good opportunity to do the like, would now condemn him if he medled with the Religion: And his own Subjects, who complied with that which he had done, and were glad to be delivered from Foreign Jurisdiction, and the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, would not bear a change of the Faith, but might be thereby easily set on, by the Emisaries of the Pope or Emperor, to break out in Rebellion. These things being managed skilfully, and agreeing with his own private opinion, wrought much on him: and particularly, what was said about his own Book, which had been so much commended to him, that he was almost made believe, it was written by a special Inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

Reasons for it.

But on the other side, *Cranmer* represented to him, that since he had put down the Popes Authority, it was not fit to let those Doctrines be still taught, which had no other Foundation but the Decrees of Popes: And he offered upon the greatest hazard to prove, that many things, then received as Articles of Faith, were no better grounded; therefore he pressed the King to give order, to hear and examine things freely, that when the Popes Power was rejected, the People might not be obliged to believe Doctrines which had no better warrant. And for Political Councils, he was to do the duty of a good Christian Prince, and leave the event to God; and things might be carried on with that due care, that the justice and reasonableness of the King's proceedings should appear to all the World. And whereas it was objected, that the Doctrines of the Catholick Church ought not to be examined by any particular Church; It was answered, that when all Christendom were under one Emperor, it was easie for him to call General Councils, and in such circumstances

stances it was fit to stay for one; and yet even then, particular Churches did in their National Synods condemn Heresies, and reform Abuses. But the State of Christendom was now altered, it was under many Princes, who had different Interests, and therefore they thought it a vain expectation to look for any such Council. The Protestants of *Germany* had now for above ten years desired the Emperor to procure one, but to no effect; for sometimes the Pope would not grant it, and at other times the *French* King protested against it. The former year the Pope had sent to the King to offer a General Council, to be held at *Mantua* this year; but the King found that was but an illusion; for the Marquess of *Mantua* protested, he would not admit such a number of strangers, as a Council would draw together, into his Town: yet the King promised to send his Ambassadors thither, when the Council met. But now the King consulting his Prelates, whether the Emperor might by his Authority summon a General Council, as the *Roman* Emperors had done: some of them gave the following answer, copied from the Original that is yet extant, which might have been written any time between the year 1534, in which *Thomas Goodrick* was made Bishop of *Ely*, and the year 1540, in which *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, died: but I incline to think from other circumstances, that it was written about the end of the year 1534.

1534.

Hall.

A resolution of some Bishops about the calling of a General Council.

*For the General Council.*

“ Though that in the Old time, when the Empire of *Rome* had his ample dominion over the most part of the World, the First Four General Councils (the which at all times have been of most estimation in the Church of Christ) were called and gathered by the Emperors Commandment, and for a Godly intent: That Heresies might be extinct, Schisms put away, good Order and Manners in the Ministers of the Church and the People of the same established. Like as many Councils more were called: till now of late by the negligence, as well of the Emperor, as other Princes, the Bishop of *Rome* hath been suffered to usurp this Power; yet now for so much that the Empire of *Rome*, and the Monarchy of the same, hath no such general Dominion; but many Princes have absolute Power in their own Realms, and a whole and entire Monarchy, no one Prince may by his Authority call any General Council, but if that any one or more of these Princes for the establishing of the Faith, for the extirpation of Schisms, &c. Lovingly, Charitably, with a good sincere Intent, to a sure place, require any other Prince, or the rest of the great Princes, to be content to agree, that for the Wealth, Quietness, and Tranquillity of all Christian People by his or their free consent, a General Council might be assembled: That Prince, or those Princes so required, are bound by the Order of Charity, for the good Fruit that may come of it, to condescend and agree thereunto, having no lawful Impediment, nor just Cause moving to the contrary. The chief Causes of the General Councils are before expressed.

“ In all the Ancient Councils of the Church, in matters of the Faith and interpretation of the Scripture, no man made definitive Subscription, but Bishops and Priests, for so much as the Declaration of the Word of God pertaineth unto them.

EX MSS. DD.  
*Stillingfleet.*

*T. Cantuarien.*

*Cuthbertus Dunelmen.*

*Jo. Bath. Wellen.*

*Tho. Elien.*

But

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A Speech of  
Cranmers a-  
bout a Gene-  
ral Council.

EX MSS. DD.  
Stillingfleet.

But besides this Resolution, I have seen a long Speech of *Cranmers*, written by one of his Secretaries. It was spoken soon after the Parliament had passed the Acts formerly mentioned, for it relates to them as lately done; it was delivered either in the House of Lords, the upper House of Convocation, or at the Council Board; but I rather think it was in the House of Lords, for it begins, *My Lords*; The matter of it does so much concern the business of Reformation, that I know the Reader will expect I should set down the Heads of it. It appears he had been Ordered to Inform the House about these things. The Preamble of his Speech runs upon this conceit. " That as Rich men flying from their

" Enemies, carry away all they can with them, and what they cannot  
" take away, they either hide or destroy it; so the Court of *Rome* had  
" destroyed so many Ancient Writings, and hid the rest having carefully  
" preserved every thing that was of advantage to them, that it was not  
" easie to discover what they had so artificially concealed: Therefore in  
" the Canon Law, some honest Truths were yet to be found, but so mis-  
" layed, that they are not placed where one might expect them, but are  
" to be met with in some other Chapters, where one would least look for  
" them. And many more things said by the Ancients of the See of *Rome*,  
" and against their Authority, were lost, as appears by the Fragments yet  
" remaining. He shew'd that many of the Ancients called every thing  
" which they thought well done, of *Divine Institution*, by a large ex-  
" tent of the Phrase, in which sense the Passages of many Fathers that  
" magnified the See of *Rome*, were to be understood.

" Then he shew'd for what end General Councils were called, to de-  
" clare the Faith, and reform Errors; not that ever any Council was truly  
" General, for even at *Nice* there were no Bishops almost, but out of  
" *Egypt, Asia, and Greece*; but they were called General, because the  
" Emperor Summon'd them, and all Christendom did agree to their  
" Definitions, which he prov'd by several Authorities: therefore though  
" there were many more Bishops in the Council of *Arimini*, than at *Nice*  
" or *Constantinople*, yet the one was not received as a General Council,  
" and the others were: so that it was not the Number, nor Authority of  
" the Bishops, but the Matter of their Dicisions, which made them be  
" received with so general a Submission.

" As for the Head of the Council. *St. Peter* and *St. James* had the  
" chief direction of the Council of the Apostles, but there were no Con-  
" test then about Head-ship. Christ named no Head, which could be  
" no more called a defect in him, than it was one in God, that had named  
" no Head to Govern the World. Yet the Church found it convenient  
" to have one over them, so Arch-Bishops were set over Provinces. And  
" though *St. Peter* had been Head of the Apostles, yet as it is not certain  
" that he was ever in *Rome*, so it does not appear, that he had his Head-  
" ship for *Romes* sake, or that he left it there; but he was made Head for  
" his Faith, and not for the Dignity of any See: Therefore the Bishops  
" of *Rome* could pretend to nothing from him, but as they followed his  
" Faith; and *Liberius* and some other Bishops there, had been condemn-  
" ed for Heresie; and if according to *St. James*, Faith be to be tryed  
" by Works, the Lives of the Popes for several Ages gave shrewd pre-  
" sumptions, that their Faith was not good. And though it were grant-  
" ed, that such a Power was given to the See of *Rome*, yet by many in-  
" stances, he shew'd that positive Precepts in a matter of that nature,  
" were not for ever Obligatory. And therefore *Gerson* wrote a Book,

" De



“ *De Auferibilitate Papæ.* So that if a Pope with the Cardinals be corrupted, they ought to be tryed by a General Council, and submit to it. St. Peter gave an account of his Baptizing *Cornelius*, when he was questioned about it. So *Damasus*, *Sixtus*, and *Leo*, purged themselves of some Scandals.

“ Then he shewed how Corrupt the present Pope was, both in his Person and Government, for which he was abhorred, even by some of his Cardinals, as himself had heard and seen at *Rome*. It is true, there was no Law to proceed against a vitious Pope, for it was a thing not foreseen, and thought scarcely possible; but new diseases required new remedies: and if a Pope that is an Heretick may be judged in a Council, the same reason would hold against a Symoniacal, Covetous and Impious Pope, who was Salt that had lost its favour. And by several Authorities, he proved, that every man who lives so, is thereby out of the Communion of the Church; and that as the Preheminence of the Sec of *Rome* flowed only from the Laws of Men, so there was now good cause to repeal these, for the Pope, as was said in the Council of *Basil*, was only Vicar of the Church, and not of Christ, so he was accountable to the Church. The Council of *Constance*, and the Divines of *Paris* had, according to the Doctrine of the Ancient Church, declared the Pope to be subject to a General Council, which many Popes in former Ages had confessed. And all that the Pope can claim even by the Canon Law, is only to call and preside in a General Council, but not to over-rule it, or have a Negative Vote in it.

“ The Power of Councils did not extend to Princes, Dominions, or Secular Matters, but only to Points of Faith, which they were to declare, and to condemn Hereticks: nor were their Decrees Laws, till they were Enacted by Princes. Upon this, he enlarged much to shew, that though a Council did proceed against a King (with which they then threatned the King) that their Sentence was of no force, as being without their Sphere. The determination of Councils ought to be well considered and examined by the Scriptures, and in matters indifferent, men ought to be left to their Freedom. He taxed the severity of *Victor's* Proceedings against the Churches of the East, about the day of *Easter*. And concluded, that as a Member of the Body is not cut off, except a Gangrene comes in it; so no part of the Church ought to be cut off, but upon a great and inevitable cause. And he very largely shewed, with what Moderation and Charity the Church should proceed even against those that held Errors. And the Standard of the Councils definitions, should only be taken from the Scriptures, and not from mens Traditions.

“ He said, some General Councils had been rejected by others, and it was a tender Point, how much ought to be deferred to a Council; some Decrees of Councils were not at all obeyed. The Divines of *Paris* held, that a Council could not make a new Article of Faith, that was not in the Scriptures. And as all God's Promises to the People of *Israel*, had this Condition implied within them, *If they kept his Commandments*; so he thought the Promises to the Christian Church, had this Condition in them, *If they kept the Faith*. Therefore he had much doubting in himself as to General Councils, and he thought that only the Word of God was the Rule of Faith, which ought to take place in all Controversies of Religion. The Scriptures were called Canonical, as being the only Rules of the Faith of Christians; and these by ap-  
pointment

1534. “ pointment of the Ancient Council, were only to be read in the Churches. The Fathers SS. *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and *Austin*, did in many things differ from one another, but always appealed to the Scriptures, as the common and certain Standard. And he cited some remarkable passage out of *St. Austin*, to shew, what difference he put between the Scriptures, and all the other Writings even of the best and holiest Fathers. But when all the Fathers agreed in the Exposition of any place of Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God, and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own Conceit: Therefore he thought Councils ought to found their Decisions on the Word of God, and those Expositions of it that had been agreed on by the Doctors of the Church.

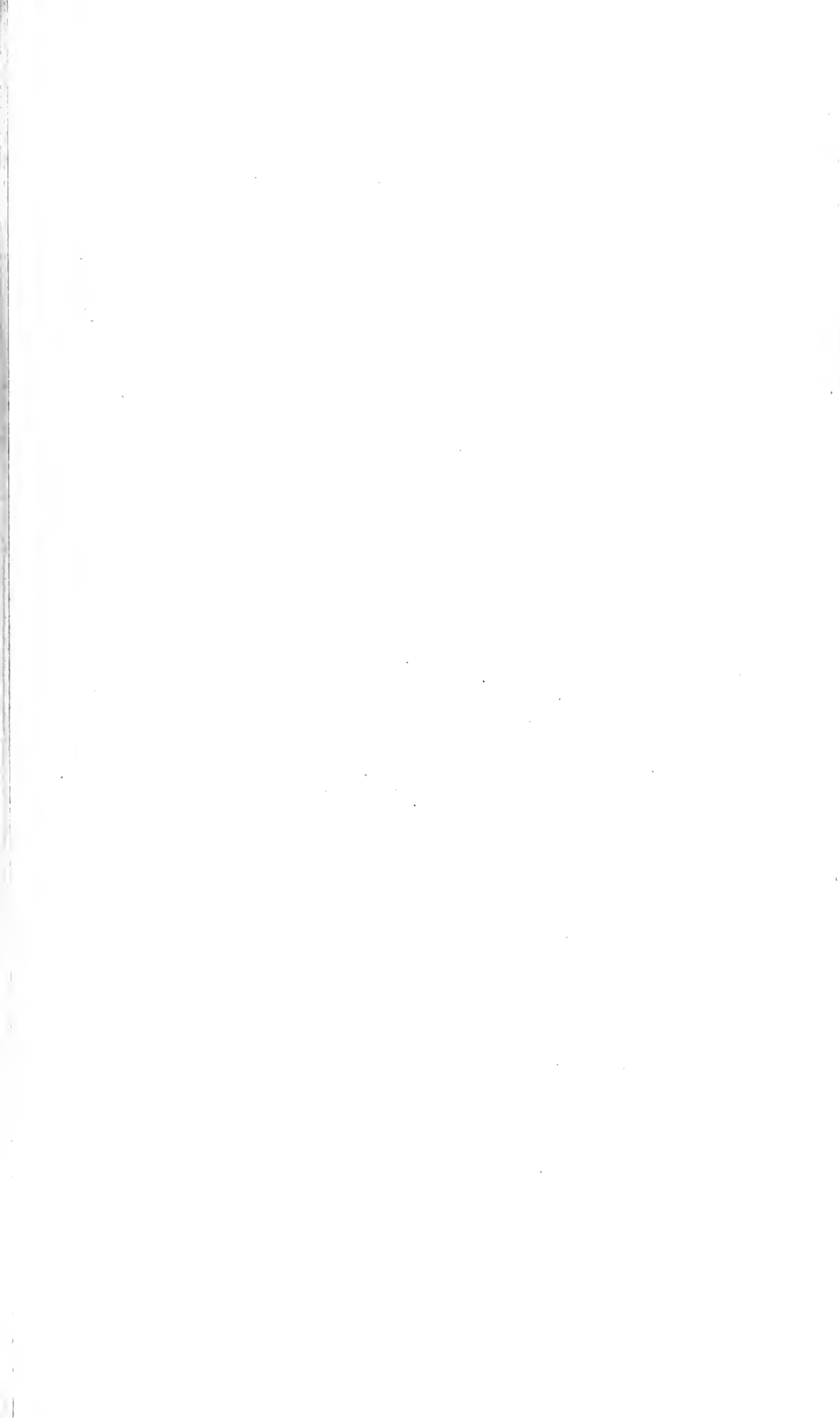
“ Then he discoursed very largely what a Person a Judge ought to be, he must not be Partial, nor a Judge in his own Cause, nor so much as sit on the Bench when it is tried, lest his Presence should over-awe others. Things also done upon a common Error cannot bind, when the Error upon which they were done comes to be discovered; and all humane Laws ought to be changed, when a publick visible Inconvenience follows them. From which he concluded, that the Pope being a Party, and having already passed his Sentence, in things which ought to be examined by a General Council, could not be a Judge, nor sit in it. Princes also, who upon a common mistake, thinking the Pope Head of the Church, had sworn to him, finding that this was done upon a false ground, may pull their Neck out of his Yoke, as every Man may make his escape out of the hands of a Robber. And the Court of *Rome* was so corrupt, that a Pope, though he meant well, as *Hadrian* did, yet could never bring any good design to an Issue; the Cardinals and therest of that Court being so engaged to maintain their Corruptions. These were the Heads of that Discourse, which it seems he gave them in Writing after he had delivered it; but he promised to entertain them with another Discourse, of the Power the Bishops of the Christian Church have in their Sees, and of the Power of a Christian Prince to make them do their Duty; but that I could never see, and I am afraid it is lost.

All this I thought necessary to open, to shew the State of the Court, and the Principles that the several Parties in it went upon, when the Reformation was first brought under Consideration in the third Period of this King's Reign, to which I am now advanced.

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*The End of the Second Book.*

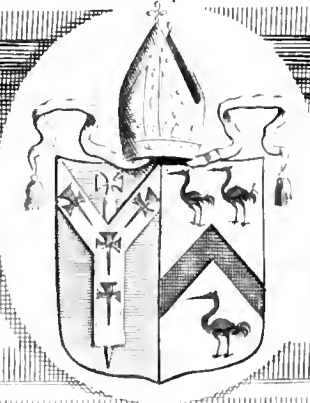
T H E





*Holben pinxit*

*Natus. 1489  
 July. 2.  
 Consecratus  
 1533. Mar. 30.*



*Martyrio.  
 Coronatus.  
 1556. Mar. 21.*

THE  
 HISTORY  
 OF THE  
 REFORMATION  
 OF THE  
 Church of England.

BOOK III.

*Of the other Transactions about Religion and Reformation, during the rest of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth.*



THE King having passed through the Traverses and Tossings of his Suit of Divorce, and having with the concurrence, both of his Clergy and Parliament, brought about what he had Projected, seem'd now at ease in his own Dominions. But though matters were carried in Publick Assemblies smoothly and successfully, yet there were many secret discontents, which being fomented both by the Pope, and the Emperor's Agents wrought him great trouble; so that the rest of his Life was full of Vexation and Disquiet.

All that were zealously addicted to that which they called the Old Religion, did conclude, that whatever firmness the King expressed to it now, was either pretended out of Policy, for avoiding the Inconveniences, which the fears of a Change might produce: or though he really intended to perform what he professed; yet the Interests in which he must embarque, with the Princes of *Germany* against the Pope and the Emperor, together with the Power that the Queen had over him, and the credit *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* had with him, would prevail on him to change some things in Religion. And they look'd on these things, as so complicated together, that the change of any one must needs make way for change in more, since that struck at the Authority of the Church, and left People at liberty to dispute the Articles of Faith. This they thought was a Gate opened

1535.

The rest of the King's Reign grows troublesome.

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to Heresie. And therefore they were every-where meeting together, and consulting, what should be done for suppressing Heresie, and preserving the Catholick Faith.

By the Practi-  
ces of the  
Monks and  
Friars.

That Zeal was much inflamed by the Monks and Friars, who clearly saw the Acts of Parliament were so levelled at their Exemptions and Immunities, that they were now like to be at the King's Mercy. They were no more to plead their Bulls, or claim any Priviledges, further than it pleased the King to allow them. No new Saints from *Rome* could draw more Riches or Honour to their Orders. Priviledges and Indulgences were out of doors; so that the Arts of drawing in the People, to enrich their Churches and Houses, were at an end. And they had also secret Intimations, that the King and the Courtiers, had an eye on their Lands, and they gave themselves for lost, if they could not so embroyl the King's Affairs, that he should not adventure on so invidious a thing: Therefore both in Confessions and Conferences they infused into the People a dislike of the King's Proceedings; which though for some time it did not break out into an open Rebellion, yet the humour still fermented, and people only waited for an opportunity: So that if the Emperor had not been otherwise distracted, he might have made War upon the King, with great advantages. For many of his discontented Subjects would have joyned with the Enemy. But the King did so dextrously manage his Leagues with the *French* King, and the Princes of the Empire, that the Emperor could never make any impressions on his Dominions.

Which provoked the  
King to great  
Severities.

But those factious Spirits, seeing nothing was to be expected from any foreign Power, could not contain themselves, but broke out into open Rebellion. And this provoked the King to great severities: His Spirit was so trettet, by the tricks the Court of *Rome* had put on him, and by the Ingratitude and seditious practices of *Reginald Pool*; that he thereby lost much of his former Temper and Patience; and was too ready upon flight grounds, to bring his Subjects to the Bar. Where though the matter was always so ordered, that according to Law they were indicted and judged; yet the severity of the Law bordering sometimes on Rigor and Cruelty, he came to be called a cruel Tyrant. Nor did his Severity lie only on one side: but being addicted to some Tenets of the Old Religion; and impatient of Contradiction; or perhaps blown up, either with the vanity of his new Title, of *Head of the Church*, or with the Praises which Flatterers bestowed on him; he thought all persons were bound to regulate their Belief by his Dictates, which made him prosecute Protestants, as well as proceed against Papiſts. Yet it does not appear, that Cruelty was Natural to him. For in Twenty Five Years Reign, none had suffered for any Crime against the State, but *Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*. The former he prosecuted in Obedience to his Fathers last Commands at his Death. His Severity to the other was imputed to the *Cardinals* Malice. The Proceedings were also Legal. And the Duke of *Buckingham*, had by the Knavery of a Priest, to whom he gave great Credit, been made believe he had a Right to the Crown; and practices of that Nature, touch Princes so nearly, that no wonder the Law was executed in such a Case. This

shows

shows that the King was not very jealous, nor desirous of the Blood of his Subjects. But though he always proceeded upon Law, yet in the last Ten Years of his Life, many instances of Severity occurred, for which he is rather to be pitied, than either imitated or sharply censured.

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The former Book was full of Intrigues and foreign Transactions; the greatest part of it being an account of a tedious Negotiation, with the subtlest and most refined Court in Christendom, in all the Arts of humane Policy. But now my Work is confined to this Nation; and except in short touches by the way, I shall meddle no further with the Mysteries of State; but shall give as clear an account of those things that Relate to Religion and Reformation, as I could possibly recover. The Suppression of Monasteries, the advance and declension of Reformation, and the Proceedings against those, who adhered to the Interest of the Court of *Rome*, must be the chief Subjects of this Book. The two former shall be opened, in the series of time as they were transacted. But the last shall be left to the end of the Book, that it may be presented in one full view.

After the Parliament had ended their Business, the Bishops did all renew their Alliance to the King, and swore also to maintain his Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters; acknowledging that he was the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, though there was yet no Law for the requiring of any such Oath. The first act of the King's Supremacy was, his naming *Cromwell* Vicar-General, and General-Visitor of all the Monasteries and other Priviledged Places. This is commonly confounded with his following Dignity of *Lord Vice-Gerent* in Ecclesiastical Matters; but they were two different Places, and held by different Commissions. By the one he had no Authority over the Bishops, nor had he any Precedence; but the other, as it gave him the Precedence next the Royal Family, so it clothed him with a compleat Delegation of the King's whole Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs. For Two Years he was only Vicar-General; But the tenour of his Commissions, and the nature of the Power devolved on him by them, cannot be fully known: For neither the one, nor the other are in the Rolls, though there can be no doubt made, but Commissions of such Importance were enrolled; therefore the loss of them can only be charged on that search and rasure of Records made by *Bonner*, upon the Commission granted to him by *Queen Mary*, of which I have spoken in the Preface of this Work. In the *Prerogative Office* there is a subaltern Commission granted to Doctor (afterwards Secretary) *Petre*, on *an.* 13. in the Twenty Seventh Year of the Kings Reign, by which it appears, that *Cromwell's* Commission was at first conceived in very general words, for he is called the King's *Vice-Gerent* in Ecclesiastical Causes, his *Vice-General*, and *Official-Principal*. But because he could not himself attend upon all these affairs, therefore Doctor *Petre* is deputed under him, for receiving the Probates of Wills: From thence likewise it appears, that all Wills, where the Estate was 200 *lib.* or above, were no more to be tryed or proved in the Bishops Courts, but in the *Vicar-General's* Court. Yet though he was called *Vice-Gerent* in that Commission, he was spoken of, and writ to, by the name of *Vicar-General*; but

The Bishops  
swear the  
King's Super-  
macy.

1535. after the second Commission, seen and mentioned by the Lord *Herbert*, in *July* 1536. he was always designed Lord *Vice-Gerent*.

*Antiq Ox n.*  
Lib. 1. p. 258.  
The Original  
Letter is in  
*Cor. Lib. Cleop.*  
E. 4. Feb. 15.

The Franciscan Friars regulate it.

The next thing that was every where laboured with great industry, was, to engage all the rest of the Clergy, chiefly the Regulars, to own the King's Supremacy ; To which they generally submitted. In *Oxford* the Question being put, Whether the Pope had any other Jurisdiction in *England* than any other foreign Bishop? It was referred to Thirty Doctors and Batchelors, who were empower'd to set the University-Seal to their Conclusion. They all agreed in the Negative, and the whole University being examined about it Man by Man, assented to their determination. All the difficulty that I find made, was at *Richmond*, by the *Franciscan Friars*, where the Bishop of *Conventry* and *Litchfield* (*Rowland Lee*) and *Thomas Bedyl*, tendred some Conclusions to them, among which, this was one, *That the Pope of Rome has no greater Jurisdiction in this Kingdom of England, by the Law of God, than any other Foreign Bishop.* This they told them was already subscribed by the two Arch-bishops, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Bath*, and all the other Prelates, and Heads of Houses, and all the famous Clerks of the Realm. And therefore they desired that the Friars would refer the matter to the Four Seniors of the House, and acquiesce in what they should do. But the Friars said, it concerned their Consciences, and therefore they would not submit it to a small part of their House: they added, that they had sworn to follow the Rule of *St. Francis*, and in that they would live and die ; and cited a Chapter of their Rule, " That their Order " should have a Cardinal for their Protector, by whose directions " they might be governed in their obedience to the Holy See. But to this the Bishop answered, That *St. Francis* lived in *Italy*, where the Monks and other Regulars that had Exemptions, were subject to the Pope, as they were in *England* to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. And for the Chapter which they cited, it was shewed them, that it was not written by *St. Francis*, but made since his time ; and though it were truly a part of his Rule, it was told them that no particular Rule ought to be preferred to the Laws of the Land, to which all Subjects were bound to give Obedience, and could not be Excused from it, by any voluntary obligation under which they brought themselves. Yet all this could not prevail on them, but they said to the Bishop, they had professed *St. Francis's*, Rule, and would still continue in the Observance of it.

A General Visitation of Monasteries is designed.

*Orig. Cott. Lib.*  
E. 4.

But though I do not find such resistance made elsewhere, yet it appears that some secret practices of many of those Orders against the State were discovered ; therefore it was resolved, that some effectual means must be taken for lessening their Credit and Authority with the People ; and so a general Visitation of all Monasteries and other Religious Houses was resolved on. This was chiefly advised by Doctor *Leighton*, who had been in the Cardinals Service with *Cromwell*, and was then taken notice of by him, as a dexterous and diligent Man, and therefore was now made use of on this Occasion. He by a Letter to *Cromwell* advertised him, that upon a long Conference with the Dean of the *Arches*, he found the Dean was of Opinion, that it was not fit to make any Visitation in the King's Name yet, for Two or

Three



1535.

Three Years, till his Supremacy were better received; and that he apprehended a severe Visitation so early, would make the Clergy more averse to the King's Power. But *Leighton* on the other Hand, thought nothing would so much recommend the Supremacy, as to see such good Effects of it, as might follow upon a strict and exact Visitation. And the Abuses of Religious Persons were now so great and visible, even to the Laity, that the correcting and reforming these, would be a very popular Thing. He writ further, That there had been no Visitation in the Northern Parts, since the Cardinal ordered it: Therefore he advised one, and desired to be employed in *Yorkshire*. And by another Letter, dated the 4th of *June*, he wrote to *Cromwell*, desiring that Doctor *Lee* and he might be employed in visiting all the Monasteries, from the Diocess of *Lincoln* Northwards: Which they could manage better than any body else, having great Kindred, and a large Acquaintance in those Parts: So that they would be able to discover all the Disorders or seditious Practices in these Houses. He complained that former Visitations had been slight and insignificant, and promised great Faithfulness and Diligence both from himself and Doctor *Lee*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was now making his Metropolitan Visitation, having obtained the King's Licence for it, which says, That he having desired, that according to the Custom, and the Prerogative of his Metropolitan See, he might make his Visitation; the King granted him Licence to do it, and required all to assist and obey him; dated the 28th of *April*. Things were not yet ripe for doing great Matters; so that which he now look'd to, was to see that all should submit to the King's Supremacy; and renounce any dependance on the Pope, whose name was to be struck out of all the publick Offices of the Church. This was begun in *May*, 1535. *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, submitted not to this Visitation, till he had entered three Protestations for keeping up of Privileges.

In *October* began the great Visitation of Monasteries, which was committed to several Commissioners. *Leighton*, *Lee*, and *London*, were most employed. But many others were also impowered to visit. For I find Letters from *Robert Southwell*, *Ellice Price*, *John Ap-price*, *Richard Southwell*, *John Gage*, *Richard Bellasis*, *Walter Hendle*, and several others, to *Cromwell*, giving him an Account of the Progress they made in their several Provinces. Their Commissions, if they were passed under the Great Seal, and enrolled, have been taken out of the Rolls; for there are none of them to be found there. Yet I encline to think, they were not under the Great Seal. For I have seen an Original Commission for the Visitation, that was next Year, which was only under the King's Hand and Signet. From which it may be inferred, that the Commissions this Year, were of the same Nature: Yet whether such Commissions could Authorize them to grant Dispensations, and discharge Men out of the Houses they were in, I am not skill'd enough in Law to determine. And by their Letters to *Cromwell*, I find they did assume Authority for these things. So what their Power was, I am not able to discover. But besides their Power and Commissions, they got Instructions to direct them in their Visitations, and Injunctions to be left in every House, of which, though I

*Cranmer* makes his Metropolitan Visitation.

*Rot. Pat.*  
Regn. 25.  
Part. 1.

*Regist. Stokesley*  
Fol. 44.

The King's Visitation begun.

In MSS. D. G.  
*Pierpoint*.

could

1535.

Cor. Lib.  
Clesop. E. 4.Instructions  
for the Visitation.See *Collect.*  
Number 1.

could not recover the Originals, yet Copies of very good Authority I have seen, which the Reader will find in the Collection at the end of this Book. The Instructions contain 86 Articles. The substance of them was, to try,

“ Whether Divine Service was kept up Day and Night, in the right Hours? And how many were commonly present, and who were frequently absent.

“ Whether the full Number, according to the Foundation, was in every House? Who were Founders? What Additions have been made since the Foundations? And what were their Revenues? Whether it was ever changed from one Order to another? By whom? And for what Cause?

“ What Mortmains they had? And whether their Founders were sufficiently authorized to make such Donations?

“ Upon what Suggestions, and for what Causes they were exempted from their Diocefans?

“ Their Local Statutes were also to be seen and examined.

“ The Election of their Head was to be enquired into. The Rule of every House was to be considered. How many professed? And how many Novices were in it? And at what time the Novices professed?

“ Whether they knew their Rule, and observed it? Chiefly the three Vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience? Whether any of them kept any Money without the Master's Knowledge? Whether they kept company with Women, within or without the Monastery? Or if there were any back-doors, by which Women came within the Precinct? Whether they had any Boys lying by them?

“ Whether they observed the Rules of Silence, Fasting, Abstinence, and Hair-shirts? Or by what warrant they were dispensed with, in any of these?

“ Whether they did Eat, Sleep, wear their Habit, and stay within the Monastery, according to their Rules?

“ Whether the Master was too cruel, or too remifs? And whether he used the Brethren without Partiality or Malice?

“ Whether any of the Brethren were incorrigible?

“ Whether the Master made his Accompts faithfully once a Year?

“ Whether all the other Officers made their Accompts truly? And whether the whole Revenues of the House were employed according to the Intention of the Founders?

“ Whether the Fabrick was kept up, and the Plate and Furniture were carefully preserved?

“ Whether the Covent-Seal, and the Writings of the House were well kept? And whether Leases were made by the Master to his Kindred and Friends, to the Damage of the House? Whether Hospitality was kept? and whether at the receiving of Novices, any Money or Reward was demanded or promised? What care was taken to instruct the Novices?

“ Whether any had entred into the House, in hope to be once the Master of it?

“ Whether in giving Presentations to Livings, the Master had reserved a Pension out of them? Or what sort of Bargains he made concerning them?

“ As

“ An Account was to be taken, of all the Parsonages and Vicarages  
 “ belonging to every House, and how these Benefices were disposed  
 “ of, and how the Cure was served.

1535.

All these things were to be inquired after in the Houses of Monks or  
 Friars. And in the Visitation of Nunneries, they were to search,

“ Whether the House had a good Enclosure, and if the Doors and  
 “ Windows were kept shut, so that no Man could enter at inconveni-  
 “ ent Hours?

“ Whether any Man conversed with the Sisters alone, without the  
 “ Abbesses leave?

“ Whether any Sister was forced to profess, either by her Kindred,  
 “ or by the Abbess?

“ Whether they went out of their Precinct without Leave? And  
 “ whether they wore their Habit then?

“ What employment they had out of the times of Divine Service?

“ What familiarity they had with Religious Men? Whether they  
 “ wrote Love-Letters? Or sent and received Tokens or Presents?

“ Whether the Confessor was a discreet and learned Man, and of  
 “ good Reputation? And how oft a Year the Sisters did Confess and  
 “ Communicate?

They were also to visit all Collegiate Churches, Hospitals and Ca-  
 thedrams, and the Order of the Knights of *Jerusalem*. But if this Copy  
 be compleat they were only to view their Writings and Papers, to see  
 what could be gathered out of them, about the Reformation of Mo-  
 nasticall Orders. And as they were to visit according to these Instru-  
 ctions, so they were to give some Injunctions in the King's Name.

“ That they should endeavour, all that in them lay, that the Act of  
 “ the King's Succession should be observed, (where it is said, *that they*  
*had under their Hands and Seals confirmed it.* This shows, that all the Re-  
 ligious Houses of *England* had acknowledged it:) And they should teach  
 “ the People, that the King's Power was Supreme on Earth, under God,  
 “ and that the Bishop of *Rome's* Power was usurped by Craft and Po-  
 “ licy, and by his ill Canons and Decretals, which had been long to-  
 “ lerated by the Prince, but was now justly taken away.

Injunctions  
for all Religi-  
ous Houses.See Collect.  
Number 2.

“ The Abbot and Brethren were declared to be absolved from any  
 “ Oath, they had sworn to the Pope, or to any Foreign Potentate; and  
 “ the Statutes of any Order, that did bind them to a Foreign Subjec-  
 “ tion, were abrogated and ordered to be razed out of their Books.

“ That no Monk should go out of the Precinct, nor any Woman en-  
 “ ter within it, without leave from the King or the Visitor, and that  
 “ there should be no entry to it, but one.

“ Some Rules were given about their Meals, and a Chapter of the  
 “ Old or New Testament was ordered to be read at every one. The  
 “ Abbots Table was to be served with common Meats, and not with  
 “ delicate and strange Dishes; and either he, or one of the Seniors,  
 “ were to be always there to entertain Strangers.

“ Some other Rules follow about the Distribution of their Alms,  
 “ their Accommodation in Health and Sicknes. One or two of every  
 “ House was to be kept at the University; that when they were well  
 “ instructed, they might come and teach others: And every Day, there  
 “ was to be a Lecture of Divinity for a whole Hour: The Brethren  
 “ must all be well employed.

The

1535.

“ The Abbot or Head was every day to explain some part of the Rule, and apply it according to Christ’s Law; and to shew them, that their Ceremonies were but Elements, introductory to true Christianity; and that Religion consisted not in Habits, or in such like Rites, but in cleanness of Heart, pureness of Living, unfeigned Faith, Brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Truth: That therefore they must not rest in their Ceremonies, but ascend by them to true Religion.

“ Other Rules are added about the Revenues of the House, and against Wastes, and that none be entered into their House, nor admitted under Twenty Four Years of Age.

“ Every Priest in the House was to say Mass Daily; and in it, to pray for the King and Queen.

“ If any break any of these Injunctions, he was to be denounced to the King, or his Visitor-general. The Visitor had also Authority to punish any, whom he should find guilty of any Crime, and to bring the Visitor-general, such of their Books and Writings as he thought fit.

An Account of the Progress of the Monastical State in England.

But before I give an Account of this Visitation, I presume it will not be ingrateful to the Reader to offer him some short view of the Rise and Progress of Monastick Orders in *England*, and of the State they were in at this Time. What the Ancient *British* Monks were, or by what Rule they were governed; whether it was from the Eastern Churches, that this Constitution was brought into *Britain*, and was either suited to the Rule of *St. Anthony*, *St. Pachom*, or *St. Basil*; or whether they had it from *France*, where *Sulpitius* tells us, *St. Martin* set up Monasteries, must be left to conjecture. But from the little that remains of them, we find they were very Numerous, and were obedient to the Bishop of *Caerleon*, as all the Monks of the Primitive Times were to their Bishops, according to the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

But upon the Confusions which the *Gothick* Wars brought into *Italy*, *Benedict* and others set up Religious Houses; and more artificial Rules and Methods were found out for their Government. Not long after that, *Austin* the Monk came into *England*; and having baptized *Ethelbert*, he persuaded him to found a Monastery at *Canterbury*, which the King, by his Charter, exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop and his Successors. This was not only done by *Austin*’s Consent, but he by another Writing confirms this Foundation; and exempted both the Monastery and all the Churches belonging to it, from his, or his Successor’s Jurisdictions; and most earnestly conjures his Successors, never to give any trouble to the Monks, who were only to be subject to their own Abbot. And this was granted, that they might have no disturbance in the Service of God. But (whether this, with many other Ancient Foundations, were not latter Forgeries, which I vehemently suspect, I leave to Criticks to discuss.) The next Exemption, that I find, was granted in the Year 680, to the Abby of *Peterborough*, by Pope *Agatho*, and was Signed by *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, called the Popes Legate (this I doubt was Forged afterwards.) In the Year 725, King *Ina*’s Charter to the Abbey of *Glassebury*, relates to their Ancient Charters, and exempts them from the Bishops Jurisdiction. King *Offa* founded, and exempted the Monastery of *St. Albans*,

The Exemptions of Monasteries. See *Monasticon*.

in

in the Year 793, which Pope *Honorius* the 3d confirmed, Anno 1218, *Kenulph* King of *Mercia* founded and exempted *Abington*, in the Year 821. *Knut* founded and exempted *St. Edmundsbury* in the Year 1020.

About the end of the Eighth Century, the *Daxes* began to make their Descents into *England*, and made every where great Depredations; and finding the Monks had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the Riches of the Nation, they made their most frequent inroads upon those Places where they knew the richest Spoil was to be found. And they did so wast and ruine these Houses, that they were generally abandon'd by the Monks, who as they loved the Ease and Wealth they had enjoyed formerly in their Houses, so had no mind to expose themselves to the Persecutions of those heathenish Invaders. But when they had deserted their Seats, the secular Clegy came and possessed them; so that in King *Edgar's* Time, there was scarce a Monk in all *England*. He was a most dissolute and lewd Prince, but being perswaded by *Dunstan* and other Monks, that what he did towards the restoring of that decayed State, would be a Matter of great Merit, became the great Promoter of the Monastical State in *England*; for he converted most of the Chapters into Monasteries; and by his Foundation of the Priory of *Worcester*, it appears, he had then founded no fewer than Forty Seven, which he intended to encrease to Fifty, *the number of Pardon*. Yet in his Foundations, he only exempted the Monasteries, from all Actions or Dues, which the Bishops claimed. There are Exemptions of several Rates and Sizes: Some Houses were only exempted from all Exactions; others from all Jurisdiction or Visitations; others had only an Exemption for their Precinct; others for all the Churches that belonged to them. *Edward* the Confessor exempted many of these Houses, which *Edgar* had founded, as *Ramsfey*, &c. He also founded and exempted *Coventry* and *Westminster*, and the Exemption of the last, was likewise confirmed by Pope *Nicolas*, in a Bull to King *Edward*. *William* the Conqueror founded and exempted the Abbey of *Battel* from all Episcopal Jurisdiction.

But after that time I do not find, that our Kings exempted Abbeyes from any thing, but Episcopal Exactions; for though formerly Kings had made Laws, and given Orders about Ecclesiastical Matters, yet now the claim to an Immunity from the Civil Jurisdiction, and also the Papal Authority, were grown to that Height, that Princes were to meddle no more with sacred Things. And henceforth all Exemptions were granted by the Popes, who claimed a Jurisdiction over the whole Church; and assumed that Power to themselves with many other Usurpations.

All the Ancient Foundations were subscribed by the King, the Queen and Prince, with many Bishops and Abbots, and Dukes and Earls consenting. The Abbeyes being exempted from all Jurisdiction, both Civil and Spiritual, and from all Impositions; and having generally the Privilege of Sanctuary for all that fled to them, were at Ease, and accountable to none, so they might do what they pleased. They found also means to enrich themselves, First by the belief of Purgatory. For they perswaded all People, that the Souls departed,

Monasteries generally wasted and deserted;

Antiquities of Britain.

Disruption of the Monasteries by King Edgar.

Arts used by the Monks for enriching their Houses.

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went generally thither; few were so Holy, as to go straight to Heaven; and few so bad, as to be cast to Hell. Then People were made believe, that the saying of Masses for their Souls, gave them great relief in their Torments, and did at length deliver them out of them. This being generally received, it was thought by all a piece of Piety to their Parents, and of necessary care for themselves, and their Families, to give some part of their Estates towards the enriching of these Houses, for having a Mass said every Day for the Souls of their Ancestors, and for their own, after their Death. And this did so spread, that if some Laws had not restrained their Profuseness, the greater part of all the Estates in *England*, had been given to those Houses. But the Statutes of *Mortmain* were not very effectual Restraints; for what King soever had refused to grant a *Mortmain*, was sure to have an uneasy Reign ever after.

Yet this did not satisfy the Monks, but they fell upon other contrivances, to get the best of all Men's Jewels, Plate and Furniture. For they persuaded them, that the Protection and Intercession of Saints, were of mighty use to them; so that whatsoever respect they put on the Shrines and Images, but chiefly on the Relicks of Saints, they would find their Account in it, and the Saints would take it kindly at their Hands, and intercede the more earnestly for them. And People who saw Courtiers much wrought on by Presents, imagined the Saints were of the same Temper; only with this Difference, That Courtiers love to have Presents put in their own Hands, but the Saints were satisfied, if they were given to others. And as in the Courts of Princes, the new Favourite commonly had greatest Credit, so every new Saint was believed to have a greater Force in his Addresses; and therefore every body was to run to their Shrines, and make great Presents to them. This being infused into the credulous Multitude, they brought the richest things they had, to the Places where the Bodies or Relicks of those Saints were laid. Some Images were also believed to have a peculiar Excellency in them; and Pilgrimages and Presents to these, were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the Monks found the means either by Dreams or Visions, and strange Miraculous Stories, to feed the Devotion of the People. Relicks without Number, were every where discovered; and most wonderful Relations of the Martyrdom, and other Miracles of the Saints, were made and read in all Places to the People; and new Improvements were daily made in a Trade, that through the Craft of the Monks, and the Simplicity of the People, brought in great advantages. And though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was strange rivalling, not only among the several Orders, but the Houses of the same Order. The Monks, especially of *Glassenbury*, *St. Albans*, and *St. Edmundsbury*; vied one with another, who could tell the most extravagant Stories, for the Honour of their House, and of the Relicks in it.

They became generally corrupted.

The Monks in these Houses abounding in Wealth, and living at Ease and in Idleness, did so degenerate, that from the Twelfth Century downward, their Reputation abated much; and the Privileges of Sanctuaries, were a general Grievance, and oft complained of in Parliament: For they received all that fled to them, which put a great stop to Justice, and did encourage the most criminal Offenders. They

became

became lewd and dissolute, and so impudent in it, that some of their Farms were Let, for bringing in a yearly Tribute to their Lusts: Nor did they keep Hospitality and relieve the Poor, but rather encouraged Vagabonds and Beggars, against whom Laws were made, both in *Edward* the 3d, King *Henry* the 7th, and this Kings Reign.

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But from the Twelfth Century, the Orders of begging Friars were set up, and they by the Appearance of Severity and Mortification, gained great Esteem. At first they would have nothing, no real Estates, but the ground on which their House stood. But afterwards distinctions were found, for satisfying their Consciences in larger Possessions. They were not so Idle and Lazy as the Monks, but went about and Preached, and heard Confessions, and carried about Indulgences, with many other pretty little Things, *Agnus Dei's*, *Rosaries* and *Pebles*, which they made the World believe, had great Virtue in them. And they had the Esteem of the People, wholly engrossed to themselves. They were also more formidable to Princes, than the Monks, because they were poorer, and by Consequence, more hardy and bold. There was also a firmer Union of their whole Order, they having a General at *Rome*, and being divided into many Provinces, subject to their Provincials. They had likewise the *School-Learning* wholly in their Hands, and were great Preachers, so that many things concurred, to raise their Esteem with the People very High, yet great Complaints lay against them, for they went more abroad than the Monks did, and were believed guilty of corrupting Families. The Scandals that went on them, upon their relaxing the primitive strictness of their Orders, were a little rectified by some Reformations of these Orders. But that lasted not long; for they became liable to much Censure, and many Visitations had been made, but to little Purpose. This concurring with their secret Practices against the King, both in the Matter of his Divorce and Supremacy, made him more willing to examine the Truth of these Reports; that if they were found guilty of such Scandals, they might lose their Credit with the People, and occasions be ministred to the King, to justify the Suppression of them.

Upon which the begging Friars grew much in Credit.

There was also two other Motives, that enclined the King to this Council. The one was, that he apprehended a War from the Emperor, who was then the only Prince in the World, that had any considerable Force at Sea; having both great Fleets in the *Indies*, and being Prince of the *Netherlands*, where the greatest Trade of these Parts was driven. Therefore the King judged it necessary to fortifie his Ports, and seeing the great Advantages of Trade, which began then to rise much, was resolved to encourage it: For which end he intended to build many Havens and Harbors. This was a Matter of great Charge, and as his own Revenue could not defray it, so he had no mind to lay heavy Taxes on his Subjects, therefore the Suppression of Monasteries, was thought the easiest way of raising Money.

The King's secret Motives for dissolving these Houses.

He also intended to erect many more Bishopricks, to which *Cranmer* advised him much, that the vastness of some Diocesses, being reduced to a narrower Compass, Bishops might better discharge their Duties, and oversee their Flocks, according to the Scriptures and the Primitive Rules.

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Cranmer's design in it.

But *Cranmer* did on another Reason, press the Suppression of Monasteries. He found that their Foundations, and whole State, was inconsistent with a full and true Reformation. For among the things to be reform'd, where these Abuses, which were essential to their Constitution, (such as the Belief of Purgatory, of redeeming Souls by Masses, the Worship of Saints and Images, and Pilgrimages, and the like.) And therefore those Societies, whose interest it was to oppose the Reformation, were once to be suppressed: And then he hoped, upon new Endowments and Foundations, new Houses should have been erected at every Cathedral, to be Nurseries for that whole Diocess; which he thought would be more suitable to the primitive Use of Monasteries, and more profitable to the Church. This was his Scheme, as will afterwards appear; which was in some measure effected, though not so fully as he projected, for Reasons to be told in their proper Place.

First Monastery that was dissolved.

There had been a Bull sent from *Rome*, for dissolving some Monasteries, and erecting Bishopricks out of them, as was related in the former Book, in the Year 1532. And it seems it was upon that Authority, that in the Year 1533. the Priory of Christ Church near *Algate* in *London*, was dissolved, and given to the Lord Chancellor *Sir Thomas Audley*; (not to make him speak shriller for his Master in the House of Commons, as *Fuller* mistakes it; for he had been Lord Chancellor a year before this was given him.) The Pope's Authority not being at that time put down, nor the King's Supremacy set up, I conjecture it was done, pursuant to the Bull for the Dissolution, of some Religious Houses; but I never saw the Dissolution, and so can only guess on what ground it was made. But in the Parliament held the former Year, in which the King's Grant of that House to the Lord Chancellor, was confirmed, it is said "in the Preamble, That the Prior and Convent, had resigned that House to the King the 24th of February 23d Regni, and had left their House; but no mention is made, upon what Reason they did it.

Act. 10. Rot. Parl. Regn. 25.

The Proceedings of the Visitors.

Cott. Lib. Cleop. F. 4.

But now I come to Consider, how the Visitors carried on their Visitations. Many severe things are said of their Proceedings, nor is it any wonder that Men, who had traded so long in lies as the Monks had done, should load those whom they esteemed the Instruments of their Ruin, with many Calumnies. By their Letters to *Cromwell* it appears, that in most Houses they found Monstrous Disorders. That many fell down on their Knees, and prayed they might be discharged, since they had been forced to make Vows against their Wills; with these the Visitors dispensed, and set them at liberty. They found great Factions in the Houses, and barbarous Cruelties exercised by one Faction against another, as either of them prevailed. In many Places, when they gave them the King's Injunctions, many cryed out that the Severity of them was intolerable, and they desired rather to be suppressed, than so reformed. They were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superstition. In some they found the Instruments, and other Tools for multiplying and coining.

But for the Lewdness of the Confessors of Nunneries, and the great Corruption of that State, whole Houses being found almost all with Child; for the Dissoluteness of Abbots and the other Monks and Fri-

ars,



ars, not only with Whores, but Married Women ; and for their unnatural Lusts and other brutal practices; these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this Nature. The full report of this Visitation is lost, yet I have seen an Extract of a part of it, concerning 144 Houses, that contains Abominations in it, equal to any that were in *Sodom*.

One passage that is more remarkable, I shall only set down; because upon it followed the first Resignation of any Religious House, that I could ever find. Doctor *Leighton* beset the Abbot of *Langden's* House, and broke open his door of a sudden, and found his Whore with him; and in the Abbot's Coffer, there was an habit for her, for she went for a young Brother. Whether the shame of this discovery, or any other consideration prevailed with him, I know not; but on the 13th of *November*, he and Ten Monks Signed a Resignation, which hath an odd kind of Preamble, to be found in the Collection. " It says, that the Revenue of the House, was so much ' endamaged, and engaged in so much debt, that they considering ' this, and what remedies might be found for it, saw, that except ' the King, of whose Foundation the House was, did speedily relieve ' them, it must be very quickly ruined, both as to its Spiritual and ' Temporal concerns; therefore they surrender up their House to ' the King. They were of the Order of *Premonstre*, and their House was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, and St. *Thomas Becket*. This Precedent was followed by the like surrender, with the same Preamble, on the 15th of *November*, by the Prior of *Folkeston* a Benedictine, and on the 16th by the Prior of *Dover*, with Eight Monks. These were all of them in the County of *Kent*. But neither among the Original Surrenders, nor in the Clause Rolls, are there any other Deeds, in this year of our Lord, there are indeed in the same year of the King, (which runs till *April 1536*.) four other Surrenders with the same Preambles. Of *Merton* in *Yorkshire*, a Convent of *Augustinians*, Signed by the Prior and Five Monks, the 9th of *February*; of *Bilsington* in *Kent*, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks, the 21st of *February*; of *Tilty* in *Essex*, a Convent of *Cistercians*, Signed by the Prior and Five Monks; and of *Hornby* in *Yorkshire*, a Convent of the *Premonstre*, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks the 23d of *March*. These were all the Surrenders that I can discover to have been made before the Act of Parliament for suppressing the lesser Monasteries, passed in the next Session that was assembled in *February*.

But before that, the afflicted and unfortunate Queen *Katharine* died at *Kimbolton*; She had been much disquieted, because she would not lay down her Title as Queen. Many of her Servants were put from her on that account; but she would except of no Service, from any that did not use her as a Queen, and call her so. The King sent oft to her to perswade her to more Compliance. But she stood her ground, and said, since the Pope had judged her Marriage good, she would lose her life, before she did any thing in prejudice of it. She became more chearful, than she had wont to be; and the Country people came much to her whom she received, and used very Obligingly. The King had a mind she should go to *Fotheringhay-Castle*.

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iii.

Some Houses resigned up to the King.

Collect. Numb. 3. Sect. 1.

The Original of these Resignations are in the Augmentation-Office and enrolled. Rot. Claus. Part. 1st. Regn. 27.

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The death of Queen *Katharine*.

Originals, Otho. C. 10. Cott. Lib.

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fle. But when it was proposed to her, she plainly said, she would never go thither, unless she was carried as a Prisoner, bound with Ropes. She desired leave to come nearer *London*; but that was not granted. She had the Jointure that was assigned her, as *Princess Dowager*; and was treated with the respect due to that Dignity, but all the Women about her, still called her Queen. I do not find she had any thoughts of going out of *England*; though her Life in it was but Melancholy. Yet her care to support her Daughters Title, made her bear all the Disgraces she lay under. The Officious and practising Clergy, that were for the Court of *Rome*, look'd on her as the Head of their Party, and asserted her Interest much. Yet she was so watched, that she could not hold any great Correspondence with them; though in the matter of the Maid of *Kent*, she had some Medling.

When she sicken'd, she made her Will; and appointed her Body to be buried in a Convent of Observant Friars, (who had done and suffered most for her;) and Ordered Five Hundred Masses to be said for her Soul; and that one should go a Pilgrimage, to our Lady of *Walsingham*, and give Twenty Nobles by the way to the poor. Some other small Legacies she left to her Servants. When the King heard she was sick, he sent a kind Message to her; and the Emperors Ambassador went to see her, and to cheer her up, but when she found her sickness like to prove Mortal, she made one about her write a Letter in her name, to the King. In the Title she call'd him, 'Her good Lord, King and Husband. She advised him to look to the health of his Soul. She forgave him all the Troubles he had cast her into. She recommended their Daughter *Mary* to him, and desired he would be a Loving Father to her. She also desired, that he would provide Matchés for her Maids, who were but Three; and that he would give her Servants one years Wages more than was due to them. And Concluded lastly, *I make this Vow, That mine eyes desire you above all things.* By another Letter, she recommended her Daughter to the Emperors care. On the 8th of *January* she died, in the Fiftieth year of her Age, Thirty Three years after she came to *England*. She was a devout and pious Princess, and led a severe and mortified Life. In her Greatness, she wrought much with her own hands, and kept her Women well employed about her; as appeared, when the Two Legates came once to speak with her. She came out to them with a Skein of silk about her Neck, and told them, she had been within at work with her Women. She was most passionately devoted to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*, they being so interwoven with her own. And in a word, she is represented as a most wonderful good Woman. Only I find on many occasions, that the King complained much of her uneasiness and peevishness. But whether the fault was in her humour, or in the Provocations she met with, the Reader may conjecture. The King received the news of her death, with some regret. But he would not give leave to bury her, as she had ordered; but made her body be laid in the Abbey Church of *Peterborough*, which he afterwards Converted to an Episcopal Cathedral. But Queen *Anne* did not carry her death so decently; for she express'd too much joy at it, both in her Carriage and Dress.

On the 4th of *February* the Parliament sat upon a Prorogation of 14 Months, (for in the Record there is no mention of any intermedial Prorogation,) where a great many Laws, relating to Civil concerns were passed. By the 15th Act, the Power that had been given by a former Act to the King, for naming thirty two Persons, to make a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, was again confirmed; for nothing had been done upon the former Act. But there was no limitation of time in this Act, and so there was nothing done in pursuance of it.

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A new Session  
of Parliament

The great business of this Session of Parliament, was the suppressing the lesser Monasteries. How this went through the two Houses, we cannot know from the Journals, for they are lost. But all the Historians of that time tell us, that the report which the Visitors made to the King was read in Parliament; which represented the manners of these Houses so odiously, that the Act was easily carried. The Preamble bears, "That small Religious Houses, under the number of  
" twelve Persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of vicious and  
" abominable Living; and did much consume and waste their Churches  
" Lands and other things belonging to them; and that for above two  
" hundred years, there had been many Visitations for reforming these  
" Abuses, but with no success; their vicious living encreasing daily:  
" So that except small Houses were dissolved, and the Religious put in-  
" to greater Monasteries, there could no Reformation be expected in  
" that matter. Whereupon the King having received a full informati-  
" on of these Abuses, both by his Visitors and other credible ways;  
" and considering that there were divers great Monasteries in which  
" Religion was well kept and observed, which had not the full number  
" in them, that they might and ought to receive, had made a full  
" Declaration of the Premises in Parliament. Whereupon it was En-  
" acted, That all Houses which might spend yearly 200*l.* or within it,  
" should be suppressed, and their Revenues converted to better uses,  
" and they compelled to reform their Lives. The Lord *Herbert* thinks it strange, that the Statute in the printed Book, has no Preamble, but begins bluntly. *Fuller* tells us, that he wonders, that Lord did not see the Record; and he sets down the Preamble, and says, *The rest follow as in the printed Statute, Chap. 27th.* by a mistake for the 28. This shews that neither the one nor the other, ever look'd on the Record. For there is a particular Statute of Dissolution, distinct from the 28th. Chap. And the Preamble which *Fuller* sets down, belongs not to the 28th Chapter, as he says, but to the 18th Chapter, which was never Printed: and the 28th relates in the Preamble, to that other Statute, which had given these Monasteries to the King.

The lesser  
Monasteries  
are suppressed.

The reasons that were pretended for dissolving these Houses, were: That whereas there was but a small number of Persons in them, they entred into Confederacies together, and their Poverty set them on, to use many ill arts to grow Rich. They were also much abroad, and kept no manner of Discipline in their Houses. 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: For many Houses then rated at two hundred Pounds,

Reasons for  
doing so

were

1536. were worth many thousands, as will appear to any that compares what they were then valued at, (which is Collected by *Speed*;) with what their Estates are truly worth. When this was passing in Parliament, *Stokesley*, Bishop of *London* said, "These lesser Houses were as Thorns soon pluck'd up, but the great Abbots were like putrefied old Oaks; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom, before many years were passed.

By another Act, all these Houses, their Churches, Lands, and all their Goods were given to the King, and his Heirs and Successors, together with all other Houses, which within a year before the making of the Act, had been dissolved or suppressed: And for the gathering the Revenues that belonged to them, a new Court was Erected, called the Court of the *Augmentations of the King's Revenue*; which was to consist of a Chancellor, a Treasurer, an Attorney and Solicitor, and ten Auditors, seventeen Receivers, a Clerk, an Usher, and a Messenger. This Court was to bring in the Revenues of such Houses as were now Dissolved, excepting only such as the King by his Letters-Patents, continued in their former State, appointing a Seal for the Court, with full Power and Authority to dispose of these Lands so as might be most for the King's Service.

Thus fell the lesser Abbeys, to the number of 376, and soon after, this Parliament which had done the King such eminent Service, and had now sat six years, was dissolved on the 14th of *April*.

The Translation of the Bible in *English* designed.

In the Convocation, a motion was made of great Consequence; That there should be a Translation of the Bible in *English*, to be set up in all the Churches of *England*. The Clergy, when they procured *Tindall's* Translation to be condemned, and suppressed it, gave out that they intended to make a Translation into the *Vulgar-Tongue*: Yet it was afterwards upon a long Consultation, Resolved, That it was free for the Church to give the Bible in a *Vulgar-Tongue*, or not as they pleased; and that the King was not obliged to it, and that at that time it was not at all expedient to do it. Upon which, those that promoted the Reformation, made great Complaints, and said, It was visible the Clergy knew there was an opposition between the Scriptures and their Doctrine. That they had first condemned *Wickliff's* Translation, and then *Tindall's*; and though they ought to teach men the Word of God, yet they did all they could to suppress it.

The reasons for it.

In the times of the Old Testament, the Scriptures were writ in the *Vulgar-Tongue*, and all were charged to read and remember the Law. The Apostles wrote in Greek, which was then the most common Language in the World. Christ did also appeal to the Scriptures, and sent the People to them. And by what *St. Paul* says of *Timothy*, it appears, that Children were then early trained up in that Study. In the Primitive Church, as Nations were converted to the Faith, the Bible was Translated into their Tongue. The Latin Translation was very Ancient; the Bible was afterwards put into the *Scythian*, *Dalmatian* and *Gothick* Tongues. It continued thus for several Ages, till the state of Monckery rose; and then when they engrossed the Riches, and the Pope's assumed the Dominion of the World, it was not consistent with these Designs, nor with the Arts used to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known: Therefore Legends and strange Stories of Visions,

ons with other Devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their Credit, and carrying on their Ends.

It was now generally desired, that if there were just exceptions against what *Tindal* had done, these might be amended in a New Translation. This was a plausible thing, and wrought much on all that heard it; who plainly concluded, that those who denied the People the use of the Scriptures in their vulgar Tongues, must needs know their own Doctrine and Practices to be inconsistent with it. Upon these Grounds *Cranmer*, who was projecting the most effectual means for promoting a Reformation of Doctrine, moved in Convocation, that they should petition the King for leave to make a Translation of the Bible. But *Gardiner* and all his Party opposed it, both in Convocation, and in secret with the King. It was said, that all the Heresies and extravagant Opinions, which were then in *Germany*, and from thence coming over to *England*, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures. And whereas in *May* the last Year, Nineteen *Hollanders* were accused of some Heretical Opinions; 'denying Christ to be both God and Man, or that he took 'Flesh and Blood of the Virgin *Mary*, or that the Sacraments had any 'Effect on those that received them; in which Opinions Fourteen of them remained Obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several Places; it was complained, that all those drew their Damnable Errors from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. And to offer the Bible in the *English* Tongue to the whole Nation, during these Distractions, would prove, as they pretended, the greatest Snare that could be. Therefore they proposed, that there should be a short Exposition of the most useful and necessary Doctrines of the Christian Faith, given to the People in the *English* Tongue, for the Instruction of the Nation, which would keep them in a certain Subjection to the King, and the Church, in Matters of Faith.

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The Opposition made to it.

The other Party, though they liked well the publishing such a Treatise in the vulgar Tongue, yet by no means thought that sufficient; but said, the People must be allowed to search the Scripture, by which they might be convinced that such Treatises were according to it. These Arguments prevailed with the Two Houses of Convocation. So they petitioned the King, that he would give Order to some, to set about it. To this, great Opposition was made at Court. Some, on the one hand, told the King, that a Diversity of Opinions would arise out of it; and that he could no more Govern his Subjects if he gave Way to that. But on the other hand, it was represented, that nothing would make his Supremacy so acceptable to the Nation, and make the Pope more hateful, than to let them see, that whereas the Popes had Governed them by a blind Obedience, and kept them in darkness, the King brought them into the light, and gave them the free use of the Word of God. And nothing would more effectually extirpate the Pope's Authority, and discover the Impostures of the Monks, than the Bible in *English*; in which all People would clearly discern, there was no Foundation for those Things. These Arguments, joyned with the Power that the Queen had in his Affections, were so much considered by the King, that he gave Order for setting about it immediately. To whom that work was committed, or how they proceeded in it, I know not. For the Account of these Things has not been preserved, nor conveyed to us, with that Care that the Importance of the Thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate; for

1536. three years after this, it was Printed at *Paris*; which shows they made all convenient hast, in a thing that required so much deliberation.

The Fall of  
Queen *Anne*.

But this was the last publick good Act of this unfortunate Queen; who the nearer she drew to her end, grew more full of good works. She had distributed, in the last Nine Months of her Life, between Fourteen and Fifteen Thousand Pounds to the Poor, and was designing great and publick good things. And by all appearance, if she had lived, the Money that was raised by the Suppression of Religious Houses, had been better employed than it was. In *January*, she brought forth a dead Son. This was thought to have made ill Impressions on the King: and that, as he concluded from the Death of his Sons by the former Queen, that the Marriage was displeasing to God; so he might upon this misfortune, begin to make the like judgment of this Marriage. Sure enough the Popish Party were earnestly set against the Queen, looking on her as a great Supporter of Heresie. And at that time *Fox* then Bishop of *Hereford* was in *Germany* at *Smalcald*, treating a League with the Protestant Princes, who insisted much on the *Ausburg* Confession. There were many Conferences between *Fox* and Doctor *Barnes*, and some others, with the *Lutheran* Divines, for accommodating the Differences between them, and the thing was in a good Forwardness. All which was imputed to the Queen. *Gardiner* was then Ambassador in *France*, and wrote earnestly to the King, to dissuade him from entering into any Religious League with these Princes: for that would alienate all the World from him, and dispose his own Subjects to Rebel. The King thought the *German-Princes* and Divines should have submitted all Things to his Judgment, and had such an Opinion of his own Learning, and was so puffed up with the flattering Praises that he daily heard, that he grew impatient of any Opposition, and thought that his Dictates should pass for Oracles. And because the *Germans* would not receive them so, his mind was alienated from them.

The whole  
Popish Party  
drove it on.

But the Duke of *Norfolk* at Court, and *Gardiner* beyond Sea, thought there might easily be found a mean to accommodate the King, both with the Emperor and the Pope, if the Queen were once out of the way; for then he might freely marry any one whom he pleased, and that Marriage with the Male Issue of it, could not be disputed: Whereas, as long as the Queen lived, her Marriage, as being judged Null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the Court of *Rome*, or any of that Party: with these Reasons of State, others of affection concurred. The Queen had been his Wife three years; but at this Time he entertained a secret Love for *Jane Seimour*, who had all the Charms both of Beauty and Youth in her Person; and her humour was tempered, between the severe gravity of Queen *Katharine*, and the gay pleasantness of Queen *Anne*. The Queen perceiving this Alienation of the King's Heart, used all possible Arts to recover that Affection, of whose Decay she was sadly sensible. But the Success was quite contrary to what she designed. For the King saw her no more with those Eyes, which she had formerly captivated; but grew jealous, and ascribed these caresses to some other criminal Affections, of which he began to suspect her. This being one of the most memorable Passages of this Reign, I was at more than ordinary Pains to learn all I could concerning it, and have not only seen a great many Letters that were writ, by those that were set about the Queen, and caught every thing that fell from her, and sent it to Court, but have also seen an account of it, which the Learned

Learned *Spelman*, who was a Judge at that Time, writ with his own hand in his Common-place Book, and another Account of it writ by one *Anthony Anthony*, a Surveyor of the Ordnance of the *Tower*. From all which I shall give a just and faithful Relation of it, without concealing the least Circumstance, that may either seem favourable or unfavourable to her.

1536.

She was of a very chearful Temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and discretion. She had rallied some of the King's Servants more than became her. Her Brother, the Lord *Rochford* was her Friend as well as Brother; but his spiteful Wife was jealous of him: and being a Woman of no sort of Vertue, (as will appear afterwards by her serving Queen *Katharine Howard* in her beastly Practices, for which she was attainted and executed,) she carried many Stories to the King, or some about him, to persuade, that there was a familiarity between the Queen and her Brother, beyond what so near a Relation could justify. All that could be said for it, was only this; That he was once seen leaning upon her Bed, which bred great suspicion. *Henry Norris*, that was Groom of the Stole, *Weston*, and *Brereton*, that were of the King's Privy-Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton*, a Musician, were well observ'd to have much of her favour. And their Zeal in serving her was thought too warm and diligent to flow from a less active Principle than Love. Many Circumstances were brought to the King, which working upon his aversion to the Queen, together with his Affection to Mistress *Seimour*, made him conclude her guilty. Yet somewhat which himself observed, or fancied, at a Tilting at *Greenwich*, is believed to have given the Crisis to her Ruin. It is said, that he spied her let her Handkerchief fall to one of her Gallants to wipe his Face, being hot after a Course. Whether she dropt it carelessly, or of design; or whether there be any truth in that story, the Letters concerning her fall, making no mention of it, I cannot determine; for *Spelman* makes no mention of it, and gives a very different account of the discovery in these words. *As for the evidence of this matter, it was discovered by the Lady Wingfield who had been a Servant to the Queen, and becoming on a suddain infirm some time before her death, did swear this matter to one of her* . . . . and hereby unluckily the rest of the Page is torn off. By this it seems, there was no legal Evidence against the Queen, and that it was but a Witness at second hand, who deposed what they heard the Lady *Wingfield* swear. Who this Person was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the Lady *Wingfield* might be, when she swore it. The safest sort of forgery, to one whose Conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead Person's name, where there is no fear of discovery before the Great Day; and when it was understood that the Queen had lost the King's heart, many, either out of their Zeal to Popery, or design to make their fortune, might be easily induced to carry a Story of this Nature. And this, it seems, was that which was brought to the King at *Greenwich*; who did thereupon immediately return to *Whitehall*, it being the 1st of *May*. The Queen was immediately restrained to her Chamber; the other Five were also seized on: But none of them would confess any thing, but *Mark Smeton*, as to any actual thing, so *Cromwel* writ. Upon this they were carried to the *Tower*. The poor Queen was in a sad condition; she must not only fall under the King's displeasure, but be both defam'd and destroyed at once. At first she smiled and carried it cheerfully; and said,

The King's Jealousie of her.

The Letters about this. Cor. Lib. Orho. C. 10.

1536. she believed the King did this only to prove her. But when she saw it was in earnest, she desired to have the Sacrament in her Closet, and expressed great devotion, and seemed to be prepared for death.

The surprisè and confusion she was in, raised fits of the Mother, which those about her did not seem to understand: But Three or Four Letters, which were writ by Sir *William Kingston* to Secretary *Cromwell*, concerning her, to Court, say, That she was at some times very devout, and cried much; and of a sudden would burst out in Laughter, which are evident signs of Vapours. When she heard that those, who were accused with her, were sent to the *Tower*, she then concluded her self lost; and said, she should be sent thither next; and talked idly, saying, "That if her Bishops were about the King, they would all speak for her. She also said, That she would be a Saint in Heaven, for she had done many good deeds; and that their should be no Rain, but heavy Judgments on the Land, for what they were now doing to her. Her Enemies had now gone too far not to destroy her. Next day she was carried to the *Tower*, and some Lords, that met her on the River, declared to her what her Offences were. Upon which, she made deep Protestations of her Innocence, and begged leave to see the King; but that was not to be expected. When she was carried into the *Tower*, "She fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused. That same day the King wrote to *Cranmer* to come to *Lambeth*; but ordered him not to come into his presence. Which was procured by the Queen's Enemies, who took care, that one who had such credit with the King, should not come at him, till they had fully persuaded him that she was guilty. Her Uncle's Lady, the Lady *Boleyn*, was appointed to lie in the Chamber with her, which she took very ill; for, upon what reason I know not, she had been in very ill terms with her. She engaged her into much discourse, and studied to draw Confessions from her. Whatsoever she said, was presently sent to the Court. And a Woman full of Vapours, was like enough to tell every thing that was true, with a great deal more; for persons in that condition, not only have no command of themselves, but are apt to say any thing that comes in their fancy.

She is put in the *Tower*, and pleads her Innocency.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, and some of the King's Council, were with her; but could draw nothing from her, though they made her believe, that *Norris* and *Mark* had accused her. But when they were gone, she fell down on her knees and wept, and prayed often, *Jesu have Mercy on me*; and then fell a-laughing: when that fit was over, she desired to have the Sacrament still by her, that she might cry for Mercy. And she said to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, she was as clear of the Company of all men, as to sin, as she was clear from him; and that she was the King's true wedded Wife. And she cryed out, "O *Norris*, hast thou accused me? Thou art in the *Tower* with me, and thou and I shall die together; and *Mark*, so shalt thou too. She apprehended they were to put her in a Dungeon; and sadly bemoaned her own, and her Mother's Misery; and asked them, whether she must die without Justice. But they told her, the poorest Subjects had Justice, much more would she have it. The same Letter says, that *Norris* had not accused her; and that he said to her Almoner, that he could swear for her, *she was a good Woman*. But she being made believe that he had

But confessed some indiscreet words.

accused her, and not being then so free in her thoughts, as to consider that ordinary Artifice for drawing out Confessions, told all she knew, both



both of him and *Mark*. Which though it was not enough to destroy her, yet certainly wrought much on the jealous and alienated King. She told them, "That she once asked *Norris*, why he did not go on with his Marriage? who answered her, That he would yet tarry some time. To which she replied, You look for dead mens shooes; for if ought come to the King but good, you would look to have me. He answered, If he had any such Thought, he would his head were cut off. Upon which, she said, She could undo him if she pleased, and thereupon she fell out with him. As for *Mark* who was then laid in Irons, she said he was never in her Chamber, but when the King was last at *Winchester*; and then he came in to play on the Virginals: she said, That she never spoke to him after that, but on Saturday before *May-day*, when she saw him standing in the Window, and then she asked him, Why he was so sad; he said, It was no matter: she answered, You may not look to have me speak to you, as if you were a Nobleman, since you are an inferiour Person. No, no, Madam, said he, a look sufficeth me. She seemed more apprehensive of *Weston*, than of any body. For on *Whitson-Munday* last he said to her, "That *Norris* came more to her Chamber upon her account, than for any body else that was there. She had observed, That he loved a King-woman of hers, and challenged him for it, and for not loving his Wife. But he answered her, That there were Women in the House whom he loved better than them both; she asked, Who is that? Your self said he; upon which, she said, She defied him.

This Misery of the Queen's, drew after it the common effects that follow Persons under such a disgrace; for now all the Court was against her, and every one was courting the rising Queen. But *Cranmer* had not learned these Arts, and had a better Soul in him, than to be capable of such baseness and ingratitude. He had been much obliged by her, and had conceived an high opinion of her, and so could not easily receive ill impressions of her; yet he knew the King's Temper, and that a down-right Justification of her would provoke him: therefore he wrote the following Letter; on the 3d of *May*, with all the softness that so tender a point required; in which he justified her, as far as was consistent with Prudence and Charity. The Letter shows of what a Constitution he was that wrote it; and contains so many things that tend highly to her honour, that I shall insert it here, as I copied it from the Original.

"Pleaseth it your most Noble Grace, to be advertised, that at your Grace's Commandment by Mr. Secretary his Letters, written in your Grace's Name, I came to *Lambeth* yesterday, and do there remain to know your Grace's further pleasure. And forsomuch as without your Grace's Commandment, I dare not, contrary to the Contents of the said Letters, presume to come unto your Grace's Presence; nevertheless of my most bounden Duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your Grace, by your Great Wisdom, and by the Assistance of God's Help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrows of your Grace's Heart, and to take all Adversities of God's Hands both patiently and thankfully. I cannot deny but your Grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heaviness: and also, that in the wrongful estimation of the World, your Grace's honour of every Part is so highly touched (whether the things that commonly be spoken

*Cranmer's*  
Letter to the  
King, about  
her.  
*Cor. Lib. Oche,*  
C. 10.

"of,

1536. “ of, be true or not,) that I remember not that ever Almighty God  
 “ sent unto your Grace any like Occasion to try your Grace’s Constan-  
 “ cy throughout, whether your Highness can be content to take off  
 “ God’s hand, as well Things displeasants, as pleasants. And if he find  
 “ in your most Noble Heart such an Obedience unto his Will, that your  
 “ Grace, without murmuration and overmuch heaviness, do accept all Ad-  
 “ versities, not less thanking him, than when all things succeeded after  
 “ your Grace’s Will and Pleasure, nor less procuring his Glory and Honour;  
 “ then I suppose your Grace did never thing more acceptable unto him,  
 “ since your first Governance of this your Realm. And moreover, your  
 “ Grace shall give unto him Occasion to multiply and increase his Graces  
 “ and Benefits unto your Highness, as he did unto his most faithful Ser-  
 “ vant *Job*; unto whom, after his great Calamities and Heaviness, for  
 “ his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of God’s scourge and  
 “ rod, *Addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia*. And if it be true, that is  
 “ openly reported of the Queen’s Grace, if Men had a right estimation of  
 “ Things, they should not esteem any part of your Grace’s Honour to  
 “ be touched thereby, but her Honour only to be clearly disparaged.  
 “ And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed. For  
 “ I never had better Opinion in Woman, than I had in her, which mak-  
 “ eth me to think, that she should not be culpable. And again, I think  
 “ your Highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been  
 “ culpable. Now I think that your Grace best knoweth, that next un-  
 “ to your Grace, I was most bound unto her of all Creatures living.  
 “ Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Grace to suffer me in that,  
 “ which both God’s Law, Nature, and also her kindness bindeth me  
 “ unto; that is, that I may with your Grace’s Favour wish and pray  
 “ for her, that she may declare her self inculpable and innocent. And  
 “ if she be found culpable, considering your Grace’s Goodness towards  
 “ her, and from what Condition your Grace of your only meer good-  
 “ ness took her, and set the Crown upon her head; I repute him not  
 “ your Grace’s faithful Servant and Subject, nor true unto the Realm,  
 “ that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished, to  
 “ the example of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the  
 “ Love which I judged her to bear towards God and his Gospel; so if  
 “ she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Go-  
 “ spel, that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other;  
 “ and the more they favour the Gospel, the more they will hate her:  
 “ For then there was never creature in our Time that so much slandered  
 “ the Gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she  
 “ feignedly hath professed his Gospel in her mouth, and not in heart  
 “ and deed. And though she have offended so, that she hath deserved  
 “ never to be reconciled unto your Grace’s favour; yet Almighty God  
 “ hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards your Grace, and never  
 “ offended you. But your Grace, I am sure, knowledgeth that you  
 “ have offended him. Wherefore I trust that your Grace will bear no  
 “ less entire favour unto the truth of the Gospel, than you did before:  
 “ Forsomuch as your Grace’s favour to the Gospel, was not led by Af-  
 “ fection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech  
 “ Almighty God, whose Gospel he hath ordained your Grace to be  
 “ Defender of, ever to preserve your Grace from all evil, and give  
 “ you at the end, the promise of his Gospel. From *Lambeth*, the 3d  
 “ Day of *May*,

“ After

“ After I had written this Letter unto your Grace, my Lord Chan-  
 “ cellor, my Lord of *Oxford*, my Lord of *Suffex*, and my Lord Cham-  
 “ berlain of your Grace’s Houſe, ſent for me to come unto the Star-  
 “ Chamber; and there declared unto me ſuch things as your Grace’s  
 “ pleaſure was they ſhould make me privy unto. For the which I am  
 “ moſt bounden unto your Grace. And what Communication we had  
 “ together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof  
 “ unto your Grace. I am exceedingly ſorry, that ſuch faults can be pro-  
 “ ved by the Queen, as I heard of their relation. But I am, and ever  
 “ ſhall be, Your faithful Subject.

1536.

Your Grace’s moſt  
 humble Subject,  
 and Chaplain,

*T. Cantuarienſis.*

But Jealouſie, and the King’s new Affection, had quite defaced all the remainders of Eſteem for his late beloved Queen. Yet the Miniſters continued practiſing, to get further Evidence for the Trial; which was not brought on till the 12th of *May*; and then *Norris*, *Weſton*, *Brereton* and *Smeton*, were tryed by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in *Westminster-Hall*. They were twice indicted, and the Indictments were found by two Grand Juries, in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middleſex*: The Crimes with which they were charged, being ſaid to be done in both theſe Counties. *Mark Smeton* confeſſed he had known the Queen Carnally Three Times: The other three pleaded *Not Guilty*, but the Jury upon the Evidence formerly mentioned, found them all *Guilty*; and Judgment was given, that they ſhould be drawn to the Place of Execution, and ſome of them to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and all to be quartered as Guilty of High Treason. On the 15th of *May*, the Queen and her Brother, the Lord *Rochford*, (who was a Peer, having been made a Viſcount when his Father was Created Earl of *Wiltſhire*) were brought to be Tried by their Peers: The Duke of *Norfolk* being Lord High Steward for that Occaſion. With him ſate the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and Twenty Five more Peers, of whom their Father the Earl of *Wiltſhire* was one. Whether this unnatural Compliance was impoſed on him by the Imperious King, or officiouſly ſubmitted to by himſelf, that he might thereby be preſerved from the Ruin that fell on his Family, is not known. Here the Queen of *England* by an unheard-of precedent was brought to the Bar, and indicted of High Treason. The Crimes charged on her were, *That ſhe had procured her Brother and the other four to lie with her, which they had done often; that ſhe had ſaid to them, that the King never had her Heart, and had ſaid to every one of them by themſelves, that ſhe loved them better than any perſon whatſoever. Which was to the Slander of the Iſſue that was begotten between the King and her.* And this was Treason, according to the Statute made in the 26th Year of this Reign (ſo that the Law that was made for her and the Iſſue of her Marriage, is now made Uſe of to deſtroy her.) It was alſo added in the Indictment, that ſhe, and her Complices, *had conſpired the King’s Death*; but this it ſeems was only put in to ſwell the Charge, for if there had been any Evidence for it, there was no Need of ſtretching the other Statute, or if they could have proved the violating of the Queen,

1536. Queen, the known Statute of the 25<sup>th</sup> Year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third had been sufficient. When the Indictment was read She held up her Hand, and Pleaded *not Guilty*, and so did her Brother, and did answer the Evidence was brought against her discreetly. One Thing is remarkable that *Mark Smeton*, who was the only Person who confessed any Thing, was never confronted with the Queen, nor was kept to be an Evidence against her, for he had received his Sentence three Days before, and so could be no Witness in Law; but perhaps, though he was wrought on to confess, yet they did not think he had Confidence enough to aver it to the Queen's Face; therefore the Evidence they brought, as *Spelman* says, was the Oath of a Woman that was dead, yet this or rather the Terror of offending the King, so wrought on the Lords, that they found her and her Brother *Guilty*: and Judgment was given, that She should be *Burnt or Beheaded at the King's Pleasure*. Upon which *Spelman* observes, that whereas Burning is the Death which the Law appoints for a Woman that is attainted of Treason, yet since She had been Queen of *England*, they left it to the King to determine, whether She should die so infamous a Death, or be Beheaded; but the Judges complained of this Way of Proceeding, and said, such a Disjunctive in a Judgment of Treason, had never been seen. The Lord *Rochford* was also Condemned to be Beheaded and Quartered. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged King, but the Marriage between him and her must be annulled, and the Issue illegitimated. The King remembered an Intrigue that had been between her and the Earl of *Northumberland*, which was mentioned in the former Book; and that he then Lord *Piercy* had said to the Cardinal, 'That he had gone so far before 'Witnesses, that it lay upon his Conscience, so that he could not go 'back; this, it's like, might be some Promise he made to Marry her, *per verba de futuro*, which though it was no Precontract in its self, yet it seems the poor Queen was either so ignorant or so ill-advised, as to be persuaded afterwards it was one, though it's certain that nothing but a Contract *per verba de presenti*, could be of any Force to annul the subsequent Marriage. The King and his Council, reflecting upon what it seems the Cardinal had told him, resolved to try what could be made of it, and pressed the Earl of *Northumberland* to confess a Contract between him and her. But he took his Oath before the Two Arch-Bishops, That there was no Contract, nor Promise of Marriage ever between them, and received the Sacrament upon it, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and others of the King's Learned Council in the Law Spiritual, wishing it might be to his Damnation, if there were any such Thing, (concerning which I have seen the Original Declaration under his own Hand.) Nor could they draw any Confession from the Queen, before the Sentence, for certainly if they could have done that, the Divorce had gone before the Trial; and then she must have been tryed only, as *Marchioness of Pembroke*. But now she lying under so terrible a Sentence, it is most probable, that either some Hopes of Life were given her; or, at least, she was wrought on by the Assurances of mitigating that cruel Part of her Judgment, of being *Burnt*, into the milder Part of the Sentence of *Having her Head cut off*; so that she confessed a Pre-contract, and on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *May* was brought to *Lambeth*; and in Court, the afflicted Arch-Bishop sitting Judge, some Persons of Quality being present, she confessed some just and lawful Impediments; by which it was evident, that her Marriage with the King was not valid.

Upon an  
extorted Con-  
fession is di-  
vorced.

Upon

Upon which Confession, her Marriage between the King and her was judged to have been Null and Void. The Record of the Sentence is burnt: but these Particulars are repeated in the Act that passed in the next Parliament, touching the Succession to the Crown. It seems this was secretly done, for *Spelman* writes of it thus; It was said, there was a Divorce made between the King and her, upon her confessing a Pre-contract with another before her Marriage with the King: so that it was then only talkt of, but not generally known.

1536.

The two Sentences that were pass upon the Queen; the one of Attainder for Adultery, the other of Divorce, because of a Pre-contract, did so contradict one another, that it was apparent, one, if not both of them must be unjust; for if the Marriage between the King and her was Null from the Beginning, then since She was the King's wedded Wife, there could be no Adultery: and her Marriage to the King was either a true Marriage, or not; if it was true, then the Annuling of it was unjust, and if it was no true Marriage, then the Attainder was unjust; for there could be no Breach of that Faith which was never given: So that it is plain, the King was resolv'd to be rid of her, and to Illegitimate her Daughter, and in that Transport of his Fury did not consider that the very Method he took, discovered the Injustice of his Proceedings against her. Two Days after this, she was ordered to be Executed in the Green on *Tower-Hill*. How she received these Tidings, and how Stedfast she continued in the Protestations of her Innocence, will best appear by the following Circumstances. The Day before she suffered, upon a strict Search of her past Life, she called to Mind, that she had play'd the Step-Mother too severely to Lady *Mary*, and had done her many Injuries. Upon which, she made the Lieutenant of the *Tower's* Lady sit down in the Chair of State; which the other, after some Ceremony, doing, she fell down on her Knees, and with many Tears charged the Lady, as she would answer it to God, to go in her Name, and do, as she had done, to the Lady *Mary*, and ask her Forgiveness for the Wrongs she had done her. And she said, she had no Quiet in her Conscience, till she had done that, but thought she did in this what became a Christian: The Lady *Mary* could not so easily pardon these Injuries; but retained the Resentments of them her whole Life.

Her Preparation for Death.

This Ingenuity and Tenderness of Conscience about lesser Matters, is a great Presumption, That if she had been guilty of more Eminent Faults, she had not continued to the last Denying them, and making Protestations of her Innocency. For that same Night she sent her last Message to the King, and acknowledged herself much obliged to him, that had continued still to advance her. She said, he had, from a private Gentlewoman, first made her a Marchioness, and then a Queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher, was sending her to be a Saint in Heaven; She protested her Innocence, and recommended her Daughter to his Care. And her Carriage that Day she died, will appear from the following Letter writ by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, copied from the Original, which I insert, because the Copier employ'd by the Lord *Herbert* has not writ it out faithfully; for I cannot think that any Part of it was left out on Design.

' Sir, These should be to advertise you, I have received your Letter, wherein you would have Strangers convey'd out of the *Tower*, and so they

The Lieutenant of the Tower's Letter.

1536.

‘ they be by the Means of *Richard Gressum* and *William Loke*, and *Wythspoll*. But the Number of Strangers past not Thirty, and not many of those Armed; and the Ambassador of the Emperor had a Servant there, and honestly put out: Sir, if we have not an Hour certain, as it may be known in *London*, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable Number were best, for I suppose she will declare her self to be a good Woman, for all Men but for the King, at the Hour of her Death. For this Morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the Good Lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her Innocency alway to be clear. And in the writing of this she sent for me, and at my coming she said: *Mr. Kingston*, I hear say I shall not die Aforenoon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this Time, and past my Pain. I told her, It should be no Pain, it was so fottle. And then she said, I heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck, and put her Hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many Men, and also Women, Executed, and that they have been in great Sorrow, and to my Knowledge this Lady has much Joy and Pleasure in Death. Sir, her Almoner is continually with her, and had been since two-a-Clock after Midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this Time, and thus fare you well.

Tours,

William Kingston.

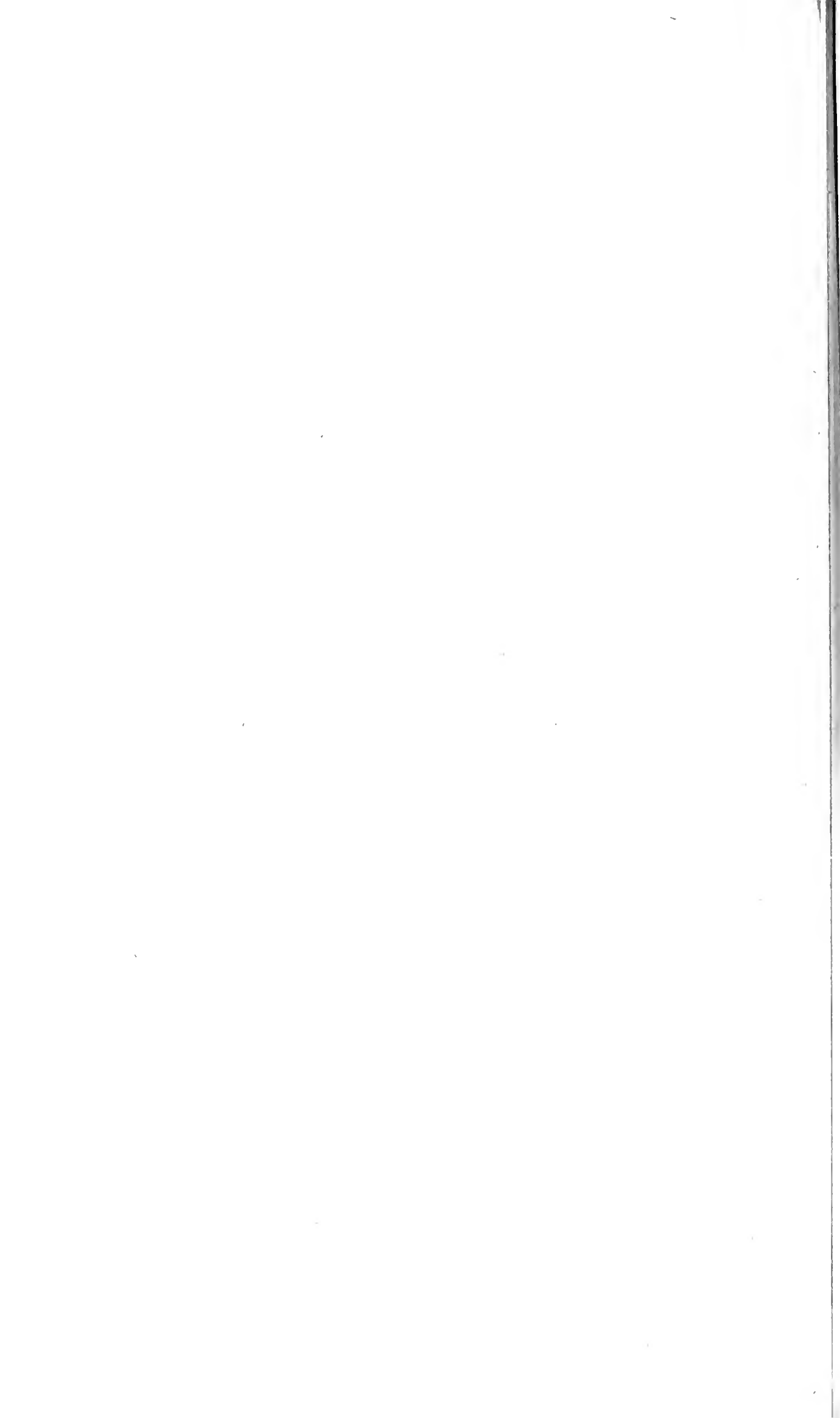
Her Execution.

A little before Noon, being the 19th of *May*, she was brought to the Scaffold, where she made a short Speech to a great Company that came to look on the last Scene of this fatal Tragedy: The chief of whom, were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary *Cromwell*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. She said, She was come to die, as she was Judged by the Law; she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the King, and called him a most merciful and gentle Prince, and that he had been always to her, a good, gentle, Sovereign Lord; and if any would meddle with her Cause, she required them to judge the best. And so she took her Leave of them, and of the World, and heartily desired they would pray for her. After she had been some time in her Devotions, her last Words being, *To Christ I commend my Soul*, her Head was cut off by the Hangman of *Calais*, who was brought over as more expert at Beheading than any in *England*: Her Eyes and Lips were observed to move after her Head was cut off, as *Spelman* writes; but her Body was thrown into a common Chest of Elm-tree that was made to put Arrows in, and was buried in the Chappel within the *Tower*, before twelve a-Clock.

Her Brother, with the other Four, did also suffer; none of them were Quartered, but they were all Beheaded, except *Smeton*, who was Hanged. It was generally said, that he was corrupted into that Confession, and had his Life promised him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell Tales. *Norris* had been much in the King's Favour, and an Offer was made him of his Life, if he would confess his Guilt, and accuse the Queen. But he generously rejected that unhandsome Proposition, and said, ‘ That in his Conscience he thought her Innocent of these Things  
‘ laid



*Nata An<sup>o</sup> 1507 Nupsit An<sup>o</sup> 1532 Aov 14  
 Eliz. Filiam peperit An<sup>o</sup> 1533 Sept. -  
 Capite plexa. An<sup>o</sup> 1536 May 19.*





' laid to her Charge; but whether she was or not, he would not accuse  
' her of any thing, and he would die a Thousand Times, rather than  
' ruin an Innocent Person.

1536.

These Proceedings occasioned as great variety of Censures, as there  
were diversity of Interests. The Popish Party said, The Justice of God  
was visible, that she, who had supplanted Queen *Katharine*, met with  
the like, and harder Measure, by the same Means. Some took notice of  
her saint justifying her self on the Scaffold, as if her Conscience had then  
prevailed so far, that she could no longer deny a Thing, for which she  
was so soon to answer at another Tribunal. But others thought her Care  
of her Daughter made her speak so tenderly; for she had observed, that  
Queen *Katharine's* Obstinacy had drawn the King's Indignation on her  
Daughter; and therefore that she alone might bear her Misfortunes, and  
derive no Share of them on her Daughter, she spake in a Style that could  
give the King no just Offence: And as she said enough to justify her self, so  
she said as much for the King's Honour, as could be expected. Yet in a  
Letter that she wrote to the King from the *Tower*, (which will be found  
in the Collection,) she pleaded her Innocence, in a Strain of so much  
Wit, and moving passionate Eloquence, as perhaps can scarce be  
parallel'd: Certainly her Spirits were much exalted when she wrote it,  
for it is a Pitch above her ordinary Style. Yet the Copy I take it from,  
lying among *Cromwell's* other Papers, makes me believe it was truly  
written by her.

The several  
Censures that  
we often pas-  
sed on those  
Proceedings.

Collect.  
Numb. 36.

Her Carriage seemed too free, and all People thought that some Free-  
doms and Levities in her, had encouraged those unfortunate Persons to  
speak such bold Things to her, since few Attempt upon the Chastity, or  
make Declarations of Love, to Persons of so exalted a Quality, except  
they see some Invitations, at least in their Carriage. Others thought that  
a free and jovial Temper might, with great Innocence, though with no  
Discretion, lead one to all those Things that were proved against her; and  
therefore they concluded her chaste, though indiscreet. Others blamed  
the King, and taxed his Cruelty in proceeding so severely against a Per-  
son whose Chastity he had Reason to be assured of, since she had re-  
sisted his Addresses near five Years, till he Legitimated them by Marri-  
age. But others excused him. It is certain her Carriage had given just  
Cause of some Jealousie, and that being the Rage of a Man, it was no  
wonder if a King of his Temper, conceiving it against one whom he  
had so signally obliged, was transported into unjustifiable Excesses.

Others condemned *Cranmer*, as a Man that obsequiously followed all  
the King's Appetites; and that he had now divorced the King a second  
Time, which shewed that his Conscience was governed by the King's  
Pleasure as his Supreme Law. But what he did was unavoidable. For  
whatever Motives drew from her the Confession of that Precontract, he  
was obliged to give Sentence upon it; and that which she confessed, be-  
ing such as made her incapable to contract Marriage with the King, he  
could not decline the giving of Sentence upon so formal a Confession.  
Some loaded all that favoured the Reformation: And said, It now ap-  
peared what a Woman, their great Patroness, and Supporter had been.  
But to those it was answered, That her Faults, if true, being secret,  
could cast no Reflection on those, who being ignorant of them, made  
use of her Protection. And the Church of *Rome* thought not their Cause  
suffered, by the enraged Cruelty and Ambition of the cursed *Irene*,  
who had convened the second Council of *Nice*, and set up the Worship of

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Images again in the East, whom the Popes continued to court and magnify, after her barbarous Murder of her Son, with other Acts of unfeigned Spite and Ambition. Therefore they had no Reason to think the worse of Persons for claiming the Protection of a Queen, whose Faults (if she was at all criminal,) were unknown to them when they made use of her.

Some have since that Time concluded it a great Evidence of her Guilt, that during her Daughter's long and glorious Reign, there was no full nor compleat Vindication of her published. For the Writers of that Time thought it enough to speak honourably of her; and in general, to call her *Innocent*. But none of them ever attempted a clear Discussion of the Particulars laid to her Charge. This had been much to her Daughter's Honour; and therefore, since it was not done, others concluded it could not be done, and that their Knowledge of her Guilt restrained their Pens. But others do not at all allow of that Inference, and think rather, that it was the great Wisdom of that Time not to suffer such Things to be called in Question, since no wise Government will admit of a Debate about the Cleanness of the Prince's Title. For the very attempting to prove it, weakens it more than any of the Proofs that are brought can confirm it; therefore it was prudently done of that Queen, and her great Ministers, never to suffer any Vindication or Apology to be written. Some Indiscretions could not be denied, and these would all have been caught hold of, and improved by the busie Emissaries of *Rome* and *Spain*.

But nothing did more evidently discover the secret Cause of this Queen's Ruin, than the King's Marrying *Jane Seimour*, the Day after her Execution. She of all King *Henry's* Wives, gained most on his Esteem and Affection: But she was happy in one Thing, that she did not out-live his Love; otherwise she might have fallen as signally as her Predecessor had done. Upon this turn of Affairs a great Change of Counsels followed.

The Lady *Mary* endeavours a Reconciliation with her Father.

There was nothing now that kept the Emperor and the King at a Distance, but the Illegitimation of the Lady *Mary*, and if that Matter had been adjusted, the King was in no more hazard of Trouble from him: Therefore it was proposed, that she might be again restored to the King's Favour. She found this was the best Opportunity she could ever look for, and therefore laid hold on it, and wrote an humble Submission to the King, and desired again to be admitted to his Presence. But her Submissions had some Reserves in them, therefore she was pressed to be more express in her Acknowledgments. At this she stuck long, and had almost embroiled her self again with her Father. She freely offered to submit to the Laws of the Land about the Succession, and confessed the Fault of her former Obstinacy. But the King would have her acknowledge, That his Marriage to her Mother was incestuous and unlawful; and to renounce the Pope's Authority, and to accept him, as Supreme Head of the Church of *England*. These Things were of hard Digestion with her, and she could not easily swallow them; so she wrote to *Cromwell* to befriend her at the King's Hands. Upon which many Letters passed between them. He wrote to her, That it was impossible to recover her Father's Favour, without a full and clear Submission in all Points. So in the end she yielded, and sent the following Paper, all written with her own Hand, which is set down, as it was Copied from the Original yet extant.

‘ The Confession of me the Lady *Mary*, made upon certain Points  
 ‘ and Articles under-written : In the which, as I do now plainly, and  
 ‘ with all mine Heart confesse and declare mine inward Sentence, Belief,  
 ‘ and Judgment, with a due Conformity of Obedience to the Laws of  
 ‘ the Realm ; so minding for ever to persist and continue in this Deter-  
 ‘ mination, without Change, Alteration, or Variance, I do most hum-  
 ‘ bly beseech the King’s Highness, my Father, whom I have obstinate-  
 ‘ ly and inobediently offended in the denial of the same heretofore, to for-  
 ‘ give mine Offences therein, and to take me to his most gracious Mercy.

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 Her Sub-  
 mission under  
 her own Hand.  
 Cott. Lib. C. 66  
 C. 10.

‘ First, I confesse and knowledge the King’s Majesty, to be my Sove-  
 ‘ veraign Lord and King in the Imperial Crown of this Realm of *Eng-  
 ‘ land* ; and do submit my self to his Highness, and to all and singular  
 ‘ Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as becometh a true and faithful Sub-  
 ‘ ject to do ; which I shall also obey, keep, observe, advance, and main-  
 ‘ tain, according to my bounden Duty, with all the Power, Force, and  
 ‘ Qualities, that God hath endued me with, during my Life.

‘ *Item*, I do recognize, accept, take, repute, and knowledge, the  
 ‘ King’s Highness to be *Supream Head in Earth, under Christ, of the  
 ‘ Church of England* ; and do utterly refuse the Bishop of *Rome*’s pre-  
 ‘ tended Authority, Power, and Jurisdiction, within this Realm hereto-  
 ‘ fore usurped, according to the Laws and Statutes made in that beha-  
 ‘ half, and of all the King’s true Subjects humbly received, admitted,  
 ‘ obeyed, kept and observed ; and also do utterly renounce and forsake  
 ‘ all manner of Remedy, Interest and Advantage, which I may by any  
 ‘ Means claim by the Bishop of *Rome*’s Laws, Procefs, Jurisdiction, or  
 ‘ Sentence, at this present Time, or in any wise hereafter, by any  
 ‘ manner of Title, Colour, Mean, or Case, that is, shall, or can be  
 ‘ devised for that Purpose.

*Mary.*

‘ *Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the Discharge of my Duty to-  
 ‘ wards God, the King’s Highness, and his Laws, without other Re-  
 ‘ spect, recognize and knowledge, That the Marriage heretofore had  
 ‘ between his Majesty, and my Mother, the late Princess Dowager,  
 ‘ was by God’s Law, and Man’s Law, incestuous and unlawful.

*Mary.*

Upon this she was again received into Favour. One Circumstance  
 I shall add, that shows the Frugality of that Time. In the Establish-  
 ment that was made for her Family, there was only 40 *l.* a Quarter  
 assigned for her Privy-Purse. I have seen a Letter of hers to *Cromwell*,  
 at the *Christmasts* Quarter, desiring him to let the King know, that she  
 must be at some Extraordinary Expence that Season, that so he might  
 encrease her Allowance, since the 40 *l.* would not defray the Charge of  
 that Quarter.

She is re-  
 stored to his  
 Favour.

For the Lady *Elizabeth*, though the King divested her of the Title  
 of Princess of *Wales*, yet he continued still to breed her up in the  
 Court, with all the Care and Tenderness of a Father. And the new  
 Queen, what from the Sweetness of her Disposition, and what out of  
 Compliance with the King, who loved her much, was as kind to  
 her,

The Lady  
*Elizabeth* well  
 used by the  
 King and  
 Queen.

1536. her, as if she had been her Mother. Of which I shall add one pretty Evidence, though the childishness of it may be thought below the Gravity of a History; yet by it the Reader will see both the Kindness that the King and Queen had for her, and that they allowed her to subscribe, Daughter. There are two Original Letters of hers yet remaining, writ to the Queen when she was with Child of King *Edward*; the one in *Italian*, the other in *English*; both writ in a fair Hand, the same that she wrote all the rest of her Life. But the Conceits in that writ in *English*, are so pretty, that it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to see this first Blossom of so great a Princess, when she was not full Four years of Age; she being born in *September* 1533. and this writ in *July* 1537.

Her Letter to  
the Queen  
when not  
Four Years  
of Age.

‘ Although your Highness Letters be most joyful to me in Absence,  
‘ yet considering what Pain it is to you to write, your Grace being so  
‘ great with Child, and so sickly, your Commendation were enough in  
‘ my Lord’s Letter. I much rejoyce at your Health, with the well  
‘ liking of the Country; with my humble Thanks that your Grace  
‘ wished me with you till I were weary of that Countrey. Your  
‘ Highness were like to be combered, if I should not depart till I were  
‘ weary being with you: although it were in the worst Soil in the  
‘ World, your Prefence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my  
‘ Lord for not doing your Commendations in his Letter, for he did it;  
‘ and although he had not, yet I will not complain of him, for that he  
‘ shall be diligent to give me Knowledge from Time to Time, how his  
‘ busie Child doth; and if I were at his Birth, no doubt I would see  
‘ him beaten, for the Trouble he has put you to. Mr. *Denny*, and my  
‘ Lady, with humble Thanks prayeth most entirely for your Grace,  
‘ prayeth the Almighty God to fend you a most lucky Deliverance.  
‘ And my Mistres wisheth no less, giving your Highness most hum-  
‘ ble Thanks for her Commendations. Writ with very little Leisure,  
this last Day of *July*.

Your Humble Daughter,

*Elizabeth.*

A new Par-  
liament cal-  
led.

*Journal*  
*Procerum.*

But to proceed to more serious Matters. A Parliament was Sum-  
moned to meet the 8th of *June*. If full Forty Days be necessary for a  
Summons, then the writs must have been issued forth the Day before  
the late Queen’s Disgrace; so that it was designed before the Justs at  
*Greenwich*, and did not flow from any Thing that then appeared. When  
the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, in his Speech, told  
them, ‘ That when the former Parliament was dissolved, the King had  
‘ no Thoughts of Summoning a new one so soon. But for two Rea-  
‘ sons, he had now called them. The one was, That he finding him-  
‘ self subject to so many Infirmities, and considering that he was  
‘ Mortal, (a rare Thought in a Prince) he desired to settle an apparent  
‘ Heir to the Crown, in Case he should die without Children lawfully  
‘ begotten. The other was, to repeal an Act of the former Parlia-  
‘ ment, concerning the Succession of the Crown, to the Issue of the  
‘ King by Queen *Anne Boleyn*. He desired them to reflect on the great  
‘ Troubles and Vexation the King was involved in, by his first unlaw-  
‘ ful Marriage, and the Dangers he was in by his second; which might  
‘ well

‘ well have frightened any Body from a third Marriage. But *Anne*, and  
 ‘ her Conspirators, being put to Death, as they well deserved; the  
 ‘ King at the humble request of the Nobility, and not out of any Car- 1536.  
 ‘ nal Concupiscence, was pleased to Marry again a Queen, by whom  
 ‘ there were very probable Hopes of his having Children: Therefore  
 ‘ he recommended to them, to provide an Heir to the Crown by the  
 ‘ King’s Direction, who, if the King dyed without Children lawfully  
 ‘ begotten, might rule over them. He desired they would pray God  
 ‘ earnestly, that he would grant the King Issue of his own Body; and  
 ‘ return Thanks to Almighty God that preserved such a King to them  
 ‘ out of so many imminent Dangers, who employed all his Care and  
 ‘ Endeavours, that he might keep his whole People in Quiet, Peace,  
 ‘ and perfect Charity, and leave them so to those that should succeed  
 ‘ him.

But though this was the chief Cause of calling the Parliament, it seems  
 the Ministers met with great Difficulties, and therefore spent much Time  
 in preparing Mens Minds. For the Bill about the Succession to the  
 Crown, was not brought into the House of Lords before the 30th  
 Day of *June*, that the Lord Chancellor offered it to the House. It  
 went through both Houses without any Opposition. It contained first,  
 ‘ A Repeal of the former Act of Succession, and a Confirmation of  
 ‘ the two Sentences of Divorce, the Issue of both the King’s former  
 ‘ Marriages being declared illegitimate, and for ever excluded from  
 ‘ claiming the Inheritance of the Crown, as the King’s Lawful Heirs  
 ‘ by lineal Descent. The Attainder of Queen *Anne* and her Complices  
 ‘ is confirmed. Queen *Anne* is said, to have been inflamed with Pride and  
 ‘ Carnal Desires of her Body; and, having confederated her self with  
 ‘ her Complices, to have committed divers Treasons to the Danger of  
 ‘ the King’s Royal Person; (with other aggravating Words,) for which  
 ‘ she had justly suffered Death, and is now attainted by Act of Parlia-  
 ‘ ment. And all Things that had been said or done against her or her  
 ‘ Daughter, being contrary to an Act of Parliament then in Force, and  
 ‘ pardoned; and the Inheritance of the Crown is established, on the  
 ‘ Issue of Queen *Jane*, whether Male or Female, or the King’s Issue by  
 ‘ any other Wife whom he might Marry afterwards.

The Act of  
 Succession.

‘ But since it was not fit to declare, to whom the Succession of the  
 ‘ Crown belonged after the King’s Death, lest the Person, so designed,  
 ‘ might be thereby enabled to raise Trouble and Commotions; there-  
 ‘ fore they considering the King’s wife and excellent Government, and  
 ‘ confiding in the Love and Affection which he bore to his Subjects,  
 ‘ did give him full Power to declare the Succession to the Crown,  
 ‘ either by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by his last Will,  
 ‘ Signed with his Hand; and promised all faithful Obedience to the  
 ‘ Persons named by him. And if any, so designed to succeed in  
 ‘ Default of others, should endeavour to usurp upon those before  
 ‘ them or to exclude them, they are declared Traytors, and were  
 ‘ to forfeit all the Right they might thereafter claim to the Crown.  
 ‘ And if any should maintain the Lawfulness of the former Marriages,  
 ‘ or that the Issue by them was Legitimate, or refused to swear to the  
 ‘ King’s Issue by Queen *Jane*, they were also declared Traytors.

By this Act it may appear how absolutely this King Reigned in  
*England*. Many question’d much the Validity of it, and (as shall after-  
 wards appear,) the *Scots* said, That the Succession to the Crown was

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not within the Parliaments Power to determine about it, but must go by Inheritance to their King, in Default of Issue by this King. Yet by this the King was enabled to settle the Crown on his Children whom he had now declared Illegitimate, by which he brought them more absolutely to depend upon himself. He neither made them desperate, nor gave them any further Right, than what they were to derive purely from his own good Pleasure. This did also much pacifie the Emperor, since his Kintwoman was, though not restored in Blood, yet put in a Capacity to succeed to the Crown.

The Pope  
endeavour'd  
a Reconcilia-  
tion with the  
King;

At this Time there came a new Proposition from *Rome*, to try if the King would accommodate Matters with the Pope. Pope *Clement* the Seventh dyed two Years before this, in the Year 1534. and Cardinal *Farnese* succeeded him, called Pope *Paul* the Third. He had before this made one unsuccessful Attempt upon the King; but, upon the Beheading of the Bishop (and declared Cardinal) of *Rocheſter*, he had thundered a most terrible Sentence of Deposition against the King, and designed to commit the Execution of it to the Emperor: Yet now, when Queen *Katharine* and Queen *Anne*, who were the Occasions of the Rupture, were both out of the Way, he thought it was a proper Conjunction, to try if a Reconciliation could be effected. This he propos'd to Sir *Gregory Cassali*, who was no more the King's Ambassador at *Rome*, but was still his Correspondent there. The Pope desired he would move the King in it, and let him know that he had ever favoured his Cause in the former Pope's Time, and though he was forced to give out a Sentence against him, yet he had never any Intention to proceed upon it to further Extremities.

But in vain.

But the King was now so entirely alienated from the Court of *Rome*, that to cut off all Hopes of Reconciliation, he procur'd two Acts to be pass'd in this Parliament. The one was for the utter extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. It was brought into the House of Lords on the 4th of *July*; and was read the first Time the 5th, and the second Time on the 6th of *July*, and lay at the Committee till the 12th. And on the 14th, it was sent down to the Commons; who, if there be no Mistake in the Journal, sent it up that same Day: They certainly made great Haste, for the Parliament was dissolved within Four Days.

' The Preamble of this first Act contains severe Reflections on the  
' Bishop of *Rome*, (whom some call'd the Pope) who had long darkned  
' God's Word, that it might serve his Pomp, Glory, Avarice, Ambition  
' and Tyranny; both upon the Souls, Bodies, and Goods of all  
' Christians; excluding Christ out of the Rule of Man's Soul, and  
' Princes out of their Dominions: And had exacted in *England* great  
' Sums, by Dreams, and Vanities and other Superstitious Ways.  
' Upon these Reasons his Usurpations had been by Law put down in  
' this Nation; yet many of his Emisſaries were still practising up and  
' down the Kingdom, and perswading People to acknowledge his pre-  
' tended Authority. Therefore every Person so offending after the last  
' of *July* next to come, was to incur the Pains of a *Præmunire*, and all  
' Officers, both Civil, and Ecclesiastical, were commanded to make En-  
' quiry about such Offences, under several Penalties.

On the 12th of *July*, a Bill was brought in concerning Privileges obtained from the See of *Rome*, and was read the first Time. And on the 17th it was agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who sent it up again

again the next Day. It bears, that the Popes had, during their Usurpation, granted many Immunities to several Bodies and Societies in *England*, which upon that Grant had been now long in Use: Therefore all these Bulls, Breves, and every Thing depending on, or flowing from them, were declared void and of no Force. Yet all Marriages celebrated by Virtue of them, that were not otherwise contrary to the Law of God, were declared good in Law; and all Consecrations of Bishops by Virtue of them, were confirmed. And for the future, all who enjoyed any Privileges by Bulls, were to bring them into the Chancery, or to such Persons as the King should appoint for that End. And the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Lawfully to grant anew the Effects contained in them, which Grant was to pass under the Great Seal, and to be of full Force in Law.

This struck at the Abbots Rights. But they were glad to bear a Diminution of their Greatness, so they might save the whole, which now lay at Stake. By the Thirteenth Act, they corrected an Abuse which had come in, to evade the Force of a Statute made in the Twenty First Year of this King, about the Residence of all Ecclesiastical Persons in their Livings. One Qualification, that did excuse from Residence, was the Staying at the University for the compleating of their Studies. Now it was found, that many dissolute Clergymen went and lived at their Universities, not for their Studies but to be excused from serving their Cures. So it was Enacted, that none above the Age of Forty, that were not either Heads of Houses, or publick Readers, should have any Exemption from their Residence, by Virtue of that Clause in the former Act. And those under that Age should not have the Benefit of it, except they were present at the Lectures, and perform'd their Exercises in the Schools.

By another Act, there was Provision made against the Prejudice the King's Heirs might receive, before they were of Age, by Parliaments held in the Non-Age; That whatsoever Acts were made before they were Twenty Four Years of Age, they might at any Time of their Lives after that, Repeal and Annul, by their Letters Patents, which should have equal Force with a Repeal by Act of Parliament. From these Acts it appears, that the King was absolute Master, both of the Affections and Fears of his Subjects when in a new Parliament called on a sudden, and in a Session of six Weeks, from the 8th of *June* to the 18th of *July*, Acts of this Importance were passed without any Protest or publick Opposition.

But having now opened the Business of the Parliament, as it relates to the State, I must next give an Account of the Convocation, which fate at this Time, and was very busie, as appears by the Journal of the House of Lords, in which this is given for a Reason of many Adjournments, because the Spiritual Lords were busie in the Convocation. It fate down on the 9th of *June*, according to *Fuller's* Extract, it being the Custom of all this Reign, for that Court to meet two or three Days after the Parliament. Hither *Cromwell* came as the King's Vicar-General: But he was not yet Vice-Gerent. For he fate next the Archbishop; but when he had that Dignity he fate above him. Nor do I find him stiled in any Writing Vice-Gerent for some Time after this; though the Lord *Herbert* says, he was made Vice-Gerent the 18th of *July* this Year, the same Day in which the Parliament was Dissolved.

The Proceedings in the Convocation.

1536. *Latimer*, Bishop of *Worcester*, preached the Latin Sermon, on these Words. *The Children of this World are wiser in their Generation, than the Children of Light.* He was the most Celebrated Preacher of that Time. The Simplicity and Plainness of his Matter, with a serious and fervent Action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate Compositions. On the 21st of *June*, *Cromwell* moved, that they would Confirm the Sentence of the Invalidity of the King's Marriage with *Queen Anne*, which was accordingly done by both Houses of Convocation. But certainly *Fuller* was asleep when he wrote; *That Ten Days before that, the Arch Bishop had passed the Sentence of Divorce, on the Day before the Queen was beheaded.* Whereas if he had considered this more fully, he must have seen that the Queen was put to Death a Month before this, and was Divorced two Days before she dyed. Yet, with this Animadversion, I must give him my Thanks for his Pains in copying out of the Journals of Convocation many remarkable Things, which had been otherwise irrecoverably lost.

On the 23d of *June*, the lower House of Convocation sent to the upper House a Collection of many Opinions, that were then in the Realm; which, as they thought, were Abuses, and Errors, worthy of special Reformation. But they began this Representation with a Protestation: 'That they intended not to do, or speak any Thing, which  
' might be unpleasant to the King; whom they acknowledged their  
' Supream Head, and were resolved to obey his Commands, renouncing  
' the Pope's usurp'd Authority, with all his Laws and Inventions, now  
' extinguisht and abolisht, and did addic't themselves to Almighty God  
' and his Laws, and unto the King and the Laws made within this  
' Kingdom.

There are Sixty Seven Opinions set down, and are either the Tenets of the Old *Lollards*, or the new Reformers, together with the Anabaptists Opinions. Besides all which, they complained of many unfavoury and indiscreet Expressions, which were either feigned on Design to disgrace the New Preachers, or were perhaps the extravagant Reflections of some illiterate and injudicious Persons; who are apt upon all Occasions, by their Heat and Folly, rather to prejudice, than advance their Party; and affect some petulant Jeers, which they think witty, and are perhaps well entertained by some others, who though they are more judicious themselves, yet imagining that such Jest on the contrary Opinions will take with the People, do give them too much Encouragement. Many of these Jest about Confession, praying to Saints, Holy-Water, and the other Ceremonies of the Church, were complained of. And the last Articles contained sharp Reflections on some of the Bishops, as if they had been wanting in their Duty to suppress such Things. This was clearly levelled at *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Shaxton*, who were noted as the great Promoters of these Opinions. The first did it prudently and solidly. The second zealously and simply. And the third with much indiscreet Pride and Vanity. But now that the Queen was gone, who had either raised or supported them, their Enemies hoped to have Advantages against them, and to lay the Growth of these Opinions to their Charge. But this whole Project failed, and *Cranmer* had as much of the King's Favour as ever; for instead of that which they had projected, *Cromwell*, by the King's Order, coming to the Convocation, Declared to them, that it was the King's Pleasure, that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, should be reformed by  
the



the Rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not rest in that Authority ; for it was absurd, since that was acknowledged to contain the Laws of Religion, that Recourse should rather be had to Glosses, or the Decrees of Popes, than to these. There was at that Time one *Alexander Aleffe*, a *Scotch-Man*, much esteemed for his Learning and Piety, whom *Cranmer* entertained at *Lambeth*. Him *Cromwell* brought with him to the Convocation, and desired him to deliver his Opinion about the Sacraments. He enlarged himself much to convince them, That only Baptism and the Lord's-Supper were Instituted by Christ.

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 Antiq. Brit.  
 in Vita Cranm.

*Stokesley* Bishop of *London* answered him in a long Discourse, in which he shewed he was better acquainted with the Learning of the Schools, and the Canon-Law, than with the Gospel : He was Seconded by the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, and others of that Party.

But *Cranmer* in a long and learned Speech, shewed how useles these Niceties of the Schools were, and of how little Authority they ought to be ; and discoursed largely of the Authority of the Scriptures, of the Use of the Sacraments, of the uncertainty of Tradition, and of the Corruption which the Monks and Friars had brought into the Christian Doctrine. He was vigorously seconded by the Bishop of *Hereford*, who told them, the World would be no longer deceived with such Sophisticated Stuff as the Clergy had formerly vented : The Laity were now in all Nations studying the Scriptures, and that, not only in the vulgar Translations, but in the original Tongues ; and therefore it was a vain Imagination to think they would be any longer governed by those Arts which in the former Ages of Ignorance had been so effectual. Not many Days after this, there were several Atticles brought into the upper House of Convocation, devised by the King himself, about which there were great Debates among them. The two Arch-Bishops, heading two Parties, *Cranmer* was for a Reformation, and with him joyned *Thomas Goodrich*, Bishop of *Ely*, *Shaxton* of *Sarum*, *Latimer* of *Worcester*, *Fox* of *Hereford*, *Hilsey* of *Rocheſter*, and *Barlow* of *St. David's*.

But *Lee*, Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, was a known Favourer of the Pope's Interests ; which as it first appeared in his Scrupling so much, with the whole Convocation of *Tork*, the acknowledging the King to be *Supream Head of the Church of England* ; so he had since discovered it on all Occasions, in which he durst do it without the Fear of losing the King's Favour : So he, and *Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*, *Tonstall* of *Durſm*, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, *Longland* of *Lincoln*, *Sherburn* of *Chicheſter*, *Nix* of *Norwich*, and *Kite* of *Carlisle*, had been still againſt all Changes. But the King discovered, that those did in their Hearts love the Papal Authority, though *Gardiner* dissembled it most artificially. *Sherburn*, Bishop of *Chicheſter*, upon what Inducement I cannot understand, resigned his Bishoprick, which was given to *Richard Sampson*, Dean of the Chapel ; a Pension of 400 *l.* being reserved to *Sherburn* for his Life, which was Confirmed by an Act of this Parliament. *Nix* of *Norwich*, had also offended the King signally, by some Correspondence with *Rome*, and was kept long in the *Marſhalsea*, and was convicted and found in a *Premunire* : The King considering his great Age, had upon his humble Submission discharged him out of Prison, and pardon'd him. But he died the former Year ; though *Fuller*, in his slight Way, makes him sit in this Convocation : for by the 17th Act of the last Parliament,

Act. 17. 27  
 Regni.

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recommended *William Abbot* of *St. Bennet's* to it; but took into his own Hands all the Lands and Manours of the Bishoprick, and gave the Bishop several of the Priories in *Norfolk* in Exchange, which was confirmed in Parliament.

I shall next give a short Abstract of the Articles about Religion, which were after much Consultation and long Debating agreed to.

Articles agreed on about Religion, Printed by Fulier.

*First*, All Bishops and Preachers must instruct the People to believe the whole Bible, and the three Creeds, that made by the Apostles, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanasian*; and interpret all Things according to them, and in the very same Words, and condemn all Heresies contrary to them, particularly those condemned by the first Four General Councils.

*Secondly*, Of *Baptism*. The People must be instructed, That it is a Sacrament instituted by Christ, for the Remission of Sins, without which none could attain Everlasting Life: And that, not only those of full Age, but Infants, may, and must be Baptized, for the Pardon of Original Sin, and obtaining the Gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they became the Sons of God. That none Baptized, ought to be Baptized again. That the Opinions of the *Anabaptists* and *Pelagians*, were detestable Heresies; And that those of ripe Age, who desired Baptism must with it joyn Repentance and Contrition for their Sins, with a firm Belief of the Articles of the Faith.

*Thirdly*, Concerning *Penance*. They were to instruct the People, that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to Salvation. That it consisted of Contrition, Confession and Amendment of Life; with exterior Works of Charity, which were the worthy *Fruits of Penance*. For Contrition, it was an inward Shame and Sorrow for Sin, because it is an Offence to God, which provokes his Displeasure. To this must be joyned, a Faith of the Mercy and Goodness of God, whereby the Penitent must hope, that God will forgive him, and repute him justified, and of the Number of his Elect Children, not for the Worthiness of any Merit or Work done by him, but for the only Merits of the Blood and Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. That this Faith is got and confirmed by the Application of the Promises of the Gospel, and the Use of the Sacraments: And for that End, Confession to a Priest is necessary, if it may be had, whose Absolution was instituted by Christ, to apply the Promises of God's Grace to the Penitent; Therefore the People were to be taught, That the Absolution is spoken by an Authority given by Christ in the Gospel to the Priest, and must be believed, as if it were spoken by God himself, according to our Saviour's Words; and therefore none were to condemn auricular Confession, but use it for the Comfort of their Consciences. The People were also to be instructed, that though God pardoned Sin, only for the Satisfaction of Christ: yet they must bring forth the Fruits of Penance, Prayer, Fasting, Almsheds, with Restitution and Satisfaction for Wrongs done to others, with other Works of Mercy and Charity, and Obedience to God's Commandments, else they could not be saved; and that by doing these, they should both obtain Everlasting Life, and Mitigation of their Afflictions in this present Life, according to the Scriptures.

*Fourthly*, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, People were to be instructed, that under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there was truly

truly and substantially given, the very same Body of Christ, that was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and therefore it was to be received with all Reverence, every one duely examining himself, according to the Words of *St. Paul*.

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*Fifthly*, The People were to be instructed, That Justification signifieth the Remission of Sins, and Acceptation into the Favour of God; that is to say, a perfect Renovation in Christ. To the Attaining which, they were to have, Contrition, Faith, Charity, which were both to concurr in it, and follow it; and that the good Works necessary to Salvation, were not only outward Civil Works, but the inward Motions and Graces of God's Holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and love him, to have firm Confidence in God, to call upon him, and to have Patience in all Adversities, to hate Sin, and have Purposes and Wills not to sin again; with such other Motions and Vertues, consenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

The other Articles were about the Ceremonies of the Church.

*First*, of Images. The People were to be instructed, That the Use of them was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they served to represent to them good Examples, and to stir up Devotion; and therefore it was meet that they should stand in the Churches. But that the People might not fall into such Superstition as it was thought they had done in Time past, they were to be taught, to reform such Abuses, lest Idolatry might ensue, and that in censuring, kneeling, offering, or worshipping them, the People were to be instructed, not to do it to the Image, but to God and his Honour.

*Secondly*, For the honouring of Saints. They were not to think to attain these Things at their Hands, which were only obtained of God, but that they were to honour them, as Persons now in Glory, to praise God for them, and imitate their Virtues, and not fear to die for the Truth, as many of them had done.

*Thirdly*, For praying to Saints. The People were to be taught, that it was good to pray to them, to pray for, and with us. And to correct all Superstitious Abuses in this Matter, they were to keep the Days appointed by the Church for their Memories, unless the King should lessen the Number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

*Fourthly*, Of Ceremonies. The People were to be taught, That, they were not to be condemned and cast away, but to be kept as good and laudable, having mystical Significations in them, and being useful to lift up our Minds to God. Such were the Vestments in the Worship of God: The sprinkling Holy-Water to put us in Mind of our Baptism and the Blood of Christ: Giving Holy Bread in Sign of our Union in Christ, and to remember us of the Sacrament: Bearing Candles on *Candlemas Day*, in Remembrance that Christ was the spiritual Light: giving Ashes on *Ash-wednesday*, to put us in Mind of Penance, and of our Mortality. Bearing Palms on *Palm sunday*, to show our Desire to receive Christ in our Hearts as he entred into *Jerusalem*: Creeping to the Cross on *Good friday*, and kissing it, in Memory of his Death, with the setting up the Sepulchre on that Day: The Hallowing the Font, and other Exorcisms and Benedictions.

And *lastly*, As to Purgatory, they were to declare it good and charitable to pray for the Souls departed, which was said to have continued in the Church from the Beginning: And therefore the People

were

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were to be instructed, That it consisted well with the due Order of Charity, to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in Masses and Exequies, and to give Alms to them for that End. But since the Place they were in, and the Pains they suffered, were uncertain by the Scripture, we ought to remit them wholly to God's Mercy: Therefore all these Abuses were to be put away, which, under the Pretence of Purgatory, had been advanced, as if the Popes Pardons did deliver Souls out of it, or Masses said in certain Places, or before certain Images, had such Efficiency; with other such-like Abuses.

Published  
by the King's  
Authority,

These Articles being thus conceived, and in several Places corrected, and tempered by the King's own Hand, were signed by *Cromwell*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and seventeen other Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Arch-Deacons and Proctors of the lower House of Convocation. Among whom, *Polydore Virgil*, and *Peter Vannes*, signed with the rest, as appears by the Original yet extant. They being tendred to the King, he confirmed them and ordered them to be published with a Preface in his Name. 'It is said in the Preface, that he, accounting it the chief Part of his Charge, that the Word and Commandments of God should be believed and observed, and to maintain Unity and Concord in Opinion; and understanding, to his great Regret, that there was great Diversity of Opinion arisen among his Subjects, both about Articles of Faith and Ceremonies, had in his own Person taken great Pains and Study about these Things, and had ordered also the Bishops, and other Learned Men of the Clergy, to examine them; who after long Deliberation had concluded on the most special Points, which, the King thought proceeded from a good, right, and true Judgment, according to the Laws of God; these would also be profitable, for establishing Unity in the Church of *England*: Therefore he had ordered them to be published, requiring all to accept of them, praying God so to illuminate their Hearts, that they might have no less Zeal and Love to Unity and Concord in reading them, than he had in making them to be devised, set forth, and published; which good Acceptance should encourage him to take further Pains for the future, as should be most for the Honour of God, and the Profit, and the Quietness of his Subjects.

And variously  
censured.

This being published, occasion'd great Variety of Censures. Those that desired Reformation, were glad to see so great a Step once made; and did not doubt, but this would make Way for further Changes. They rejoiced to see the Scriptures, and the ancient Creeds, made the Standards of the Faith, without mentioning Tradition, or the Decrees of the Church. Then the Foundation of Christian Faith was truly stated, and the Terms of the Covenant between God and Man in Christ were rightly opened, without the Niceties of the Schools of either Side. Immediate Worship of Images and Saints was also removed, and Purgatory was declared uncertain by the Scripture. These were great Advantages to them, but the Establishing the Necessity of Auricular Confession, the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, the keeping up and doing Reverence to Images, and the praying to Saints, did allay their Joy, yet they still counted it a Victory, to have Things brought under Debate, and to have some Grosser Abuses taken away.

The other Party were unspeakably troubled. Four Sacraments were passed over, which would encourage ill-affected People to neglect them.

The

The gainful Trade by the Belief of Purgatory was put down; for though it was said to be good to give Alms for praying for the Dead, yet since both the dreadful Stories of the Miseries of Purgatory, and the Certainty of Redeeming Souls out of them by Masses, were made doubtful, the Peoples Charity and Bounty that Way would soon abate. And in a Word, the bringing Matters under Dispute was a great Mortification to them; for all concluded, that this was but a Preamble to what they might expect afterwards.

When these Things were seen beyond Sea, the Papal Party made every where great Use of it, to show the Necessity of adhering to the Pope; since the King of *England*, though when he broke off from his Obedience to the Apostolick See, he pretended, he would maintain the Catholick Faith entire, yet was now making great Changes in it. But others, that were more moderate, acknowledged that there was great Temper and Prudence in contriving these Articles. And it seems the Emperor, and the more Learned Divines about him, both approved of the Precedent, and liked the Particulars so well, that not many Years after, the Emperor published a Work not unlike this, called, *The Interim*; because it was to be in Force in that *Interim*, till all Things were more fully debated and determined by a General Council, which in many Particulars, agreed with these Articles. Yet some stricter Persons censured this Work much, as being a Political Dawbing, in which, they said, there was more Pains taken to gratifie Persons, and serve particular Ends, than to assert Truth in a free and unbiassed Way, such as became Divines. He was again excused, and it was said, that all Things, could not be attained on a sudden: that some of the Bishops and Divines, who afterwards arrived at a clearer Understanding of some Matters, were not then so fully convinced about them, and so it was their Ignorance, and not their Cowardice or Policy, that made them compliant in some Things. Besides, it was said, that as our Saviour did not reveal all Things to his Disciples, till they were able to bear them; and as the Apostles did not of a sudden abolish all the Rites of Judaism, but for some Time, to gain the Jews, complied with them, and went to the Temple, and offered Sacrifices; so the People were not to be over-driven in this Change. The Clergy must be brought out of their Ignorance by Degrees, and then the People were to be better instructed; but to drive furiously, and do all at once, might have spoiled the whole Design, and totally alienated those who were to be drawn on by Degrees; it might have also much endangered the Peace of the Nation, the People being much disposed by the Practices of the Friars to rise in Arms: Therefore these slow Steps were thought the surer and better Method.

On the last Day of the Convocation, there was another Writing brought in by *Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, occasioned by the Summons for a General Council to sit at *Mantua*, to which the Pope had cited the King to appear. The King had made his Appeal from the Pope to a General Council, but there was no Reason to expect any Justice in an Assembly so constituted, as this was like to be. Therefore it was thought fit to publish somewhat of the Reasons why the King could not submit his Matter to the Decision of such a Council, as was then intended. And it was moved, that the Convocation should give their Sense of it.

The Convocation declares against the Council called by the Pope.

1526.  
 Collect.  
 Numb. 5.

The King  
 publishes his  
 Reasons a-  
 gainst it.

Ex.

The Substance of their Answer, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) was, ' That as nothing was better Instituted by the Ancient Fathers, for the Establishment of the Faith, the Extirpation of Heresies, the Healing of Schisms, and the Unity of the Christian Church, than General Councils, gathered in the Holy Ghost, duely called to an indifferent Place; with other necessary Requisites: So on the other Hand nothing could produce more pestiferous Effects, than a General Council called upon private Malice, or Ambition, or other carnal Respects; which *Gregory Nazianzen* so well observed in his Time, that he thought *all Assemblies of Bishops were to be eschewed, for he never saw Good come of any of them, and they had encreased, rather than healed the Distempers of the Church. For the Appetite of Vain Glory, and a contentious Humour bore down Reason*: Therefore they thought Christian Princes ought to employ all their Endeavours to prevent so great a Mischief. And it was to be considered, First, Who had Authority to call one. Secondly, If the Reasons for calling one were weighty. Thirdly, Who should be the Judges. Fourthly, What should be the Manner of Proceeding. Fifthly, What Things should be treated of in it. And as to the first of these, they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince of what Dignity soever, had Authority to call one, without the Consent of all other Christian Princes, especially such as had entire and supream Government over all their Subjects. This was signed on the 20th of July, by *Cromwell*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with 14 Bishops, and 40 Abbots, Priors and Clerks of the Convocation of *Canterbury*. Whether this and the former Articles were also signed by the Convocation of the Province of *York*, does not appear by any Record; but that I think is not to be doubted. This being obtained, the King published a long and sharp Protestation against the Council now summoned to *Mantua*. In which he shews, that the Pope had no Power to call one; ' For as it was done by the Emperors of old; so it pertained to Christian Princes now. That the Pope had no Jurisdiction in *England*, and so could Summon none of this Nation to come to any such Meeting. That the Place was neither safe nor proper. That nothing could be done in a Council to any Purpose, if the Pope sat Judge in chief in it, since one of the true Ends, why a Council was to be desired, was to reduce his Power within its old Limits. A free General Council was that which he much desired; but he was sure this could not be such: and the present Distractions of Christendom, and the Wars between the Emperor and the *French King*, shewed this was no proper Time for one. The Pope who had long refused or delayed to call one, did now choose this Conjunction of Affairs, knowing that few would come to it, and so they might carry Things as they pleased. But the World was now awake; the Scriptures were again in Men's Hands, and People would not be so tamely cozen'd as they had been. Then he shews how unsafe it was, for any *English Man* to go to *Mantua*, how little Regard was to be had to the Pope's safe Conduct, they having so oft broken their Oaths and Promises. He also shews how little Reason he had to trust himself to the Pope, how kind he had been to that See formerly, and how basely they had requited it: And that now these Three Years past, they had been stirring up all Christian Princes against him, and using all possible Means to create him Trouble. Therefore he declared, he would

not

‘ not go to any Council called by the Bishop of *Rome*; but when  
 ‘ there was a General Peace among Christian Princes, he would most  
 ‘ gladly hearken to the Motion of a true General Council: and the  
 ‘ mean-while, he would preserve all the Articles of the Faith in  
 ‘ his Kingdom, and sooner lose his Life and his Crown, than suffer  
 ‘ any of them to be put down. And so he protested against any Coun-  
 ‘ cil to be held at *Mantua*, or any where else, by the Bishop of *Rome*'s  
 ‘ Authority: That he would not acknowledge it, nor receive any of  
 ‘ their Decrees.

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At this Time *Reginald Pool*, who was of the Royal Blood, being  
 by his Mother descended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King  
*Edward* the Fourth, and in the same Degree of Kindred with the King  
 by his Father's Side, was in great Esteem for his Learning, and other  
 Excellent Virtues. It seems the King had determined to breed him  
 up to the greatest Dignity in the Church; and to make him as Eminent  
 in Learning, and other acquired Parts, as he was for Quality, and  
 a Natural Sweetness and Nobleness of Temper. Therefore the King  
 had given him the Deanery of *Exeter*, with several other Dignities,  
 towards his Maintenance beyond Sea; and sent him to *Paris*, where  
 he staid several Years: There he first incurred the King's Displeasure.  
 For, being desired by him to concur with his Agents, in procuring the  
 Subscriptions and Seals of the *French* Universities, he excused himself;  
 yet it was in such Terms, that he did not openly declare himself against  
 the King: After that, he came over to *England*, and as he writes him-  
 self, was present when the Clergy made their Submission, and acknow-  
 ledged the King *Supream Head*: In which, since he was then Dean of  
*Exeter*, and kept his Deanry several Years after that, it is not to be  
 doubted, but that, as he was by his Place obliged to sit in the Convoca-  
 tion, so he concurred with the rest in making that Submission. From  
 thence he went to *Padua*, where he lived long, and was received into  
 the Friendship and Society of some celebrated Persons, who gave them-  
 selves much to the Study of Eloquence, and of the *Roman* Authors.  
 These were *Centareno*, *Bembo*, *Caraffa*, *Sadoletti*, with a great many  
 more, that became afterwards well known over the World: But all those  
 gave *Pool* the Preheminence, and that justly too, for he was accounted  
 one of the most Eloquent Men of his Time.

Cardinal  
*Pool* opposes  
 the King's  
 Proceedings.

The King called him oft home to assist him in his Affairs, but he still  
 declined it; at Length finding Delays could prevail no longer, he wrote  
 the King Word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither  
 in the Matter of his Divorce, nor his Separation from the Apostolick  
 See. To this the King answered, desiring his Reasons why he disa-  
 greed from him, and sent him over a Book which Doctor *Sampson* had  
 writ in Defence of the Proceedings in *England*. Upon which he wrote  
 his Book *De Unitate Ecclesiastica*, and sent it over to the King: and  
 soon after Printed it this Year. In which Book he condemned the  
 King's Actions, and pressed him to return to the Obedience he owed  
 the See of *Rome*, with many sharp Reflections; but the Book was more  
 considered for the Author, and the Wit and Eloquence of it, than for  
 any great Learning, or deep Reasoning in it. He did also very much  
 depress the Royal, and exalt the Papal Authority: He compared the  
 King to *Nebuchadonosor*. and addressed himself in the Conclusion to the  
 Emperor, whom he conjured to turn his Arms rather against the King  
 than the *Turk*. And indeed the Indecencies of his Expressions against

And writes  
 his Book a-  
 gainst him

1536. the King, not to mention the scurrilous Language he bestows on *Sampson*, whose Book he undertakes to answer, are such, that it appears how much the *Italian* Air had changed him; and that his Converse at *Padua* had for some time defac'd that generous Temper of Mind, which was otherwise so natural to him.

Upon this, the King desired him at first to come over, and explain some Passages in his Book: But when he could not thus draw him into his Toyls, he proceeded severely against him, and divested him of all his Dignities; but these were plentifully made up to him by the Pope's Bounty, and the Emperor's. He was afterwards rewarded with a Cardinal's Hat, but he did not rise above the Degree of a Deacon. Some believe that the Spring of this Opposition he made to the King, was a secret Affection he had for the Lady *Mary*. The publishing of this Book, made the King set the Bishops on work to write Vindications of his Actions; which *Stokesley* and *Tonstal* did in a long and Learned Letter, that they wrote to *Pool*. And *Gardiner* published his Book of *True Obedience*: To which *Bonner*, who was hot on the Scent of Preferment, added a Preface. But the King designed sharper Tools for *Pool's* Punishment: Yet an Attainder in Absence was all he could do against himself. But his Family and Kindred felt the Weight of the King's Displeasure very sensibly.

Many Books  
are written  
for the King.

But now I must give an Account of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, pursuant to the Act of Parliament, though I cannot fix the exact Time in which it was done. I have seen the Original Instructions, with the Commission given to those who were to visit the Monasteries in and about *Bristol*. All the rest were of the same kind: They bear Date the 28th of *April*, after the Session of Parliament was over; and the Report was to be made in the Octaves of *St. Michael* the Arch-Angel. But I am inclined to think, that the great Concussion and Disorder Things were in by the Queen's Death, made the Commissioners unwilling to proceed in so invidious a Matter, till they saw the Issue of the New Parliament. Therefore I have delayed giving any Account of the Proceedings in that Matter, till this Place. The Instructions will be found in the Collection. The Substance of them was as follows.

Collect.  
Numb. 6.  
Instructions  
about the dis-  
solution of  
Monasteries.

' The Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, were the Persons  
' that were employed. Four, or any Three of them, were Commis-  
' sioned to execute the Instructions in every particular Visitation. One  
' Auditor or Receiver, and one of the Clerks of the former Visita-  
' tion, were to call for three discreet Persons in the County, who  
' were also named by the King. They were to signify to every  
' House the Statute of Dissolution, and shew them their Commission.  
' Then they were to put the Governour, or any other Officer of the  
' House, to declare upon Oath the true State of it: And to require him  
' speedily to appear before the Court of Augmentations, and in the  
' mean time not to meddle with any Thing belonging to the House.  
' Then to examine how many Religious Persons were in the House,  
' and what Lives they led; how many of them were Priests; how ma-  
' ny of them would go to other Religious Houses; and how many of  
' them would take Capacities, and go into the World. They were to  
' estimate the State and Fabrick of the House, and the Number of the  
' Servants,



‘ Servants they kept ; and to call for the Covent-Seal, and Writings,  
 ‘ and put them in some sure Place, and take an Inventory of all their  
 ‘ Plate, and their Moveable Goods, and to know the Value of all, 1536.  
 ‘ that before the 1st of *March* last belonged to the House, and what  
 ‘ Debts they owed. They were to put the Covent-Seal, with the  
 ‘ Jewels and Plate in safe-keeping, and to leave the rest (an Inven-  
 ‘ tory being first taken) in the Governors Hands, to be kept by them  
 ‘ till further Order. And the Governors were to meddle with none  
 ‘ of the Rents of the House, except for necessary Sustenance, till they  
 ‘ were another Way disposed of. They were to try what Leafes  
 ‘ and Deeds had been made for a whole Year, before the 4th of *Fe-*  
 ‘ *bruary* last. Such as would still live in Monasteries, were to be re-  
 ‘ commended to some of the great Monasteries that lay next : And  
 ‘ such as would live in the World, must come to the Arch-Bishop of  
 ‘ *Canterbury*, or the Lord-Chancellor, to receive Capacities. (From  
 ‘ which it appears that *Cromwel* was not at this Time Lord Vice-Gerent,  
 ‘ for he granted these Capacities when he was in that Power.) ‘ And the  
 ‘ Commissioners were to give them a reasonable Allowance for their  
 ‘ Journey, according to the Distance they lived at. The Governor  
 ‘ was to be sent to the Court of Augmentations, who were to assign  
 ‘ him a Yearly Pension for his Life.

What Report those Commissioners made, or how they obeyed their Instructions, we know not ; for the Account of it is razed out of the Records. The Writers that lived near that Time represent the Matter very odiously, and say, about Ten Thousand Persons were set to seek for their Livings ; only Forty Shillings in Money, and a Crown, being given to every Religious Man. The Rents of them all, rose to about Thirty Two Thousand Pounds : And the Goods, Plate, Jewels, and other Moveables, were valued at an Hundred Thousand Pound : And it is generally said, and not improbably, That the Commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves, as to encrease the King’s Revenue. The Churches and Cloysters were for the most part pulled down ; and the Lead, Bells, and other Materials were sold ; and this must needs have raised great Discontents every where.

The Religious Persons that were undone, went about complaining of the Sacrilege and Injustice of the Suppression ; That what the Piety of their Ancestors had dedicated to God and his Saints, was now invaded and converted to secular Ends. They said, the King’s Severity fell first upon some particular Persons of their Orders, who were found Delinquents ; but now, upon the pretended Miscarriages of some Individual Persons, to proceed against their Houses, and suppress them, was an unheard of Practice. The Nobility and Gentry, whose Ancestors had founded or enriched these Houses, and who provided for their younger Children, or empoverished Friends, by putting them into these Sanctuaries, complained much of the Prejudice they sustained by it. The People, that had been well entertained at the Abbots Tables, were sensible of their Loss ; for generally, as they Travelled over the Country, the Abbies were their Stages, and were Houses of Reception to Travellers and Strangers. The Devouter sort of People of their Perswasion, thought their Friends must now lie in Purgatory without Relief, except they were at the Charge to keep a Priest, who should daily say Mass for their Souls. The Poor, that fed on their daily Alms, were deprived of that Supply.

Great dis-  
 contents a-  
 mong all sorts  
 of People.

1536.

Endeavours  
are used to  
quiet these.

But to compose these Discontents, first many Books were published, to shew what Crimes, Cheats, and Impostures, those Religious Persons were guilty of. Yet that wrought not much on the People; for they said, why were not these Abuses severely punished and reformed? But must whole Houses, and the Succeeding Generations, be punished for the Faults of a few? Most of these Reports were also denied, and even those who before envied the Ease and Plenty in which the Abbots and Monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the Proceedings against them. But to allay this General Discontent, *Cromwell* advised the King to sell their Lands at very easie Rates to the Gentry in the severall Counties, obliging them, since they had them upon such Terms, to keep up the wonted Hospitality. This drew in the Gentry a-pace both to be satisfied with what was done, and to Assist the Crown for ever in the Defence of these Laws; their own Interest being so intervoven with the Rights of the Crown. The commoner sort, who, like those of old that followed Christ for the Loaves, were most concerned for the loss of a good Dinner on a Holy-Day, or when they went over the Country about their Business, were now also in a great Measure satisfied, when they heard that all to whom these Lands were given, were obliged under heavy Forfeitures to keep up the Hospitality; and when they saw that put in Practice, their Discontent, which lay chiefly in their Stomach, was appeased.

And to quiet other People, who could not be satisfied with such Things, the King made use of a Clause in the Act that gave him the lesser Monasteries, which Empowered him to continue such as he should think fit. Therefore on the 17th of *August*, he by his Letters Patents, did of new give back *in perpetuam Eleemosynam*, for perpetual Alms, Five Abbies. The first of these, was the Abbey of *St. Mary of Betlesden* of the *Cistercian* Order in *Buckinghamshire*. Ten more were afterwards confirmed. Sixteen Nunneries were also confirmed; in all Thirty one Houses. The Patents (in most of which some Mannors are excepted, that had been otherwise disposed of,) are all enrolled, and yet none of our Writers have taken any Notice of this. It seems these Houses had been more regular than the rest: So that in a General Calamity they were rather reprieved than excepted; for Two Years after this, in the Suppression of the rest of the Monasteries, they fell under the common Fate of other Houses. By these new Endowments, they were obliged to pay Tenths and First-Fruits, and to obey all the Statutes and Rules that should be sent to them from the King, as Supreme Head of the Church. But it is not unlike, that some Presents to the Commissioners, or to *Cromwell*, made these Houses out-live this Ruin; for I find great Trading in Bribes at this Time, which is not to be wondered at, when there was so much to be shared.

Collect.  
Nam. 3. Sect. 2.

Yet People  
generally in-  
cline to Re-  
bel.

But great Disorders followed upon the Dissolution of the other Houses. People were still generally discontented. The Suppression of Religious Houses occasioned much out-crying, and the Articles then lately published about Religion, encreased the distaste they had conceived at the Government. The old Clergy were also very watchful to improve all Opportunities, and to blow upon every Spark. And the Pope's Power of deposing Kings had been for almost Five hundred Years received as an Article of Faith. The same Council that established Transubstantiation, had asserted it; and there were many Precedents, not only in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*, but also in  
*England*,

*England*, of Kings that were Deposed by Popes, whose Dominions were given to other Princes. This had begun in the Eighth Century, in Two famous Deprivations. The one in *France*, of *Childeric* the third, who was deprived, and the Crown given to *Pepin*: and about the same Time, those Dominions in *Italy* which were under the Eastern Emperors, renounced their Allegiance to them. In both these the Popes had a great Hand, yet they rather confirmed and approved of those Treasonable Mutations, than gave the first rise to them. But after Pope *Gregory* the Seventh's Time, it was clearly assumed, as a Right and Prerogative of the Papal Crown, to Depose Princes, and absolve Subjects from the Oaths of Allegiance, and set up others in their stead. And all those Emperors or Kings, that contested any thing with Popes, sat very uneasie and unsafe in their Thrones, ever after that. But if they were tractable to the Demands of the Court of *Rome*, then they might oppress their Subjects, and Govern as unjustly as they pleased; for they had a mighty Support from that Court. This made Princes more easily bear the Pope's Usurpations, because they were assisted by them in all their other Proceedings. And the Friars, having the Consciences of People generally in their Hands, as they had the Word given by their General at *Rome*, so they disposed People, either to be obedient, or seditious, as they pleased.

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Now, not only their own Interests, mixed with their Zeal for the ancient Religion, but the Pope's Authority, gave them as good a War-rant to encline the People to Rebel, as any had in former Times, of whom some were Canonized for the like Practices. For in *August* the former Year, the Pope had Summoned the King to appear within Ninety Days, and to answer for putting away his Queen, and taking another Wife; and for the Laws he had made against the Church, and putting the Bishop of *Rocheſter* and others to Death for not obeying these Laws; and if he did not reform these Faults, or did not appear to answer for them, the Pope Excommunicated him, and all that favoured him, deprived the King, put the Kingdom under an Interdict, forbade all his Subjects to obey, and other States to hold Commerce with him, dissolved all his Leagues with Foreign Princes, commanded all the Clergy to depart out of *England*, and his Nobility to rise in Arms against him. But now, the force of those Thunders, which had formerly produc'd great Earth-quakes and Commotions, was much abated; yet some Storms were raised by this, though not so violent as had been in former Times.

The People were quiet till they had reaped their Harvest. And though some Injunctions were published a little before, to help it the better forward, most of the Holy-Days of Harvest being abolished by the King's Authority; yet that rather Inflamed them the more. Other Injunctions were also published in the King's Name by *Cromwell* his Vicegerent, which was the first Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. For in all that went before, he had the Concurrence of the two Convocations. But these, it is like, were penned by *Cranmer*. The Reader is referred to the Collection of Papers for them, as I transcribed them out of the Register.

The King's  
injunctions  
about Reli-  
gion.

' The Subſtance of them was, That first, all Ecclesiastical Incum-  
' bents were for a quarter of a Year after that, once every *Sunday*,  
' and ever after that, twice every Quarter, to publish to the People:  
' That the Bishop of *Rome's* usurped Power, had no ground in the  
' Law

Collec.  
Numb. 7.

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‘ Law of God; and therefore was on good Reasons abolished in this Kingdom: And that the King’s Power was by the Laws of God, Supreme over all Persons in his Dominions. And they were to do their uttermost Endeavour to extirpate the Pope’s Authority, and to establish the King’s.

‘ *Secondly*, They were to declare the Articles lately published, and agreed to by the Convocation; and to make the People know which of them were Articles of Faith, and which of them Rules for the decent and politick Order of the Church.

‘ *Thirdly*, They were to declare the Articles lately set forth, for the Abrogation of some superfluous Holy-Days, particularly in Harvest Time.

‘ *Fourthly*, They were no more to extol Images or Relicks, for Superstition or Gain; nor to exhort People to make Pilgrimages, as if Blessings and good Things were to be obtained of this or that Saint or Image. But instead of that, the People were to be instructed to apply themselves to the keeping of God’s Commandments, and doing Works of Charity; and to believe that God was better served by them when they stayed at Home and provided for their Families, than when they went Pilgrimages; and that the Moneys laid out on these, were better given to the Poor.

‘ *Fifthly*, They were to exhort the People to teach their Children the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in *English*: and every Incumbent was to explain these, one Article a Day, till the People were instructed in them. And to take great Care that all Children were bred up to some Trade or Way of Living.

‘ *Sixthly*, They must take care that the Sacraments and Sacramentals may be reverently administered in their Parishes, from which when at any Time they were absent, they were to Commit the Cure to the Learned and expert Curate, who might instruct the People in wholesome Doctrine; that they might also see their Pastors did not pursue their own Profits or Interests, so much as the Glory of God, and the good of the Souls under their Cure.

‘ *Seventhly*, They should not, except on urgent Occasion, go to Taverns or Ale-houses; nor sit too long at any sort of Games after their Meals, but give themselves to the Study of the Scripture, or some other honest Exercise; and remember that they must excel others in Purity of Life, and be Examples to all others to live well and Christianly.

‘ *Eighthly*, Because the Goods of the Church, were the Goods of the Poor; every Beneficed Person that had Twenty Pound or above, and did not reside, was Yearly to distribute the Fortieth Part of his Benefice to the Poor of the Parish.

‘ *Ninthly*, Every Incumbent that had a Hundred Pounds a Year, must give an Exhibition for one Scholar at some Grammar School, or University; who after he had compleated his Studies, was to be Partner of the Cure and Charge, both in Preaching, and other Duties: And so many Hundred Pounds as any had, so many Students he was to breed up.

‘ *Tenthly*, Where Parsonage or Vicarage-Houses were in great decay, the Incumbent was every Year to give a fifth Part of his Profits to the repairing of them, till they were finished; and then to maintain them in the State they were in.

‘ *Eleventhly*,

‘ *Eleventhly*, All these Injunctions were to be observed, under Pain  
‘ of Suspension and Sequestration of the mean Profits till they were ob-  
‘ served.

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These were equally ungrateful to the Corrupt Clergy, and to the Laity that adhered to the old Doctrine. The very same Opinions, about Pilgrimages, Images, and Saints departed, and instructing the People in the Principles of Christian Religion in the Vulgar Tongue, for which the *Lollards* were not long ago, either burnt or forced to abjure them, were now set up by the King's Authority. From whence they concluded, that whatsoever the King said of his maintaining the old Doctrine, yet he was now changing it. The Clergy also were much troubled at this Precedent, of the King's giving such Injunctions to them, without the Consent of the Convocation: From which they concluded, they were now to be Slaves to the Lord Vice-gerent. The matter of these Injunctions was also very uneasy to them. The great Profits they made by their Images and Relicks, and the Pilgrimages to them, were now taken away; and yet severe Impositions and heavy Taxes were laid on them; a fifth Part for Repairs, a Tenth at least for an Exhibitioner, and a Fortieth for Charity, which were cried out on as intolerable Burdens. Their Labour was also increased, and they were bound up to many Severities of Life: All these Things touched the Secular Clergy to the quick, and made them concur with the Regular Clergy in disposing the People to Rebel.

Which were  
much censu-  
red.

This was secretly fomented by the great Abbats. For though they were not yet struck at, yet the Way was prepared to it; and their Houses were oppressed with Crouds of those who were sent to them from the suppressed Houses. There was some Pains taken to remove their Fears. For a Letter was sent to them all in the King's Name, to silence the Reports that were spread abroad, as if all Monasteries were to be quite suppressed. This they were required not to believe, but to serve God according to their Order, to obey the King's Injunctions, to keep Hospitality, and make no Wastes nor Dilapidations. Yet this gave them small Comfort; and as all such Things do, rather increased than quieted their Jealousies and Fears. So many secret Causes concurring, no wonder the People fell into mutinous and seditious Practices.

The first Rising was in *Lincolnshire* in the beginning of *October*, where a Church-man, disguised into a Cobler, and directed by a Monk, drew a great Body of Men after him. About 20000 were gathered together. They swore to be true to God, the King, and the Commonwealth, and digested their Grievances into a few Articles, which they sent to the King, desiring a Redress of them.

A Rebellion  
in *Lincolnshire*.

‘ They complained of some Things that related to Secular Concerns,  
‘ and some Acts of Parliament that were uneasy to them: They also  
‘ complained of the Suppression of so many Religious Houses; that  
‘ the King had mean Persons in high Places about him, who were  
‘ ill Councillors: They also complained of some Bishops who had sub-  
‘ verted the Faith; and they apprehended the Jewels and Plate of their  
‘ Churches should be taken away. Therefore they desired the King  
‘ would call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and by their Advice  
‘ redress their Grievances: Concluding with an Acknowledgment of  
‘ the King's being their Supream Head, and that the Tenths and First-  
‘ Fruits of all Livings, belonged to him of Right.

Their De-  
mands.

1536. When the King heard of this Insurrection, he presently sent the Duke of *Suffolk* with a Commission to raise Forces for dispersing them : But with him he sent an Answer to their Petition. ' He began with that about his Councillors, and said ; It was never before heard of, ' that the Rabble presumed to Dictate to their Prince, what Councillors ' he should choose. That was the Prince's Work and not theirs. The ' Suppression of Religious Houses was done pursuant to an Act of ' Parliament, and was not set forth by any of his Councillors. The ' Heads of these Religious Houses, had under their own Hands confessed those horrid Scandals, which made them a Reproach to the ' Nation. And in many Houses there were not above Four or Five ' Religious Persons. So it seemed they were better pleased, that such ' dissolute Persons should consume their Rents in riotous and idle ' living, than that their Prince should have them for the common good ' of the whole Kingdom. He also answered their other Demands in ' the same high and commanding Strain ; and required them to submit ' themselves to his Mercy, and to deliver their Captains and Lieutenants into the Hands of his Lieutenants ; and to disperse, and carry themselves as became good and obedient Subjects, and to put an ' hundred of their Number into the Hands of his Lieutenants, to be ' ordered as they had deserved.

The King's  
Answer.

When this Answer was brought to them, it raised their Spirits higher. The practising Clergy-men continued to inflame them. They persuaded them, That the Christian Religion would be very soon defaced, and taken away quite, if they did not vigorously defend it : That it would come to that, that no Man should marry a Wife, receive any of the Sacraments, nor eat a Piece of roast Meats, but he should pay for it : That it were better to live under the *Turk*, than under such Oppression. Therefore there was no Cause in which they could with more Honour and a better Conscience hazard their Lives, than for the Holy Faith. This encouraged and kept them together a little longer. They had forced many of the Gentry of the Country to go along with them. These sent a secret Message to the Duke of *Suffolk*, letting him know what ill Effects the King's rough Answer had produced : That they had joyned with the People only to moderate them a little, and they knew nothing that would be so effectual as the Offer of a General Pardon. So the Duke of *Suffolk*, as he moved towards them with the Forces which he had drawn together, sent to the King to know his Pleasure, and earnestly advised a gentle Composing of the Matter without Blood. At that same time the King was advertised from the North, that there was a general and formidable Rising there. Of which he had the greater Apprehensions, because of their Neighbourhood to *Scotland* ; whose King, being the King's Nephew, was the Heir presumptive of the Crown, since the King had Illegitimated both his Daughters. And though the King's firm Alliance with *France* made him less Apprehensive of Trouble from *Scotland*, and their King was at this Time in *France*, to marry the Daughter of *Francis* ; yet he did not know how far a general Rising might invite that King, to send Orders to head and assist the Rebels in the North. Therefore he resolved first to quiet *Lincolnshire*. And as he had raised a great Force about *London*, with which he was marching in Person against them ; so he sent a new Proclamation, requiring them to return to their Obedience, with secret Assurances of Mercy.

It's quieted  
by the Duke  
of *Suffolk*.

A new Rebellion in the  
*North*.

Mercy. By these Means they were melted away. Those who had been carried in the Stream, submitted to the King's Mercy, and promised all Obedience for the future : Others, that were obstinate, and knew themselves unpardonable, fled Northward, and joyned themselves to the Rebels there : Some of their other Leaders were apprehended, in particular the Cobler, and were executed.

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But for the Northern Rebellion, as the Parties concerned being at a greater Distance from the Court, had larger Opportunities to gather themselves into a huge Body ; so the whole Contrivance of it was better laid. One *Ask* commanded in Chief. He was a Gentleman of an ordinary Condition, but understood well how to draw on and govern a Multitude. Their March was called *The Pilgrimage of Grace*. And to inveigle the People, some Priests marched before them with Crosses in their Hands. In their Banners they had a Crucifix with the Five Wounds and a Chalice ; and every one wore on his Sleeve, as the Badge of the Party, an Emblem of the Five Wounds of Christ, with the Name *Jesus* wrought in the midst. All that joyned to them took an Oath, ' That they entred into this *Pilgrimage of Grace*, for the ' Love of God, the Preservation of the King's Person, and Issue, the ' Purifying the Nobility, and driving away all base-born and ill Coun- ' cellors ; and for no particular Profit of their own, nor to do Dis- ' pleasure to any, nor to kill any for Envy ; but to take before them ' the Cross of Christ, his Faith, the Restitution of the Church, and ' the Suppression of Hereticks, and their Opinions.' These were specious Pretences, and very apt to work upon a giddy and discontented Multitude. So People flocked about their Crosses and Standards in great Numbers ; and they grew to be 40000 strong. They went over the Country without any great Opposition. The Arch-Bishop of *Tork* and the Lord *Darcy* were in *Pomfret* Castle ; which they yielded to them, and were made to swear their Covenant. They were both suspected of being secret Promoters of the Rebellion : The latter suffered for it, but how the former excused himself, I cannot give any Account. They also took *Tork* and *Hull* ; but though they summoned the Castle of *Skipton*, yet the Earl of *Cumberland*, who would not degenerate from his Noble Ancestors, held it out against all their Force : and though many of the Gentlemen, whom he had entertained at his own Cost, deserted him, yet he made a brave Resistance. *Scarborough* Castle was also long besieged ; but there Sir *Ralph Evers*, that commanded it, gave an unexampled Instance of his Fidelity and Courage ; for though his Provisions fell short, so that for Twenty Days he and his Men had nothing but Bread and Water, yet they stood it out till they were relieved.

Which grew very formidable.

This Rising in *Torkshire*, encouraged those of *Lancashire*, the Bishoprick of *Duresm* and *Westmorland*, to arm. Against these, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that he might not fall short of the Gallantry and Loyalty of his renown'd Ancestors, made Head ; though he had no Commission from the King. But he knew his Zeal and Fidelity would easily procure him a Pardon, which he modestly asked for the Service he had done. The King sent him not only that, but a Commission to command in Chief all his Forces in the North. To his Assistance he ordered the Earl of *Derby* to march ; and sent *Courtney* Marquess of *Exeter*, and the Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Rutland*, to joyn him. He also ordered the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the Force that he had led into *Lincoln-*

1536. *shire*, to lie still there; lest they, being but newly quieted, should break out again, and fall upon his Armies behind; when the *Yorkshire* Men met them before.

The Duke  
of Norfolk and  
others sent a-  
gainst them.

On the 20th of *October*, he sent the Duke of *Norfolk* with more Forces to joyn the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: But the Rebels were very numerous and desperate. When the Duke of *Norfolk* understood their Strength, he saw great Reason to proceed with much Caution: For if they had got the least Advantage of the King's Troops, all the Discontents in *England* would upon the Report of that have broken out. He saw their Numbers were now such, that the gaining some Time was their Ruin: For such a great Body could not subsist long together, without much Provisions, and that must be very hard for them to bring in: so he set forward a Treaty. It was both Honourable for the King to offer Mercy to his distracted Subjects, and of great Advantage to his Affairs; for as their Numbers did every Day lessen, so the King's Forces were still increasing. He wrote to the King, That considering the Season of the Year, he thought the offering some fair Conditions might persuade them to lay down their Arms, and disperse themselves: Yet when the Earl of *Shrewsbury* sent a Herald with a Proclamation, ordering them to lay down their Arms, and submit to the King's Mercy; *Ask* received him sitting in State, with the Arch-Bishop on the one Hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other; but would not suffer any Proclamation to be made, 'till he knew the Contents of it. And when the Herald told what they were, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. And then the Priests used all their Endeavours to engage the People to a firm Resolution of not dispersing themselves, 'till all Matters about Religion were fully settled.

The advance  
to *Doncaster*.

As they went forward, they every where repossessed the ejected Monks of their Houses; and this encouraged the rest, who had a great mind to be in their old Nests again. They published also many Stories among them of the many growing Burdens of the King's Government, and made them believe, That Impositions would be laid on every thing that was either bought or sold. But the King hearing how strong they were, sent out a general Summons to all the Nobility to meet him at *Northampton* the 7th of *November*. And the Forces sent against the Rebels, advanced to *Doncaster*, to hinder them from coming further Southward; and took the Bridge, which they fortified, and laid their Forces along the River to maintain that Pass.

The Writers of that Time, say, That the Day of Battel was agreed on; but that the Night before, excessive Rains falling, the River swelled so, that it was unpassable next Day, and they could not force the Bridge. Yet it is not likely the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, having in all but 5000 Men about him, would agree to a pitched Battel with those who were Six times his Number, being then 30000. Therefore it is more likely that the Rebels only intended to pass the River the next Day, which the Rain that fell hindred: But the Duke of *Norfolk* continued to press a Treaty, which was hearkned to by the other side; who were reduced to great Streights; for their Captain would not suffer them to spoil the Country, and they were no longer able to subsist without doing that. The Duke of *Norfolk* directed some that were secretly gained, or had been sent over to them as Deserters, to spread Reports among them, That their Leaders were making Terms for themselves, and would leave the rest to be undone. This, joyned



to their Necessities, made many fall off every Day. The Duke of *Norfolk* finding his Arts had so good an Operation, offered to go to Court with any whom they would send with their Demands, and to intercede for them. This he knew would take up some Time, and most of them would be dispersed before he could return. So they sent two Gentlemen, whom they had forced to go with them, to the King to *Windsor*. Upon this, the King discharged the Rendezvous at *Northampton*, and delayed the sending an Answer as much as could be: But at last, hearing that though most of them were dispersed, yet they had engaged to return upon Warning, and that they took it ill that no Answer came; he sent the Duke of *Norfolk* to them with a general Pardon, six only excepted by Name, and four others that were not named. But in this the King's Councils were generally censured; for every one was now in fear, and so the Rebels rejected the Proposition. The King also sent them word by their own Messenger, 'That he took it very ill at their Hands, that they had chosen rather to rise in Arms against him, than to petition him about those Things which were uneasie to them.' And to appease them a little, the King by new Injunctions, commanded the Clergy to continue the Use of all the Ceremonies of the Church. This, it is like, was intended for keeping up the Four Sacraments, which had not been mentioned in the former Articles. The Clergy, that were with the Rebels, met at *Pomfret* to draw up Articles to be offered at the Treaty that was to be at *Doncaster*: where three hundred were ordered to come from the Rebels to treat with the King's Commissioners. So great a Number was called, in Hopes that they would disagree about their Demands, and so fall out among themselves. On the 6th of *December* they met to treat, and it seems had so laid their Matter before, that they agreed upon these following Demands.


' A General Pardon to be granted: A Parliament to be held at *York*; and Courts of Justice to be there; that none on the North of *Trent* might be brought to *London* upon any Law-Sute. They desired, A Repeal of some Acts of Parliament: Those for the last Subsidy, for Uses, for making Words Misprision of Treason, and for the Clergies paying their Tenths and First Fruits to the King. They desired the Princess *Mary* might be restored to her Right of Succession; the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction, and the Monks to their Houses again: That the *Lutherans* might be punished; That *Audley* the Lord Chancellor, and *Cromwell* the Lord Privy-Seal, might be excluded from the next Parliament; and *Lee* and *Leighton*, that had visited the Monasteries, might be imprisoned for Bribery and Extortion.'

But the Lords, who knew that the King would by no means agree to these Propositions, rejected them. Upon which the Rebels took Heart again, and were growing more enraged and desperate; so that the Duke of *Norfolk* wrote to the King, That if some Content were not given them, it might end very ill, for they were much stronger than his Forces were: And both he, and the other Commanders of the King's Forces, in their Hearts wished, that most of their Demands were granted; being Persons, who though they complied with the King, and were against that Rebellion, yet were great Enemies to *Lutheranism*, and wished a Reconciliation with *Rome*; of which the Duke of *Norfolk* was afterwards accused by the Lord *Darcy*, as if he had secretly encour-

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The Duke of Norfolk breaks them by Delays.

Their Demands.

1536.  raged them to insist on these Demands. The King seeing the Humour was so obstinate, resolved to use gentler Remedies ; and so sent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a general Pardon with a Promise of a Parliament, ordering him not to make use of these, except in Extremity.

That was no easie Thing to that Duke, since he might be afterwards made to answer for it, whether the Extremity was really such, as to justify his granting these Things. But the Rebels were become again as numerous as ever, and had resolved to cross the River, and to force the King's Camp, which was still much inferior to theirs in Number. But Rains falling the second time, made the Fords again unpassable. This was spoken by the King's Party, as little lets than a Miracle ; That God's Providence had twice so opportunely interposed for the stopping of the Progress of the Rebels : And it is very probable that on the other side, it made great Impression on the superstitious Multitude ; and both discouraged them, and disposed them to accept of the Offer of Pardon, and a Parliament to be soon called, for considering their other Demands. The King signed the Pardon at *Richmond*, the 9th of *December* : by which all their Treasons and Rebellion to that Day were pardoned, provided they made their Submission to the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and lived in all due Obedience for the future.

The King's  
Answer to  
them.

The King sent likewise a long Answer to their Demands : ‘ As to  
‘ what they complained about the Subversion of the Faith : He pro-  
‘ tested his Zeal for the true Christian Faith, and that he would live  
‘ and die in the Defence and Preservation of it. But the ignorant Mul-  
‘ titude were not to instruct him what the true Faith was, nor to pre-  
‘ sume to correct what he and the whole Convocation had agreed on.  
‘ That as he had preserved the Church of *England* in her true Liberties,  
‘ so he would do still ; and that he had done nothing that was so  
‘ Oppressive, as many of his Progenitors had done upon lesser Grounds:  
‘ But that he took it very ill of them, who had rather see Churl or  
‘ two should enjoy the Profits of their Monasteries, to support them  
‘ in their dissolute and abominable Course of Living, than that their  
‘ King should have them for defraying the great Charge he was at for  
‘ their Defence against foreign Enemies. For the Laws, it was high  
‘ Presumption in a rude Multitude to take on them to judge what Laws  
‘ were good, and what not. They had more Reason to think, that he,  
‘ after Twenty Eight Years Reign, should know it better than they  
‘ could. And for his Government, he had so long preserved his Sub-  
‘ jects in Peace and Justice, had so defended them from their Enemies,  
‘ had so secured his Frontier, had granted so many general Pardons,  
‘ had been so unwilling to punish his Subjects, and so ready to receive  
‘ them into Mercy ; that they could shew no Parallel to his Govern-  
‘ ment among all their former Kings. And whereas it was said, That  
‘ he had many of the Nobility of his Council, in the Beginning of his  
‘ Reign, and few now ; he shewed them in that one Instance, how  
‘ they were abused by the lying Slanders of some disaffected Persons :  
‘ For when he came to the Crown, there were none that were born  
‘ Noble, of his Council, but only the Earl of *Surrey*, and the Earl of  
‘ *Shrewsbury* ; whereas now, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the  
‘ Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Steward*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Suffex*,  
‘ and the Lord *Sands*, were of the Privy-Council : And for the Spiritu-  
‘ alty, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*,  
‘ *Hereford*

Hereford and Chichester were also of it: And he in his whole Council judging it necessary to have some at the Bar, who understood the Law of *England*, and the Treaties with Foreign Princes: he had, by their unanimous Advice, brought in his Chancery, and the Lord Privy-Seal. He thought it strange, that they who were but Brutes, should think they could better judge who should be his Counsellors than himself and his whole Council: Therefore he would bear no such Thing at their Hands; it being inconsistent with the Duty of good Subjects, to meddle in such Matters. But if they, or any of his other Subjects, could bring any just Complaint against any about him, he was ready to hear it; and if it were proved, he would punish it according to Law. As for the Complaints against some of the Prelates for preaching against the Faith, they could know none of these Things but by the Report of others; since they lived at such a Distance, that they themselves had not heard any of them preach. Therefore he required them not to give Credit to Lies, nor be misled by those who spread such Calumnies and ill Reports: And he concluded all with a severe Expostulation; adding, That such was his Love to his Subjects, that, imputing this Insurrection, rather to their Folly and Lightness, than to any Malice or Rancour, he was willing to pass it over more gently, as they would perceive by his Proclamation.

Now the People were come to themselves again, and glad to get off so easily; and they all cheerfully accepted the King's Offers, and went home again to their several Dwellings. Yet the Clergy were no way satisfied, but continued still to practise amongst them, and kept the Rebellion still on Foot; so that it broke out soon after. The Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, were ordered to lie still in the Country with their Forces, till all Things were more fully composed. They made them all come to a full Submission; and 1st, To revoke all Oaths and Promises made during the Rebellion, for which they asked the King's Pardon on their Knees; 2dly, To swear to be true to the King, and his Heirs and Successors; 3dly, To obey and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made during the King's Reign; 4thly, Not to take Arms again but by the King's Authority; 5thly, To apprehend all seditious Persons; 6thly, To remove all the Monks, Nuns, and Friars, whom they had placed again in the dissolved Monasteries. There were also Orders given to send *Ask*, their Captain, and the Lord *Darcy* to Court. *Ask* was kindly received, and well used by the King. He had shewed great Conduct in commanding the Rebels; and it seems the King had a mind, either to gain him to his Service, or, which I suspect was the true Cause, to draw from him a Discovery of all those, who in the other Parts of the Kingdom, had favoured or relieved them. For he suspected, not without Cause, that some of the great Abbats had given secret Supplies of Money to the Rebels: For which many of them were afterwards tryed and attainted. The Lord *Darcy* was under great Apprehensions, and studied to purge himself, that he was forced to a Compliance with them; but pleaded, That the long and important Services he had done the Crown for Fifty Years, he being then Four-score, together with his great Age and Infirmity, might mitigate the King's Displeasure. But he was made Prisoner. Whether this gave those who had been in Arms, new Jealousies, that the King's Pardon would not be inviolably observed; or whether the Clergy had

1537.  
The Rebellion is quietted.

1537. New Risings, but soon dispersed. of new, prevailed on them to rise in Arms; I cannot determine: But it broke out again, though not so dangerously as before. Two Gentlemen of the North, *Musgrave* and *Tilby*, raised a Body of 8000 Men, and thought to have surprized *Carlisle*; but were repulsed by those within. And in their Return, the Duke of *Norfolk* fell upon them, and routed them. He took many Prisoners, and by Martial Law hanged up all their Captains, and Seventy other Prisoners on the Walls of *Carlisle*. Others at that same Time, thought to have surprized *Hull*; but it was prevented, and the Leaders of that Party were also taken and executed.

Many other Risings were in several Places of the Country, which were all soon repressed: The Ground of them all, was, That the Parliament which was promised, was not called: But the King said, They had not kept Conditions with him, nor would he call a Parliament 'till all Things were quieted. But the Duke of *Norfolk's* Vigilance every where, prevented their gathering together in any great Body. And after several unsuccessful Attempts, at length the Country was absolutely quieted in *January* following. And then the Duke of *Norfolk* proceeded according to the Martial Law against many whom he had taken. *Ask* had also left the Court without Leave, and had gone amongst them, but was quickly taken. So he and many others were sent to several Places, to be made publick Examples. He suffered at *Tork*, others at *Hull*, and in other Towns in *Yorkshire*. But the Lord *Darcy*, and the Lord *Hussy*, were arraigned at *Westminster*, and attainted of Treason: The former for the Northern, and the other for the *Lincolnshire* Insurrection. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded at *Tower-Hill*; and was much lamented. Every Body thought, that considering his Merits, his Age, and former Services, he had hard Measure. The Lord *Hussy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*. The Lord *Darcy*, in his Tryal, accused the Duke of *Norfolk*, That in the Treaty at *Doncaster*, he had encouraged the Rebels to continue in their Demands. This the Duke denied, and desired a Tryal by Combate, and gave some Presumptions to shew that the Lord *Darcy* bore him Ill-will, and said this out of Malice. The King either did not believe this, or would not seem to believe it: And the Duke's great Diligence in the Suppression of these Commotions, set him beyond all Jealousies. But after those Executions, the King wrote to the Duke in *July* following, to proclaim an absolute Amnesty over all the North; which was received with great Joy, every Body being in fear of himself: and so this threatening Storm was dissipated without the Effusion of much Blood, save what the Sword of Justice drew. At the same time the King of *Scotland* returning from *France* with his Queen, and touching on the Coast of *England*; many of the People fell down at his Feet, praying him to assist them, and he should have all. But he was, it seems, bound up by the *French* King; and so went home, without giving them any Encouragement. And thus ended this Rebellion, which was chiefly carried on by the Clergy, under the Pretence of Religion.

The chief of the Rebels executed. And now the King was delivered of all his Apprehensions that he had been in for some Years, in fear of Stirs at home. But they being now happily composed, as he knew it would so over-awe the rest of his discontented Subjects, that he needed fear nothing from them for a great while; so it encouraged him to go on in his other Designs, of suppressing the rest of the Monasteries; and reforming some other

A new Visitation of Monasteries.

Points of Religion. Therefore there was a new Visitation appointed for all the Monasteries of *England*. And the Visitors were ordered to examine all Things that related either to their Conversation, to their Affection to the King, and the Supremacy, or to their Superstition, in their several Houses; to discover what Cheats and Impositions there were, either in their Images, Relicks, or other miraculous Things, by which they had drawn People to their Houses on Pilgrimages, and gotten from them any great Presents. Also to try how they were affected during the late Commotions, and to discover every thing that was amiss in them, and report it to the Lord Vice-gerent. In the Records of the whole Twenty Eighth Year of the King's Reign, I find but one Original Surrender of any Religious House. The Abbat of *Furness* in *Lancashire*, valued at 960 *lib.* with thirty Monks, resigning up that House to the King, on the 9th of *April*, which was very near the End of the Year of the King's Reign; for it commenced on the 22d of *April*. Two other Surrenders are enrolled that Year. The one was of *Bermondsey* in *Surrey*, the first of *June* in the Twenty Eighth of the King's Reign. The Preamble was, That they surrendered in hopes of greater Benevolence from the King. But this was the Effect of some secret Practice, and not of the Act of Parliament. For it was valued at 548 *lib.* and so fell not within the Act. The other was of *Bushlyham* or *Bishtam* in *Berkshire*, made by *Barlow*, Bishop of *St. David's*, that was Commendator of it, and a great Promoter of the Reformation. It was valued at 327 *lib.* But in the following Year, they made a quicker Progress, and found strange Enormities in the greater Houses. It seems all the Houses under 200 *lib.* of Rent were not yet suppressed. For I find many within that Value afterwards resigning their Houses. So that I am inclined to believe, that the first Visitation being made towards the Suppression of the lesser Monasteries, and that (as appears by their Instructions) being not to be finished 'till they had made a Report of what they had done to the Court of Augmentations, who were, after the Report made, to determine what Pensions were to be reserved to the Abbat and other Officers (which Report was to be made in the Octaves of *St. Michael*, and after that, a new Commission was to be given for their Suppression); when that was done, they went no further at that Time. So that I cannot think there were many Houses suppressed when these Stirrs began: and after their first Rising, it is not likely that great Progress would be made in a Business that was like to inflame the People more, and encrease the Number of the Rebels. Neither do I find any Houses suppressed by Virtue of the former Act of Parliament 'till the Twenty ninth Year of the King's Reign.

And yet they made no great haste this Year. For there are but twenty one Surrenders all this Year, either in the Rolls, or Augmentation-Office. And now, not only small Abbeys, but greater ones, were surrendered to the King. The Abbats were brought to do it upon several Motives. Some had been faulty during the late Rebellion, and were liable to the King's Displeasure; and these to redeem themselves, compounded the Matter by a Resignation of their House. Others began to like the Reformation, and that made them the more willing to surrender their Houses; such as *Barlow*, Bishop of *St. David's*, who not only surrendered'd up his own House of *Bushlyham*, but prevailed

1537.

Some of the  
great Abbats  
surrender  
their Houses.

1538. on many others to do the like: Others were convicted of great Disorders in their Conversation; and these not daring to stand a Tryal, were glad to accept of a Pension for Life, and deliver up their House. Others were guilty of making great Wastes and Dilapidations. For they all saw the Dissolution of their Houses approaching, and so every one was induced to take all the Care he could to provide for himself and his Kindred; so that the Visitors found in some of the richest Abbeys of *England*, as *St. Alban's* and *Battel*, such Depredations made, that at *St. Alban's* an Abbat could not subsist any longer, the Rents were so low; and in *Battel*, as all their Furniture was old and torn, not worth an 100 *lib.* so both in House and Chapel, they had not 400 Marks-worth of Plate. In other Houses, they found not above twelve or fifteen Ounces of Plate, and no Furniture at all, but only such Things as they could not embezzel, as the Walls and Windows, Bells and Lead. In other Houses the Abbat and Monks were glad to accept of a Pension for themselves during Life; and so being only concerned for their own particular Interest, resigned their House to the King. Generally, the Monks had eight Marks a Year Pension, 'till they were provided for. The Abbats Pensions were proportioned to the Value of their House, and to their Innocence. The Abbats of *St. Alban's* and *Tewksbury*, had 400 Marks a Year a-piece. The Abbat of *St. Edmundsbury* was more Innocent; for the Visitors wrote from thence, That they could find no Scandals in that House: So he, it seems, was not easily brought to resign his House, and had 500 Marks Pension reserved to him. And for their inferior Officers, some had 30, some 10, or 8, and the lowest 6 *lib.* Pension.

In other Places, upon a Vacancy, either by Death or Deprivation, they did put in an Abbat only to resign up the House. For after the King's Supremacy was established, all those Abbats that had been formerly confirmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner. The King granted a *Conge d'Eslire* to the Prior and Convent, with a Missive Letter, declaring the Name of the Person whom they should choose: then they returned an Election to the King, who, upon that, gave his Assent to it by a Warrant under the great Seal, which was certified to the Lord Vice-gerent; who thereupon confirmed the Election, and returned him back to the King, to take the Oaths: upon which the Temporalities were restored. Thus all the Abbats were now placed by the King, and were generally pick'd out to serve this Turn. Others, in hope of Advancement to Bishopricks, or to be Suffragan Bishops, as the inferior sort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themselves to the King's Favour, by a quick and cheerful Surrender of their Monastery. Upon some of these Inducements it was, that the greatest Number of the Religious Houses were resigned to the King, before there was any Act of Parliament made for their Suppression. In several Houses, the Visitors, who were generally either Masters of Chancery, or Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, studied not only to bring them to resign their Houses, but to sign Confessions of their passed lewd and dissolute Lives. Of these, there is only one now extant, which, it is like, escaped the general Razure and Destruction of all Papers of that kind, in Queen *Mary's* Time. But from the Letters that I have seen, I perceive there were such Confessions made by many other Houses. That Confession of the Prior and *Benedictines* of *St. Andrew's* in *Northampton*, is to be seen in the Record

of the Court of Augmentations. In which, with the most aggraving Expressions that could be devised, they acknowledged their past ill Life, “ for which the Pit of Hell was ready to swallow them up. They “ confessed that they had neglected the Worship of God, lived in “ Idleness, Gluttony, and Sensuality, with many other woful Ex-  
 “ pressions to that Purpose.

1538.  
 Confessions  
 of horrid  
 Crimes made  
 in several  
 Houses.

Other Houses, as the Monastery of *Betlesden*, resigned with this Preamble, “ That they did profoundly consider, that the Manner and “ Trade of Living, which they, and others of their pretended Reli- “ gion, had for a long time followed, consisted in some dumb Ceremo- “ nies, and other Constitutions, of the Bishops of *Rome*, and other “ Foreign Potentates; as the Abbat of *Cisteaux*, by which they were “ blindly led, having no true Knowledge of God’s Laws; procuring “ Exemptions from their Ordinary and Diocesan, by the Power of the “ Bishop of *Rome*, and submitting themselves wholly to a Foreign “ Power, who never came hither to reform their Abuses, which were “ now found among them. But that now knowing the most perfect “ way of Living is sufficiently declared by Christ and his Apostles; “ and that it was most fit for them to be Governed by the King, who “ was their Supreme Head on Earth, they submitted themselves to his “ Mercy, and surrendered up their Monastery to him on the 25th of “ *September* in the 30th Year of his Reign.’ This Writing was signed by the Abbat, the Sub-Prior, and nine Monks. There are five other Surrenders to the same Purpose; by the *Gray*, and *White Friars* of *Stamford*, the *Gray-Friars* of *Coventry*, *Bedford*, and *Ailesbury*, yet to be seen. Some are resigned upon this Preamble, “ That they hoped the King “ would of new found their House; which was otherwise like to be “ ruined, both in Spirituals and Temporals.’ So did the Abbat of *Chertsey* in *Surry*, with fourteen Monks on the 14th of *July* in the 29th Year of this Reign, whose House was valued at 744 *lib.* I have some Reason to think that this Abbat was for the Reformation, and intended to have had his House new founded to be a House of true and well regulated Devotion: And so I find the Prior of great *Malverine* in *Worcestershire* offered such a Resignation. He was recommended by Bishop *Latimer* to *Cromwell*, with an earnest desire that his House might stand, not in Monkeny, but so as to be converted to Preaching, Study, and Prayer. And the good Prior was willing to compound for his House by a Present of 500 Marks to the King, and of 200 to *Cromwell*. He is commended, for being an old worthy Man, a good House-Keeper, and one that daily fed many poor People. To this *Latimer* adds; *Alas my good Lord! Shall we not see Two or Three in every Shire changed to such Remedy.*

Collect.  
 Numb. 3. sect. 4.

But the Resolution was taken once to extirpate all. And therefore though the Visitors interceded earnestly for one Nunnery in *Oxfordshire*, *Godstow*, where there was great strictness of Life; and to which most of the young Gentlewomen of the County were sent to be bred; so that the Gentry of the Country desired the King would spare the House, yet all was uneffectual.

The General Form in which most of these Resignations begins, is, “ That the Abbat and Brethren, upon full Deliberation, certain know- “ ledge, of their own proper Motion, for certain just and reasonable “ Causes, specially moving them in their Souls and Consciences, did “ freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their Houses to the “ King. Others (it seems) did not so well like this Preamble; and  
 F f therefore

The form o.  
 most surren-  
 ders  
 Collect. Numb  
 3. Sect. 1.

1538. therefore did, without any Reason or Preamble, give away their Houses to the Visitors, as Feoffees in trust for the King's Use. And thus they went on, procuring daily more surrenders. So that in the thirtieth Year of the King's Reign there were 139 Resignations enrolled, of which the Originals of 155 do yet remain. And for the Readers further Satisfaction, he shall find, in the Collection at the End of this Book, the Names of all those Houses so surrendered, with other Particulars relating to them, which would too much weary him, if inserted in the Thread of this Work. But there was no Law to force any to make such Resignations. So that many of the great Abbats would not comply with the King in this Matter, and stood it out till after the following Parliament that was in the 31st Year of his Reign.

Collect. Numl.  
3. 155. 9.

Divers Opini-  
ons about  
these.

Some Abbats  
attainted of  
Treason

It was questioned by many whether these Surrenders could be good in Law, since the Abbats were but Trustees and Tenants for Life. It was thought they could not absolutely alienate, and give away their House for ever. But the Parliament afterwards declared the Resignations were good in Law. For by their Foundations all was trusted to the Abbat and the Senior Brethren of the House; who putting the Covent Seal to any Deed, it was of Force in Law. It was also said, that they thus surrendring, had forfeited their Charters and Foundations; and so the King might seize and possess them with a good Title, if not upon the Resignation, yet upon Forfeiture. But others thought, that, whatsoever the Nicety of Law might give the King, yet there was no sort of Equity in it, that a few Trustees, who were either bribed, or frightened, should pass away that which was none of theirs, but only given them in Trust and for Life. Other Abbats were more roughly handled. The Prior of *Wooburn* was suspected of favouring the Rebels, of being against the King's Supremacy, and for the Pope's; and of being for the General Council then summoned to *Mantua*. And he was dealt with to make a Submission and Acknowledgment. In an Account of a long Conference which he had with a Privy Councillor under his own Hand, I find that the great thing which he took Offence at, was, That *Latimer* and some other Bishops Preached against the Veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and the other Saints: And that the *English* Bible then set out, differed in many things from the *Latin*; with several lesser Matters. So that they looked on their Religion as changed, and wondered that the Judgments of God upon Queen *Anne* had not terrified others from going on to subvert the Faith; yet he was prevailed with, and did again submit to the King, and acknowledged his Supremacy; but he afterwards joyned himself to the Rebels and was taken with them, together with the Abbat of *Whaley*, and two Monks of his House; and the Abbat of *Gervaux*, with a Monk of his House; and the Abbat of *Sawley* in *Lancashire*, with the Prior of that House; and the Prior of *Burlington*; who were all attainted of High Treason, and Executed. The Abbats of *Glastenbury* and *Reading*, were Men of great Power and Wealth. The one was rated at 3508. *lib.* and the other at 2116. *lib.* They seeing the Storm like to break out on themselves, sent a great deal of the Plate and Money that they had in their House, to the Rebels in the North. Which being afterwards discovered, they were attainted of High Treason a Year after this; but I mention it here for the affinity of the Matter: Further Particulars about the Abbat of *Reading* I have not yet discovered. But there is an Account given to *Cromwell* of the

Proceedings



Proceedings against the Abbat of *Glastenbury* in Two Letters, which I have seen, the one was writ by the Sheriff of the County, the other by Sir *John Russel*, who was present at his Tryal, and was reputed a Man of as great Integrity and Vertue as any in that Time; which he seems to have left as an Inheritance to that Noble Family that has descended from him. These inform, that he was indicted of Burglary, as well as Treason; for having broken the House in his Monastery where the Plate was kept, and taken it out, which as Sir *William Thomas* says, was sent to the Rebels. The Evidence being brought to the Jury, who (as Sir *John Russel* writes,) were as good and worthy Men as had ever been on any Jury in that County; they found him Guilty. He was carried to the Place of Execution, near his own Monastery; where (as the Sheriff writes,) he acknowledged his Guilt, and begged God and the King Pardon for it. The Abbat of *Colchester* was also attainted of High Treason. What the Particulars were I cannot tell. For the Record of their Attainders was lost. But some of our own Writers deserve a severe Censure, who Write, It was for denying the King's Supremacy; whereas if they had not undertaken to Write the History without any Information at all, they must have seen that the whole Clergy, but most particularly the Abbats, had over and over again acknowledged the King's Supremacy.

For clearing which and discovering the Impudence of *Sander's* Relation of this Matter, I shall lay before the Reader, the Evidences that I find of the Submission of these and all the other Abbats to the King's Supremacy: First, in the Convocation, in the 22d Year of this Reign, they all acknowledged the King, *Supream Head of the Church of England*. They did all also swear to maintain the Act of the Succession of the Crown, made in the 25th Year of his Reign, in which the Pope's Power was plainly condemned. For in the Proceedings against *More* and *Fisher*, it was frequently repeated to them, that all the Clergy had sworn it. It is also entred in the Journal of the House of Lords, that all the Members of both Houses swore it at their Breaking up: And the same Journals inform us, that the Abbats of *Colchester* and *Reading* sat in that Parliament, and as there was no Protestation made against any of the Acts passed in that Session, so it is often entred, that the Acts were agreed to by the Unanimous Consent of the Lords. It appears also by several Original Letters, that the Heads of all the Religious Houses in *England* had Signed that Position, *That the Pope had no more Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, than any Foreign Bishop whatsoever*. And it was rejected by none but some *Carthusians*, and *Franciscans* of the *Observance*, who were proceeded against, for refusing to acknowledge it: When they were so pressed in it, none can imagine that a Parliamentary Abbat would have been dispenced with. And in the last Parliament, in which the second Oath about the Succession to the Crown was enacted, it was added, That they should also swear the King to be the Supream Head of the Church. The Abbats of *Glastenbury* and *Reading* were then present, as appears by the Journals, and consented to it: So little Reason there is for Imagining that they refused that, or any other Compliance that might secure them in their Abbays.

In particular, the Abbat of *Reading* had so got into *Cromwell's* good Opinion, that in some Differences between him and *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, that was *Cromwell's* Creature, he had the better of the Bishop.

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Upon which, *Shaxton*, who was a proud ill-natured Man, wrote an high expostulating Letter to *Cromwell*, "Complaining of an Injunction he had granted against him at the Abbat's desire. He also shewed that in some Contests between him and his Residentiaries, and between him and the Major of *Salisbury*, *Cromwell* was always against him: He likewise Challenged him for not Answering his Letters. He tells him, God will judge him for abusing his Power as he did; he prays God to have Pity on him, and to turn his Heart, with a great deal more provoking Language." He also adds many insolent Praises of himself; and his whole Letter is as extravagant a Piece of Vanity and Insolence, as ever I saw. To this *Cromwell* wrote an Answer, that shews him to have been indeed a great Man. The Reader will find it in the Collection, and see from it how Modestly and Discreetly he carried his Greatness.

Collect.  
Numb. 8.

But how justly soever these Abbats were attainted, the seizing on their Abbey-Lands, pursuant to those Attainders, was thought a great Stretch of Law; since the Offence of an Ecclesiastical Incumbent is a Personal Thing, and cannot prejudice the Church; no more than a secular Man, who is in an Office, does by being attainted, bring any Diminution of the Rights of his Office on his Successors. It is true there were some Words cast into the thirteenth Act of the Parliament, in the 26th Year of this Reign, by which divers Offences were made Treason, that seemed to have been designed for such a Purpose. The Words are, that whatsoever Lands any Traytor had of any *Estate of Inheritance in Use or Possession, by any Right, Title or Means*, should be forfeited to the King. By which, as it is certain, Estates in Tayl were comprehended, so the Lands that any Traytor had in Possession or Use, seem to be included; and that the rather, because by some following Words their Heirs and Successors are for ever excluded. This either was not thought on when the Bishop of *Rochester* was attainted, or perhaps was not claimed, since the King intended not to lessen the Number of Bishopricks, but rather to increase them. Besides, the Words of the Statute seem only to belong to an *Estate of Inheritance*: within which, Church-Benefices could not be included, without a great Force put on them. 'Tis true the Word *Successor* favoured these Seisures, except that be thought an expletory Word put in, out of Form, but still to be limited to an Estate of Inheritance. That Word does also import, that such Criminals might have Successors. But if the whole Abbey was forfeited these Abbats could have no Successors: Yet it seems the Seisures of these Abbeys were founded on that Statute, and this Stretch of the Law occasioned that Explanation, which was added of the Words *Estate of Inheritance*, in the Statute made in *Edward* the Sixth's Reign about Treasons: Where it is expressed that Traitors should forfeit to the Crown, what Lands they had of any *Estate of Inheritance*, to which is added *in their own Right*, it seems on Design to cut off all Pretence for such Proceeding for the Future, as had been in this Reign. But if there were any Illegality in these Seisures, the following Parliament did at least tacitly justify them. For they excepted out of the Proviso's made concerning the Abbeys that were suppressed, such as had been *Forfeited and Seized on by any Attainders of Treason*.

Another Surrender is not unlike these, but rather less Justifiable. Many of the *Carthusian* Monks of *London* were executed for their open denying of the King's Supremacy, and for receiving Books from Foreign

reign Parts against his Marriage and other Proceedings; divers also of the same House, that favoured them, but so secretly, that clear Proof could not be found to convict them, were kept Prisoners in their Cells, till they dyed. But the Prior was a worthy Man, of whom *Thomas Bedyl*, one of the Visitors, writes, *that he was a Man of such Charity that he had not seen the like, and that the Eyes of the People were much on that House, and therefore he advised that the House might be converted to some good Use.* But the Prior was made to resign, with this Preamble, 'That many of that House had offended the King, so that their goods might be justly confiscated, and themselves adjudged to a severe Death: which they desired to avoid, by an humble Submission and Surrender of their House to the King.' But there were great Complaints made of the Visitors, as if they had practised with the Abbats and Priors to make these Surrenders: and that they had conspired with them to cheat the King, and had privately embezzled most of the Plate and Furniture. The Abbess of *Cheapsflow* complained in particular of *Doctor London*, one of the Visitors, that he had been corrupting her Nuns: and generally it was cryed out on, that Under-Hand and Ill-Practices were used. Therefore to quiet these Reports, and to give some Colour to justify what they were about, all the foul Stories that could be found out, were published to defame these Houses. *Battel-Abbey* was represented to be a little *Sodom*; so was *Christ-Church in Canterbury*, with several other Houses. But for Whoredom and Adultery they found Instances without Number; and of many other unnatural Practices and secret Lusts, with Arts to hinder Conceptions and make Abortions. But no Story became so publick, as a Discovery made of the Prior of the *Crossed Friars in London*; who on a Friday at eleven a Clock in the Day was found in Bed with a Whore. He fell down on his Knees, and prayed those who surprized him, not to publish his Shame: But they had a Mind to make some Advantage by it, and asked him Money. He gave them 30 *lib.* which he protested was all he had, but he promis'd them 30 *lib.* more: yet failing in the Payment, a Sute followed on it: and in a Bill which I have seen given to *Cromwell*, then Master of the Rolls, the case is related.

But all the Stories of this kind served only to disgrace those Abbats or Monks that were so faulty. And the People generally said, these were Personal Crimes which ought to be punished: but they were no way satisfied with the Justice of the King's Proceedings, against whole Houses for the Faults of a few. Therefore another way was thought on, which indeed proved more effectual, both for recovering the People out of the Superstitious Fondness they had for their Images and Relicks, and for discovering the secret Impostures that had been long practised in these Houses. And this was, to order the Visitors to examine well all the Relicks, and feigned Images, to which Pilgrimages were wont to be made. In this, *Doctor London* did great Service. From *Reading* he writes, 'That the chief Relicks of Idolatry in the Nation were there: an Angel with one Wing, that brought over the Spears Head that pierced our Saviour's Side. To which he adds a long Inventory of their other Relicks, and says there were as many more as would fill Four Sheets of Paper. He also writes from other Places that he had every where taken down their Images and Trinkets. At *St. Edmundsbury*, as *John ap Rice* Informed they found some of the Coals that roasted *St. Lawrence*, the Parings of *St. Edmund's Toes*,

The Super-  
stition and  
Cheats of these  
Houses disco-  
vered.

1538. *St. Thomas Becket's Penknife, and Boots*: with as many Pieces of the Crofs of our Saviour, as would make a large whole Crofs. They had alfo Relicks againſt Rain, and for hindring weeds to ſpring. But to purſue this further were endleſs, the Relicks were ſo innumerable. And the Value which the People had of them may be gathered from this; that a Piece of *St. Andrew's Finger* ſet in an Ounce of Silver, was laid to Pledge by the Houſe of *Waſtacre* for 40. *lib.* but the Viſitors, when they ſuppreſſed that Houſe, did not think fit to redeem it at ſo high a Rate.

For their Images, ſome of them were brought to *London*, and were there at *St. Paul's Crofs* in the Sight of all the People, broken; that they might be fully convinced of the juggling Impoſtures of the Monks. And in particular, the Crucifix of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called *the Rood of Grace*; to which many Pilgrimages had been made, becauſe it was obſerved ſometimes to bow, and to lift it ſelf up, to ſhake, and to ſtir Head, Hands, and Feet, to roul the Eyes, move the Lips, and bend the Brows: All which were looked on by the abuſed Multitude, as the Effects of a Divine Power. Theſe were now publickly diſcovered to have been Cheats. For the Springs were ſhewed, by which all theſe Motions were made. Upon which *John Hiſley* then Biſhop of *Rochefter*, made a Sermon, and broke the Rood in Pieces. There was alſo another famous Impoſture diſcovered at *Hales* in *Glouceſterſhire*; where the Blood of Chriſt was ſhewed in a Viol of Chryſtal, which the People ſometimes ſaw, but ſometimes they could not ſee it: So they were made believe, that they were not capable of ſo ſignal a Favour, as long as they were in mortal Sin; and ſo they continued to make Preſents, till they bribed Heaven to give them the Sight of ſo bleſſed a Relick. This was now diſcovered to have been the Blood of a Duck, which they renewed every Week: and the one ſide of the Viol was ſo thick, that there was no ſeeing through it, but the other was clear and transparent: And it was ſo placed near the Altar, that one in a ſecret Place behind, could turn either ſide of it outward. So when they had drained the Pilgrims that came thither, of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the Favour of turning the clear ſide outward; who upon that went home very well ſatiſfied with their Journey, and the Expence they had been at. There was brought out of *Wales* a huge Image of Wood, called *Darvel Gatheren*, of which one *Ellis Price*, Viſitor of the Dioceſs of *St. Aſaph*, gave this Account. On the 6th of *April, 1537*; 'That the People of the Country had a great Superſtition for it, and many Pilgrimages were made to it: ſo that the Day before he wrote, there were reckoned to be above five or ſix Hundred Pilgrims there: Some brought Oxen and Cattel, and ſome brought Money; and it was generally believ'd, that if any offered to that Image, he had Power to deliver his Soul from Hell.' So it was ordered to be brought to *London*, where it ſerved for Fewel to burn Fryar *Porreſt*. There was an huge Image of our Lady at *Worceſter*, that was had in great Reverence; which when it was ſtrip't of ſome Veils that covered it, was found to be the Statue of a Biſhop.

*Barlow* Biſhop of *St. David's* did alſo give many Advertiſements of the Superſtition of his Country, and of the Clergy and Monks of that Dioceſs, who were guilty of Heatheniſh Idolatry, groſs Impiety, and Ignorance, and of abuſing the People with many evident Forgeries: about which he ſaid, he had good Evidence when it ſhould be called

for.

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for. But that which drew most Pilgrims and Presents in those Parts, was an Image of our Lady, with a Taper in her Hand; which was believed to have burnt Nine Years, till one forswearing himself upon it, it went out; and was then much revered and worshipped. He found all about the Cathedral so full of superstitious Conceits, that there was no Hope of Working on them; therefore he proposed the translating the Episcopal Seat from *St. David's* to *Caermerden*; which he pressed by many Arguments, and in several Letters, but with no Success. Then many rich Shrines of our Lady of *Walsingham*, of *Ipswich*, and *Issington*, with a great many more, were brought up to *London*, and burnt by *Cromwel's* Orders.

But the richest Shrine in *England*, was that of *Thomas Becket*, called *St. Thomas of Canterbury the Martyr*: who being raised up by King *Henry* the 2d, to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, did afterwards give that King much Trouble, by opposing his Authority, and exalting the Pope's. And though he once consented to the Articles agreed on at *Clarendon*, for bearing down the Papal, and securing the Regal Power; yet he soon after repented of that only Piece of Loyalty, of which he was Guilty all the while he was Arch-Bishop. He fled to the *Pope*, who received him as a Confessor for the dearest Article of the *Roman* Belief: The King and Kingdom were Excommunicated; and put under an Interdict upon his Account. But afterwards, upon the Intercession of the *French King*, King *Henry* and he were reconciled, and the Interdict was taken off. Yet his unquiet Spirit could take no Rest, for he was no sooner at *Canterbury*, than he began to embroil the Kingdom again: and was proceeding by Censures against the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and some other Bishops, for Crowning the King's Son in his Absence. Upon the News of that, the King being then in *Normandy*, said, *If he had faithful Servants, he would not be so troubled with such a Priest*; whereupon some zealous or officious Courtiers, came over and killed him: For which, as the King was made to undergo a severe Penance, so the Monks were not wanting in their ordinary Arts to give out many miraculous Stories concerning his Blood. This soon drew a Canonization from *Rome*; and he being a Martyr for the Papacy, was more extolled than all the Apostles or Primitive Saints had ever been. So that for 300 Years, he was accounted one of the greatest Saints in Heaven, as may appear from the Accounts in the Leiger-Books, of the Offerings made to the three greatest Altars in Christ's Church in *Canterbury*. The one was to Christ, the other to the Virgin, and the third to *St. Thomas*. In one Year there was offered at Christ's Altar, 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* To the Virgin's Altar, 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* But to *St. Thomas's* Altar 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* But the next Year the odds grew greater; for there was not a Penny offered at Christ's Altar, and at the Virgin's, only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* But at *St. Thomas's* 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* By such Offerings it came, that his Shrine was of inestimable Value. There was one Stone offered there by *Lewis* the 7th of *France*, who came over to visit it, in a Pilgrimage, that was believed the richest in *Europe*. Nor did they think it enough to give him one Day in the Kalendar the 29th of *December*; but unusual Honours were devised, for this Martyr of the Liberties of the Church, greater than any that had been given to the Martyrs for Christianity. The Day of raising his Body, or, as they called it, of his Translation, being the 7th of *July*, was not only a Holy-Day, but every 50th Year, there was a Jubilee

for

1538. for 15 Days together, and Indulgence was granted, to all that came to visit his Shrine: as appears from the Record of the Sixth Jubilee after his Translation, *Anno* 1420; which bears, that there were then about an Hundred Thousand Strangers come to visit his Tomb. The Jubilee began at twelve a Clock on the Vigil of the Feast, and lasted fifteen Days. By such Arts they drew an incredible deal of Wealth to his Shrine. The Riches of that, together with his disloyal Practices, made the King resolve both to Un-Shrine and Un-Saint him at once. And then his Skull, which had been much Worshipped, was found an Imposture. For the true Skull was lying with the rest of his Bones in his Grave. The Shrine was broken down, and carried away; the Gold that was about it, filling two Chests, which were so heavy, that they were a load to eight strong Men to carry them out of the Church. And his Bones were, as some say, burnt, so it was understood at *Rome*; but others say, they were so mixed with other dead Bones, that it would have been a Miracle indeed to have distinguish'd them afterwards. The King also ordered his Name to be struck out of the Kalendar, and the Office for his Festivity to be dash'd out of all Breviaries. And thus was the Superstition of *England* to Images and Relicks extirpated.

*Summer's Anti-  
quities of Cam-  
tebury.*

New Articles  
about Religion  
published.

Invectives a-  
gainst the King  
printed at  
*Rome.*

Yet the King took Care to qualify the Distaste which the Articles published the former Year had given. And though there was no Parliament in the Year 1537, yet there was a Convocation; upon the Conclusion of which, there was printed an Explanation of the chief Points of Religion, Sign'd by both the Arch-bishops, and seventeen Bishops, eight Arch Deacons, and seventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law. In which there was an Exposition of the Creed, the seven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Salutation of the Virgin, with an Account of Justification and Purgatory. But this Work was put in a better Form Afterwards, where the Reader will find a more particular Account of it. When all these Proceedings of the King's were known at *Rome*, all the Satyrical Pens there were employed to paint him out, as the most infamous sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was. They represented him as one that made War with Heaven, and the Saints that were there: That committed Outrages on the Bodies of the Saints, which the Heathenish Romans would have punished severely upon any that committed the like on those that were dead, how mean or bad soever they had been. All his Proceedings against the Priests or Monks that were attainted and executed for High-Treason, were represented as the Effects of savage and barbarous Cruelty. His suppressing the Monasteries, and devouring what the Devotion of former Ages had consecrated to God, and his Saints, was called ravenous and impious Sacrilege; nor was there any thing omitted that could make him appear to Posterity, the blackest Tyrant that ever wore a Crown. They compared him to *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadonisor*, *Belsazzar*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Dioclesian*; but chiefly to *Julian* the Apostate. This last Parallel liked them best, and his Learning, his Apostacy, and Pretence of Reforming, were all thought copied from *Julian*; only they said his Manners were worse. These Things were every Day printed at *Rome*, and the Informations that were brought out of *England* were generally addressed to Cardinal *Pool*, whose Style was also known in some of them. All which posselt the King with the deepest and most implacable Hatred to him that ever he bore to any Person; and did provoke him to all those Severities that followed on his Kindred and Family.

But

But the Malice of the Court of *Rome* did not stop there. For now the Pope published all those Thunders which he had threatned three Years before. The Bull of Deposition is printed in *Cherubin's Bullarum Romanarum*, which since many have the Confidence to deny Matters of Fact, though most publickly acted, shall be found in the Collection Papers, the Substance of it is as follows. ' The Pope being God's ' Vicar on Earth; and according to *Jeremy's* Prophecy, set over Nations and Kingdoms, to root out and destroy; and having the Supream ' Power over all the Kings in the whole World; was bound to proceed ' to due Correction, when milder Courses were ineffectual: therefore ' since King *Henry*, who had been formerly a *Defender of the Faith*, had ' fallen from it; had contrary to an Inhibition made, put away his ' Queen, and married one *Anne Bolein*, and had made impious and ' hurtful Laws; denying the Pope to be the Supream Head of the ' Church, but assuming that Title to himself; and had required all his ' Subjects under Pain of Death to swear it; and had put the Cardinal ' of *Rocheſter* to Death, because he would not consent to these Heresies; ' and by all these things had rendred himself unworthy of his Regal ' Dignity; and had hardned his Heart (as *Pharaoh* did) against all the ' Admonitions of Pope *Clement* the 7th: therefore since these his Crimes ' were so notorious, He, in Imitation of what the Apostle did to *Elimas* ' the Magician, proceeds to such Censures as he had deserved; and ' with the Advice of his Cardinals, does first exhort him and all his ' Complices, to return from their Errours, to annull the Acts lately ' made, and to proceed no farther upon them: which he requires him ' and them to do, under the Pains of Excommunication and Rebellion, ' and of the King's losing his Kingdom, whom he required within 90 ' Days, to appear at *Rome*, by himself or Proxy, and his Complices ' within 60 Days, to give an Account of their Actions; otherwise he ' would then proceed to a further Sentence against them. And declares, ' that if the King and his Complices do not appear, he has fallen from ' the right to his Crown, and they from the right to their Estates; and ' when they die, they were to be denied Christian Burial. He puts ' the whole Kingdom under an Interdict; and declares all the King's ' Children by the said *Anne*, and the Children of all his Complices, ' to be under the same Pains, though they be now under Age; and ' incapacitates them for all Honours or Employments; and declares all ' the Subjects or Vassals of the King's or his Complices, absolved from ' all Oaths or Obligations to them, and requires them to acknowledge ' them no more. And declares him and them Infamous, so that they ' might neither be Witnesses nor make Wills. He requires all other ' Persons to have no Dealings with him or them, neither by Trading, ' nor any other way, under the Pain of Excommunication; the annulling their Contracts, and the exposing Goods so Traded in, to all ' that should catch them. And that all Clergy-men should within five ' Days after the Expiration of the Time prefixed, go out of the King- ' dom; (leaving only so many Priests as would be necessary for Baptiz- ' ing Infants, and giving the Sacrament to such as died in Penitence) ' under the Pains of Excommunication and Deprivation. And Charges ' all Noble-Men and others in his Dominions, under the same Pains, ' to rise up in Arms against him, and to drive him out of his Kingdom; ' and that none should take Arms for him, or any way assist him: and ' Declares all other Princes absolved from any Confederacies made, or

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Collect. Num. 9.The Pope's  
Bulls against  
the King.

1538. ' to be made, with him; and earnestly obtests the Emperor and all  
 ' Kings, and requires other Princes, under the former Pains, to trade  
 ' no more with him; and in case of their Disobedience, he puts their  
 ' Kingdoms under an Interdict. And requires all Princes and Military  
 ' Persons, in the virtue of Holy Obedience, to make War upon him,  
 ' and to seize on all Goods or Merchandizes belonging to the King or  
 ' his Complices, where-ever they could find them; and that such of  
 ' his Subjects that were seized on, should be made Slaves. And requires  
 ' all Bishops, three Days after the Time that was set down was elaps-  
 ' ed, to intimate this Sentence in all their Churches, with putting out  
 ' of Candles, and other Ceremonies that ought to be used, in the most  
 ' solemn and publick manner that might be. And all who hindred the  
 ' Publication of this Sentence, are put under the same Pains. He or-  
 ' dained this Sentence to be affixed at *Rome, Tournay, and Dunkirk,*  
 ' which should stand for a sufficient Publication; and concludes, that if  
 ' any should endeavour to oppose, or enervate any of the Premises, he  
 ' should incur the Indignation of Almighty God, and the Holy Apo-  
 ' stles, *St. Peter and Paul.* Dated at *Rome* the 30th of *August 1535.*  
 But the Pope found the Princes of *Christendom* liked the Precedent, of  
 using a King in that manner, so ill, that he suspended the Execution of  
 this Bull till this Time, that the Suppression of Abbies, and the burning  
 of *Thomas Becket's Bones* (for it was so represented at *Rome,* though  
 our Writers say they were buried;) did so inflame the Pope, that he  
 could forbear no longer; and therefore by a new Sentence he did all he  
 could to shake him in his Throne.

The Preamble of it was, ' That as our Saviour had Pity on *St. Peter*  
 ' after his Fall, so it became *St. Peter's* Successors to imitate our Saviour  
 ' in his Clemency; and that therefore, though he having heard of King  
 ' *Henry's* Crimes, had proceeded to a Sentence against him; (Here the  
 ' former Bull was recited.) Yet some other Princes who hoped he might  
 ' be reclaimed by gentler Methods, had interposed for a Suspension of  
 ' the Sentence; and he being easie to believe, what he so earnestly de-  
 ' sired, had upon their Intercession, suspended it. But now he found  
 ' they had been deceived in their Hopes, and that he grew worse and  
 ' worse; and had done such Dishonour to the Saints, as to raise *St. Tho-*  
 ' *mas of Canterbury's* Body, to arraign him of High Treason, and to  
 ' burn his Body, and Sacrilegiously to rob the Riches that had been offe-  
 ' red to his Shrine, as also to suppress *St. Austin's* Abbey in *Canterbury*;  
 ' and that having thrust out the Monks, he had put in wild Beasts into  
 ' their Grounds, having transformed himself into a Beast. Therefore  
 ' he takes off the Suspension, and publishes the Bull, commanding it to  
 ' be executed: Declaring that the affixing it at *Diepe* or *Bulloign* in  
 ' *France,* at *St. Andrews* or *Callistren,* (that is *Callstream,* a Town near  
 ' the Border of *England,*) in *Scotland,* or *Tuam,* or *Artifert* in *Ireland,*  
 ' or any two of these, should be a sufficient Publication. Dated the  
 ' 17th of *December, Anno Dom. 1538.*

No Man can read these Bulls, but he must conclude, that if the Pope  
 be the Infallible and Universal Pastor of the Church, whom all are  
 bound to obey, he has a full Authority over all Kings, to proceed to the  
 highest Censures possible; and since the Matters of Fact, enumerated  
 in the Sentence as the Grounds of it, were certainly true; then the Pope  
 is either clothed with the Powers of Deposing Princes; or if other-  
 wise,



wife, he lyed to the World when he pretended to it thus, and taught false Doctrine, which cannot stand with Infallibility: And the pretended Grounds of the Sentence as to matter of Fact, being evidently true, this must be a just Sentence; and therefore all that acknowledged the Infallibility of that See, were bound to obey it, and all the Rebellions that followed, during the Reign of the King or his Children, were founded on this Sentence, and must be justified by it; otherwise the Pope's Infallibility must fall to the Ground. But this was to be said for the Pope, that though he had raised the several Branches of this Sentence, higher than any of his Predecessors had ever done; yet as to the main he had very good and authentick Precedents for what he did, from the Depositions of Emperours or Kings, that were made by former Popes for about 500 Years together. This I thought needful to be more fully opened, because of the present Circumstances we are now in, since hereby every one that will consider Things, must needs see, that the belief of the Pope's Infallibility does necessarily infer the Acknowledgment of their Power of deposing Heretical Kings. For it is plain, the Pope did this *ex Cathedra*, and as a Pastor feeding and correcting his Flock.

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But not content with this, he also wrote to other Princes, inflaming them against the King; particularly to the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*. To the last of these he sent a *Breve*, declaring King *Henry* an Heretick, a Schismatick, a manifest Adulterer, a publick Murtherer, a Rebel, and convict of High Treason against him, the Pope his Lord; for which Crimes he had deposed him, and offered his Dominions to him, if he would go and invade them. And thus the Breach between him and the Pope was past reconciling; and at *Rome* it was declared equally meritorious to fight against him, as against the *Turk*. But *Card. Pool* made it more meritorious in his Book. Yet the Thunders of the *Vatican* had now lost their Force; so that these had no other Effect but to enrage the King more against all such as were suspected to favour their Interests, or to hold any Correspondence with *Cardinal Pool*. Therefore he first procured a Declaration against the Pope's Pretensions, to be signed by all the Bishops of *England*: In which, after they had declared against the Pope's Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, upon the Grounds formerly touched, they concluded, 'That the People ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly forbid his Apostles or their Successors to take to themselves the Power of the Sword, or the Authority of Kings. And that, if the Bishop of *Rome*, or any other Bishop assumed any such Power, he was a Tyrant and Usurper of other Mens Rights, and a Subverter of the Kingdom of Christ. This was subscribed by 19 Bishops, (all that were then in *England*) and 25 Doctors of Divinity and Law. It was at some Time before *May* 1538. For *Edward Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, who was one that signed it, died the 8th of *May* that Year. There was no Convocation called by Writ for doing this. For as there is no mention of any such Writ in the Registers, so if it had been done by Convocation, *Cromwell* had signed it first; but his Hand not being at it, it is more probable that a meeting of the Clergy was called by the King's Missive Letters; or that, as was once done before, the Paper was drawn at *London*, and sent over the Kingdom to the Episcopal Sees, for the Bishop's Hands to it.

Lefley, Hist. Scot.

The Clergy in England declared against the

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Collec. Num.  
10.

There is another Original Paper extant, signed at this Time by Eight Bishops; from which I conjecture those were all that were then about *London*. It was to shew, ' That by the Commission which ' Christ gave to Church-men, they were only Ministers of his Gospel, ' to instruct the People in the Purity of the Faith: But that by other ' Places of Scripture, the Authority of Christian Princes over all their ' Subjects, as well Bishops and Priests, as others, was also clear. And ' that the Bishops and Priests have charge of Souls within their Cures; ' Power to administer Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God: To ' the which Word of God, Christian Princes acknowledge themselves ' subject; and that in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the Christian ' Prince's Office to see them do their Duty. This being signed by *John Hilsey* Bishop of *Rochester*, must be after the Year 1537, in which he was Consecrated; and *Latimer* and *Shaxton* also signing, it must be before the Year 1539, in which they resigned. But I believe it was signed at the same Time that the other was: And the Design of it was, to refute those Calumnies spread at *Rome*, as if the King had wholly suppressed all Ecclesiastical Officers, and denied them any Divine Authority, making them wholly dependent on the Civil Power, and acting by Commission only from him. And therefore they explained the Limits of both these Powers, in so clear and moderate a Way, that it must have stopt the Mouths of all Opposers. But whether there was any publick Use made of this Paper, I can by no Means discover.

The Bible  
printed in  
*English*.

The King did also set forward the Printing of the *English* Bible, which was finished this Year, at *London*, by *Grafton* the Printer, who printed 1500 of them at his own Charge. This Bible *Cromwell* presented to the King, and procured his Warrant, allowing all his Subjects, in all his Dominions, to read it, without Controul or Hazard. For which, the Archbishop wrote *Cromwell* a Letter of most hearty Thanks, ' dated the 13th of *August*. Who did now rejoyce that he ' saw this Day of Reformation, which he concluded was now risen in ' *England* since the Light of God's Word did shine over it without any ' Cloud. The Translation had been sent over to *France* to be Printed at *Paris*, the Workmen in *England* not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. Therefore in the Year 1537. it was recommended to *Bonner's* Care, who was then Ambassador at *Paris*, and was much in *Cromwell's* Favour, who was setting him up against *Gardiner*. He procured the King of *France's* Leave to print it at *Paris* in a large Volume; but upon a Complaint made by the *French* Clergy, the Press was stopt, and most of the Copies were seized on, and publickly burnt; but some Copies were conveyed out of the Way, and the Workmen and Forms were brought over to *England*; where it was now finished and published. And Injunctions were given out in the King's Name, by *Cromwell*, to all Incumbents, ' to provide one of these Bibles, and set it up publickly in the Church, and not to hinder or discourage the reading of it, but to encourage all Persons to peruse it, as ' being the true lively Word of God, which every Christian ought to ' believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected to be saved. And all ' were exhorted, not to make Contests about the Exposition or Sence of ' any difficult Place, but to refer that to Men of higher Judgment in the ' Scriptures. Then some other Rules were added, about instructing ' the People in the Principles of Religion, by teaching the Creed, the ' Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in *English*: And that in eve-

New Injunctions  
set out  
by the King.Collec. Num.  
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ry Church there should be a Sermon made every quarter of a Year at least, to declare to the People the true Gospel of Christ, and to exhort them to the Works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith; and not to trust in other Mens Works, or Pilgrimages to Images, or Relicks, or saying over Beads, which they did not understand; since these Things tended to Idolatry and Superstition, which of all Offences did most provoke God's Indignation. They were to take down all Images, which were abused by Pilgrimages, or Offerings made to them; and to suffer no Candles to be set before any Image; only there might be Candles before the Cross, and before the Sacrament, and about the Sepulchre: And they were to instruct the People, that Images served only as the Books of the unlearned, to be Remembrances of the Conversations of them whom they represented; but if they made any other use of Images, it was Idolatry; for remedying whereof, as the King had already done in part, so he intended to do more for the abolishing such Images, which might be a great Offence to God, and a Danger to the Souls of his Subjects. And if any of them had formerly magnified such Images, or Pilgrimages, to such Purposes, they were ordered openly to recant, and acknowledge, that in saying such Things they had been led by no Ground in Scripture; but were deceived by a vulgar Error, which had crept into the Church, through the Avarice of those who had Profit by it. They were also to discover all such as were Letters of the reading of God's Word in *English*, or hindred the Execution of these Injunctions. Then followed Orders for keeping of Registers in their Parishes; for Reading all the King's Injunctions once every Quarter at least: That none were to alter any of the Holy-Days, without Directions from the King: And all the Eves of the Holy-Days formerly abrogated, were declared to be no Fasting-Days: The Commemoration of *Thomas Becket* was to be clean omitted: The kneeling for the Ave's after Sermon were also forbidden, which were said in hope to obtain the Pope's Pardon. And whereas in their Processions they used to say so many Suffrages, with an *Ora pro nobis* to the Saints, by which they had not Time to say the Suffrages to God himself, they were to teach the People, that it were better to omit the *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other Suffrages which were most necessary and most effectual.

These Injunctions struck at three main Points of Popery, containing Encouragements to the Vulgar, to read the Scriptures in a known Tongue, and putting down all Worship of Images, and leaving it free for any Curate to leave out the Suffrages to the Saints. So that they were looked on as a deadly Blow to that Religion. But now those of that party did so artificially comply with the King, that no Advantages could be found against any of them for their Disobedience. The King was Master at Home, and no more to be disobeyed. He had not only broken the Rebellion of his own Subjects, and secured himself by Alliance, from the Dangers threatned him by the Pope; but all their Expectations from the Lady *Mary* were now clouded: For on the 12th of *October* 1537, Queen *Jane* had born him a Son, who was Christned *Edward*; the Archbishop of *Canterbury* being one of his Godfathers. This very much encouraged all that were for Reformation, and disheartned those who were against it. But the Joy for this young Prince was qualified by the Queen's Death, two Days after, which afflicted the King very much; for of all his Wives she was the dearest to him.

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Prince Edward  
born

And

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And his Grief for that Loss is given as the Reason, why he continued two Years a Widower. But others thought he had not so much Tenderness in his Nature, as to be much or long troubled for any thing. Therefore the Slowness of his Marrying was ascribed to some Reasons of State. But the Birth of the Prince was a great Disappointment to all those whose Hopes rested on the Lady *Mary's* succeeding her Father: Therefore they submitted themselves with more than ordinary Compliance to the King.

Great Compliances by the Popish Party.

*Gardiner* was as busie as any in declaiming against the Religious Houses, and took Occasion in many of his Sermons to commend the King for suppressing them: The Archbishop of *York* had recovered himself at Court; and I do not find that he interposed in the Suppression of any of the Religious Houses, except *Hexham*, about which he wrote to *Cromwell*, that it was a great Sanctuary when the *Scots* made Inroads: And so he thought that the continuing of it might be of great Use to the King. He added in that Letter, ' That he did carefully silence all the Preachers of Novelties. But some of these boasted, that they would shortly have Licences from the King, as he heard they had already from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but he desired *Cromwell* to prevent that Mischiefe. This is all that I find of him.

There is a Pardon granted to *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, on the 3d of *July*, in the 30th Year of his Reign, being this Year, for having acted by Commission from *Rome*, and sued out Bulls from thence. If these Crimes were done before the Separation from *Rome*, they were remitted by the General Pardon. If he took a particular Pardon, it seems strange that it was not enrolled till now. But I am apt to believe it was rather the Omission of a Clerk, than his being guilty of such a Transgression about this Time; for I see no cause to think the King would have pardoned such a Crime in a Bishop, in those Days. All that Party had now, by their Compliance and Submission, gained so much on the King, that he began to turn more to their Counsels, than he had done of late Years. *Gardiner* was returned from *France*, where he had been Ambassador for some Years; He had been also in the Emperor's Court, and there were violent Presumptions, that he had secretly reconciled himself to the Pope, and entered into a Correspondence with him. For one of the Legates Servants discoursed of it at *Ratiszone*, to one of Sir *Henry Knevet's* Retinue (who was joined in the Embassy with *Gardiner*;) whom he took to be *Gardiner's* Servant, and with whom he had an old Acquaintance. The Matter was traced, and *Knevet* spoke with the *Italian* that had first let it fall, and was persuaded of the Truth of the Thing: But *Gardiner* smelling it out, said, That *Italian*, upon whose Testimony the whole Matter depended, was corrupted to ruin him; and complained of it to the Emperor's Chancellor *Granvel*: Upon which *Ludovico* (that was the *Italian's* Name) was put in Prison. And it seems the King either looked on it as a Contrivance of *Gardiner's* Enemies, or at least seemed to do so, for he continued still to employ him. Yet on many Occasions he expressed great Contempt of him, and used him not as a Councillor, but as a Slave. But he was a Man of great Cunning, and had observed the King's Temper exactly, and knew well to take a fit Occasion for moving the King in any Thing, and could improve it dexterously. He therefore represented to the King, that nothing would so secure him both at Home and Abroad, against all Hereticks, chiefly the *Sacramentaries*, (by that Name they

*Gardiner* thus set up the King against those called *Sacramentaries*.

they branded all that denied the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.) And the King being, all his Life, zealous for the Belief of the Corporal Presence, was the more easily perswaded to be severe on that Head: And the rather, because the Princes of *Germany*, whose Friendship was necessary to him, being all *Lutherans*, his Proceedings against the *Sacramentaries* would give them no Offence.

An Occasion at that Time presented it self as opportunely as they could have wished, one *John Nicolson*, alias *Lambert*, was then questioned by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* for that Opinion. He had been Minister of the *English Company* at *Antwerp*, where being acquainted with *Tindall* and *Frith*, he improved that Knowledge of Religion, which was first infused in him by *Bilney*: But Chancellor *More* ordered the Merchants to dismiss him; so he came over to *England*, and was taken by some of Archbishop *Warham's* Officers, and many Articles were objected to him. But *Warham* died soon after, and the change of Counsels that followed occasioned his Liberty. So he kept a School at *London*, and hearing Doctor *Taylor*, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*, preach of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his Reasons why he could not believe the Doctrine he had preached: Which he put in Writing, digesting them into Ten Arguments. *Taylor* shewed this to Doctor *Barnes*, who as he was bred among the *Lutherans*, so had not only brought over their Opinions, but their Temper with him: He thought that nothing would more obstruct the Progress of the Reformation, than the venting that Doctrine in *England*. Therefore *Taylor* and he carried the Paper to *Cranmer*, who was at that Time also of *Luther's* Opinion, which he had drunk in from his Friend *Osiander*. *Latimer* was of the same Belief. So *Lambert* was brought before them, and they studied to make him retract his Paper: But all was in vain, for *Lambert*, by a fatal Resolution appealed to the King.

1538.

And *Lambert* in particular,

VWho had appealed to the King,

This *Gardiner* laid hold on, and perswaded the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The King was soon prevailed with, and both Interest and Vanity concurred to make him improve this Opportunity, for shewing his Zeal and Learning. So Letters were written to many of the Nobility and Bishops, to come and see this Tryal; in which the King intended to sit in Person, and to manage some part of the Argument. In *November*, on the Day that was prefixed, there was a great Appearance in *Westminster-Hall*, of the Bishops, and Clergy, the Nobility, Judges, and the King's Council; with an incredible Number of Spectators. The King's Guards were all in White, and so was the Cloth of State.

When the Prisoner was brought to the Bar, the Tryal was opened by a Speech of Doctor *Dayes*, which was to this effect: 'That this Assembly was not at all convened to dispute about any Point of Faith; but that the King being Supreme Head, intended openly to condemn and confute that Man's Heresy in all their Presence. Then the King commanded him to declare his Opinion about the Sacrament. To which *Lambert* began his Answer with a Preface, acknowledging the King's great Goodness, that he would thus hear the Causes of his Subjects, and commending his great Judgment and Learning. In this the King interrupted him, telling him in *Latin*, That he came not there to hear his own Praises set forth, and therefore commanded him to speak to the Matter. This he uttered with a stern Countenance; at which *Lambert* being

And was publicly tried at *Westminster*.

1538.  
Arguments  
brought a-  
gainst him.

being a little disordered, the King asked him again, Whether was Christ's Body in the Sacrament, or not? He Answered in the Words of *St. Austin*, *It was his Body in a certain manner*. But the King bad him answer plainly, Whether it was Christ's Body, or not? So he answered, *That it was not his Body*. Upon which the King urged him with the Words of Scripture, *This is my Body*; and then he commanded the Arch-Bishop to confute his Opinion, who spoke only to that part of it, which was grounded on the Impossibility of a Bodies being in two Places at once. And that he confuted from Christ's Appearing to *St. Paul*; shewing that though he is always in Heaven, yet he was seen by *St. Paul* in the Air. But *Lambert* affirmed, that he was then only in Heaven; and that *St. Paul* heard a Voice, and saw a Vision, but not the very Body of Christ. Upon this they disputed for some time: in which it seems the Bishop of *Winchester* thought *Cranmer* argued but faintly, for he interposed in the Argument.

*Tonstal's* Arguments run all upon God's Omnipotency, that it was not to be limited by any Appearances of Difficulties, which flowed from our Want of a right Understanding of Things; and our Faculties being weak, our Notions of Impossibilities were proportioned to these. But *Stokesly* thought he had found out a Demonstration that might put an End to the whole Controversy; for he shewed, that in Nature we see one Substance changed into another, and yet the Accidents remain. So when Water is boiled, till it evaporates into Air, one Substance is changed into another, and moisture that was the Accident remains, it being still moist. This (as one of the Eye-witnesses relates) was received with great Applause, and much Joy appeared in the Bishops Looks upon it. But whether the Spectators could distinguish well between Laughter for Joy, and a Scornful Smile, I cannot tell: For certainly this Crotchet must have provoked the latter rather; since it was a Sophism, not to be forgiven any above a junior Sophister; thus from an accidental Conversion, where the Substance was still the same, only altered in its Form and Qualities, (according to the Language of that Philosophy, which was then most in vogue,) to infer a substantial Mutation, where one Substance was annihilated, and a new one produced in its Place. But these Arguments it seems disorder'd *Lambert* somewhat; and either the King's stern Looks, the Variety of the Disputants, ten, one after another, engaging with him, or the greatness of the Presence, with the Length of the Action, which continued five Hours, put him in some Confusion; it is not improbable but they might in the End bring him to be quite silent. This, one that was present said, flowed from his being spent and wearied; and that he saw what he said was little considered: but others ascribed it to his being confounded with the Arguments that were brought against him. So the general Applause of the Hall, gave the Victory on the King's Side. When he was thus silent, the King asked him, If he was convinced by the Arguments, and whether he would live or die? He answered, *That he committed his Soul to God, and submitted his Body to the King's Clemency*. But the King told him, If he did not recant, he must die, for he would not be a Patron of Hereticks; and since he would not do that, the King ordered *Cromwell* to read the Sentence, (which he, as the King's Vice-Gerent, did,) declaring him an incorrigible Heretick, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was soon after executed in *Smithfield*, in a most barbarous Manner; for when his Legs and Thighs were

He is Con-  
demned.

were burnt to the Stumps, there not being Fire enough to consume the rest of him suddenly, two of the Officers raised up his Body on their Halberts, he being yet alive and crying out, *None but Christ, None but Christ*; and then they let him fall down into the Fire, where he was quickly consumed to Ashes. He was a learned and good Man. His Answers to the Articles objected to him by *Warham*, and a Book which in his Imprisonment he wrote for justifying his Opinion, which he directed to the King, do shew both great Learning for those Times, and a very good Judgment.

1538.

And Burned

This being done, the Party that opposed the Reformation persuaded the King, that he had got so much Reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all Aspersions, which had been cast on him as if he intended to change the Faith: Neither did they forget to set on him, in his weak Side, and magnifie all that he had said, as if the Oracle had uttered it: By which they said, it appeared he was indeed a Defender of the Faith, and the Supream Head of the Church. And he had so good a Conceit of what was done, that he intended to pursue these Severities further; and therefore soon after he resolved on summoning a Parliament, partly for confirming what he had done, and compleating what remained to be done further, in the Suppression of the Monasteries; and likewise for making a new Law for punishing some Opinions, which were then spreading about the Sacrament, and some other Articles, as will soon appear.

Now the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury's* Interest at Court suffered a great Diminution. His chief Friend among the Bishops, was *Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*, who was much esteemed, and employed by the King. He was a Privy-Councillor, and had been employed in a Negotiation with the Princes of *Germany*, to whom he was a very acceptable Minister. They proposed, That the King would receive the *Ausburg* Confession, except in such Things as should be altered in it by common Consent, and defend it in a free Council, if any such were called; and that neither of them should acknowledge any Council called by the Pope: That the King should be called the Patron of their League, and they should mutually assist one another, the King giving 100000 Crowns a Year towards the Defence of the League.

The Popish Party gain ground at Court.

The Bishop of *Winchester* being then in *France*, did much dissuade the King from making a Religious League with them; against which he gave some plausible politick Reasons, for his Conscience never struggled with a Maxim of State. But the King liked most of the Propositions; only he would not accept the Title of Defender of their League, till some Differences in the Doctrine were agreed. So they were to have sent over *Sturmius* as their Agent; and *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, and *George Draco*, to confer with the King's Divines. But upon Queen *Anne's* Fall, this vanished; and though the King entered into a Civil League with them, and had frequently a Mind to bring over *Melancthon*, for whom he had a great Value, yet it never took Effect. There were three Things in which the *Germans* were more positive, than in any other Point of Reformation. These were, the Communion in both kinds, the Worship in a known Tongue, and an Allowance for the Marriage of the Clergy. All the People had got these Things in their Heads; so that it was generally believed, that if the Pope had in time consented to them, the Progress of the Reformation had been much stopped. The express Words of the Institution, and the Novelty of the

The King's correspondence with the German Princes.

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contrary Practice, and engaged that Nation very early for Communion in both Kinds. Common Sense made them all desire to understand what they did and said in the Worship of God ; and the lewd and dissolute Practices of the unmarried Clergy, were so publick, that they thought the Honour of their Families, of which that Nation is extremely sensible, could not be secured, unless the Clergy might have Wives of their own. But at these the King stuck more, than at other things that were more disputable. For in all other Points that were material he had set up the Doctrine of the *Ausburg* Confession ; and there was good Ground to hope that the Evidence of at least two of these would have brought over the King to a fuller Agreement, and firmer Union with them. But the Bishop of *Hereford's* Death gave a great Blow to that Design. For though that Party thought they had his Room well filled, when they had got *Bonner* to be his Successor ; yet they found afterwards what a fatal Mistake they committed, in raising him now to *Hereford*, and translating him within a few Months to *London*, vacant by *Stokesly's* Death. But during the Vacancy of the See of *Hereford*, *Cranmer* held a Visitation in it, where he left some Injunctions (to be found in the *Collection*) which chiefly related to the Encouraging of Reading the Scriptures, and giving all due Obedience to the King's Injunctions. For the other Bishops that adhered to *Cranmer*, they were rather Clogs than Helps to him. *Latimer's* Simplicity and Weakness made him be despised : *Shaxton's* proud and litigious Humour drew Hatred on him : *Barlow* was not very Discreet ; and many of the Preachers whom they cherished, whether out of an unbridled Forwardness of Temper, or true Zeal that would not be managed and governed by politick and prudent Measures, were flying at many Things that were not yet abolished. Many Complaints were brought of these to the King. Upon which, Letters were sent to all the Bishops in the King's Name, to take Care, that as the People should be instructed in the Truth, so they should not be unwarily charged with too many Novelties ; since the publishing these, if it was not tempered with great Discretion, would raise much Contention, and other Inconveniencies that might be of dangerous Consequence. But it seems this Caveat did not produce what was designed by it, or at least the opposite Party were still bringing in new Complaints : For I have seen an Original Letter of *Cromwell's* to the Bishop of *Landaffe*, bearing Date the 6th of *January* ; in which he makes Mention of the King's Letter sent to that Purpose, and requires him to look to the Execution of them, both against the Violence of the new Preachers, and against those that secretly carried on the pretended Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* ; otherwise he threatens to proceed against him in another Manner. All these Things concurred to lessen *Cranmer's* Interest in the Court ; nor had he any firm Friend there but *Cromwell*, who was also careful to preserve himself : There was not a Queen now in the King's Bosom to favour their Motions. Queen *Jane* had been their Friend, though she came in *Anne Bollein's* Room that had supported them most. The King was observed to be much guided by his Wives, as long as they kept their Interest with him. Therefore *Cromwell* thought the only Way to retrieve a Design that was almost lost, was to engage the King in an Alliance with some of the Princes of *Germany* ; from whence he had heard much of the Beauty of the Lady *Anne* of *Cleave*, the Duke of *Cleave's* Sister, whose elder Sister was married to the Duke of *Saxony*.

Bonner's Diffi-  
mulation.

Coll Numl. 2.

Coll. No. 206. 13.



But while he was setting this on Foot, a Parliament was summoned to meet the 28th of *April*. To which all the Parliamentary Abbats had their Writs. The Abbats of *Westminster*, *St. Albans*, *St. Edmundsbury*, *St. Mary Tork*, *Glastenbury*, *Glocester*, *Ramsay*, *Evesham*, *Peterborough*, *Reading*, *Malmesbury*, *Croyland*, *Selby*, *Thorny*, *Winchelcomb*, *Waltham*, *Cirencester*, *Teukesbury*, *Colchester*, and *Tavestoke*, sat in it. On the 5th of *May*, the Lord Chancellor acquainted them, that the King being most desirous to have all his Subjects of one Mind in Religion; and to quiet all Controversies about it, had commanded him to move to them, that a Committee might be appointed for examining these different Opinions, and drawing up Articles for an Agreement, which might be reported and considered to the House. To this the Lords agreed, and named for a Committee *Cromwell* the Vice-Gerent, the two Arch-bishops, the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Ban-gor*, *Carlisle*, and *Worcester*: Who were ordered to go about it with all haste, and were dispensed with for their Attendance in the House, till they had ended their Business. But they could come to no Agreement; for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, having the Bishops of *Ely* and *Worcester* to second him, and being favoured by *Cromwell*, the other five could carry nothing against them: Nor would either Party yield to the other, so that 11 Days passed in these Debates.

1538.  
A new Parli-  
ament.

On the 16th of *May*, the Duke of *Norfolk* told the Lords, That the Committee that was named, had made no Progress, for they were not of one Mind; which some of the Lords had objected, when they were first named. Therefore he offered some Articles to the Lords Consideration, that they might be examined by the whole House, and that there might be a perpetual Law made for the Observation of them, after the Lords had freely delivered their Minds about them. The Articles were.

The six Arti-  
cles are pro-  
posed.

‘ *First*, Whether in the Eucharist, Christ’s real Body was present without any Transubstantiation? (so it is in the Journal, *absque Transubstantiatione*) it seems the Corporal Presence had been established, so they would have left the Manner of it indefinite.

‘ *Secondly*, Whether that Sacrament was to be given to the Laity in both kinds?

‘ *Thirdly*, Whether the Vows of Chastity, made either by Men or Women, ought to be observed by the Law of God?

‘ *Fourthly*, Whether by the Law of God private Masses ought to be celebrated?

‘ *Fifthly*, Whether Priests by the Law of God might marry?

‘ *Sixthly*, Whether Auricular Confession were necessary by the Law of God?

Against these the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* argued long. For the first, he was then in his Opinion a *Lutheran*, so he was not like to say much against it. But certainly he opposed the second much; since there was not any thing for which those with whom he held Correspondence were more earnest, and seemed to have greater Advantages, both from Christ’s own Words in the Institution, and the constant Practice of the Church for 12 Ages.

Reasons against  
them.

For the *Third*, It seemed very hard to suppress so many Monasteries, and set the Religious Persons at Liberty, and yet bind them up to Chastity. That same Parliament by another Act, absolved them from their Vow of Poverty, giving them Power to purchase Lands: now it was

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not reasonable to bind them up to some Parts of their Vow, when they absolved them from the rest. And it was no ways Prudent to bind them up from Marriage, since, as long as they continued in that State, they were still capable to re-enter into their Monasteries, when a fair Occasion should offer; whereas they upon their Marrying, did effectually lay down all possible Pretensions to their former Houses.

For the *Fourth*, The asserting the Necessity of private Masses, was a plain Condemnation of the King's Proceedings in the Suppression of so many Religious Houses, which were Societies chiefly dedicated to that Purpose. For if these Masses did profit the Souls departed, the Destroying so many Foundations could not be justified. And for the living, these private Masses were clearly contrary to the first Institution, by which that which was blessed and consecrated was to be distributed: And it was to be a Communion, and so held by the Primitive Church, which admitted none, so much as to see the Celebration of that Sacrament, but those who received it: Laying Censures upon such as were present at the rest of that Office, and did not stay and Communicate.

For the *Fifth*, it touched *Cranmer* to the quick, for he was then married. The Scripture did in no Place enjoin the Celibat of the Clergy. On the contrary, Scripture speaks of their Wives, and gives the Rules of their living with them. And *St. Paul*, in express Words, condemns all Mens leaving their Wives, without Exception; saying, *That the Man hath not Power over his own Body, but the Wife.* In the Primitive Church, though those that were in Orders, did not marry, yet such as were married before Orders, kept their Wives, of which there were new Instances; and when some moved in the Council of *Nice*, that all that had been married, when they entred into Orders, should put away their Wives: it was rejected, and ever since the *Greek Churches* have allowed their Priests to keep their Wives. Nor was it ever commanded in the Western Church, 'till the Popes began their Usurpation. Therefore the Prohibition of it being only grounded on the Papal Constitutions, it was not reasonable to keep it up, since that Authority on which it was built, was now overthrown.

What was said concerning Auricular Confession, I cannot so easily recover. For though *Cranmer* argued three Days against these Articles, I can only gather the Substance of his Arguments from what himself wrote on some of these Heads afterwards. For nothing remains of what passed there, but what is conveyed to us in the Journal, which is short and defective.

On the 24th of *May*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 30th, upon what Reason it does not appear. It was not to set any of the Bills backward; for it was agreed, that the Bills should continue in the State in which they were then, till their next Meeting. When they met again, on the 30th of *May*, being *Friday*, the Lord Chancellour intimated to them, that not only the Spiritual Lords, but the King himself, had taken much Pains to bring Things to an Agreement, which was effected. Therefore he moved in the King's Name, that a Bill might be brought in for punishing such as offended against these Articles. So the Lords appointed the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, and *St. David's*, and Doctor *Petre*, a Master of Chancery, (afterwards Secretary of State) to draw one Bill; and the Arch-Bishop of

*Tork,*

Tork, the Bishop of *Duresm*, and *Winchester*; and Doctor *Tregonnel*, another Master of Chancery, to draw another Bill about it; and to have them both ready; and to offer them to the King by *Sunday* next. But the Bill that was drawn by the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, and those with him, was best liked: yet it seems the Matter was long contested, for it was not brought to the House before the 7th of *June*: and then the Lord Chancellor offered it, and it was read the first time. On the 9th of *June*, it had the second Reading, and on the 10th it was engrossed, and read the third time. But when it passed, the King desired the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to go out of the House, since he could not give his Consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in Conscience to stay and vote against it. It was sent down to the House of Commons, where it met with no great Opposition; for on the 14th it was agreed to, and sent up again: And on the 28th it had the Force of a Law by the Royal Assent.

The Title of it was an Act *For abolishing Diversity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion*. It is said in the Preamble, that the King, 'considering the blessed Effects of Union; and the Mischiefs of Discord, since there were many different Opinions, both among the Clergy and Laity, about some Points of Religion, had called this Parliament, and a Synod at the same Time for removing these Differences, where six Articles were proposed, and long debated by the Clergy: And the King himself had come in Person to the Parliament, and Council, and opened many Things of high Learning and great Knowledge about them; And that he, with the Assent of both Houses of Parliament, had agreed on the following Articles. *First*, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Consecration, there remained no Substance of Bread and Wine, but under these Forms the Natural Body and Blood of Christ were present. *Secondly*, That Communion in both kinds was not necessary to Salvation to all Persons by the Law of God; but that both the Flesh and Blood of Christ were together in each of the Kinds. *Thirdly*, That Priests, after the Order of Priesthood, might not Marry by the Law of God. *Fourthly*, That Vows of Chastity ought to be observed by the Law of God. *Fifthly*, That the Use of private Masses ought to be continued; which as it was agreeable to God's Law, so Men received great Benefit by them. *Sixthly*, That Auricular Confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church. The Parliament thanked the King for the Pains he had taken in these Articles: And Enacted, That if any, after the 12th of *July*, did speak, preach, or write against the first Article, they were to be judged Hereticks, and to be burnt without any Abjuration; and to forfeit their real and personal Estate to the King. And those who preached, or obstinately disputed against the other Articles, were to be judged Felons; and to suffer Death as Felons, without Benefit of Clergy. And those, who either in Word or Writing, spake against them, were to be Prisoners during the King's Pleasure, and forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, for the first time: And if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as Felons. All the Marriages of Priests are declared void; and if any Priest did still keep any such Woman, whom he had so married, and lived familiarly with her, as with his Wife, he was to be judged a Felon: And if a Priest lived carnally with any other Woman, he was upon the first Conviction

An Act pass  
for them.

1539. Conviction to forfeit his Benefices, Goods, and Chattels, and to be imprisoned during the King's Pleasure; and upon the second Conviction, was to suffer as a Felon. The Women so offending, were also to be punished in the same Manner as the Priests; and those who contemned, or abstained from Confession, or the Sacrament, at the accustomed Times, for the first Offence were to forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and be imprisoned; and for the second, were to be adjudged of Felony. And for the Execution of this Act, Commissions were to be issued out to all *Arch-bishops*, and *Bishops*, and their Chancellors, and Commissaries, and such others in the several Shires as the King should name, to hold their Sessions quarterly, or oftener; and they were to proceed upon Presentments, and by a Jury. Those Commissioners were to swear, that they should execute their Commission indifferently; without Favour, Affection, Corruption, or Malice. All Ecclesiastical Incumbents were to read this Act in their Churches once a Quarter. And in the End a Proviso was added, concerning Vows of Chastity. That they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or above the Age of 21 Years; or had not been compelled to take them.

Which is variously censured. This Act was received by all that secretly favoured Popery, with great Joy; for now they hoped to be revenged on all those who had hitherto set forward a Reformation. It very much quieted the Bigots; who were now persuaded that the King would not set up Heresie, since he passed so severe an Act against it; and it made the total Suppression of Monasteries go the more easily through. The Popish Clergy liked all the Act very well, except that severe Branch of it against their unchast Practices. This was put in by *Cromwell*, to make it cut with both Edges. (Some of our inconsiderate Writers, who never perused the Statutes, tell us it was done by a different Act of Parliament; but greater Faults must be forgiven them who Write upon Hear-say.) There was but one Comfort that the poor Reformers could pick out of the whole Act, that they were not left to the Mercy of the Clergy, and their Ecclesiastical Courts, but were to be tried by a Jury; where they might expect more candid and gentle Dealing. Yet the Denying them the Benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity beyond what had ever been put in Practice before: So now they began to prepare for new Storms, and a heavy Persecution.

An Act about the Suppression of the greater Monasteries. The other chief Business of this Parliament was, the Suppression of Monasteries. It is said in the Preamble of that Act, 'That divers Abbats, Priors, and other Heads of Religious Houses, had, since the 4th of February in the 27th Year of the King's Reign, without constraint, of their own Accord, and according to the due Course of the Common Law, by sufficient Writings of Record, under their Covent-Seals, given up their Houses, and all that belonged to them, to the King. Therefore all Houses that were since that time suppressed, dissolved, relinquished, forfeited or given up, are confirmed to the King, and his Successors for ever: And all Monasteries that should thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or given up, are also confirmed to the King and his Successors. And all these Houses, with the Rents belonging to them, were to be disposed of by the Court of Augmentations for the King's Profit; excepting only such as were come into the King's Hands by Attainders of Treason, which belonged to the Exchequer. Reserving to all Persons, except the Patrons, Founders

ders, and Donors of such Houses, the same Right to any Parts of them, or Jurisdiction in them, which they could have claimed if that Act had never been made. Then followed many Clauses for Annuling all Deeds and Leases, made within one Year before the Suppression of any Religious House, to the Prejudice of it, or different from what had been granted formerly. And all Churches, or Chapels, which belonged to these Monasteries, and were formerly exempted from the Visitation or Jurisdiction of their Ordinary, are declared to be within the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese, or of any other that should be appointed by the King. 1539.

This Act passed in the House of Peers, without any Protestation made by any of the Abbats, though it appears by the Journal, that at the first Reading of it there were eighteen Abbats present, at the second Reading twenty, and seventeen at the third Reading, and the Abbats of *Glastenbury*, *Colchester*, and *Reading*, were among those who were present; so little Reason there is to think they were Attainted for any open withstanding the King's Proceedings, when they did not protest against this Act, which was so plainly levelled at them. It was soon dispatched by the Commons; and offered to the Royal Assent. By it, no Religious Houses were suppressed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the Surrenders, that either had been, or were to be made, were confirmed. The last Proviso for Annuling all Exemptions of Churches and Chapels, had been a great Happiness to the Church, if it had not been for that Clause; *That the King might appoint others to visit them*; which in a great Degree did enervate it. For many of those who afterwards purchased these Lands, with the impropriated Tithes, got this likewise in their Grants, that they should be the Visitors of the Churches and Chapels formerly exempted: from whence great Disorders have since followed in these Churches, which not falling within the Bishop's Jurisdiction, are thought not liable to his Censures; so that the Incumbents in them, being under no Restraints, have often been scandalous to the Church; and given Occasion to those who were disaffected to the Hierarchy, to censure the Prelates for those Offences which they could not punish; since the Offenders were thus excepted out of their Jurisdiction. This Abuse, which first sprang from the ancient Exemptions that were confirmed or granted by the See of *Rome*, has not yet met with an effectual Remedy.

Upon the whole Matter, this Suppression of Abbies was universally censured; and besides the common Exceptions which those that favoured the old Superstition, made, it was questioned, whether the Lands that formerly belonged to Religious Houses, ought to have returned to the Founders and Donors by way of *Reverter*, or to have fallen to the Lords of whom the Lands were holden by the Way of *Escheat*, or to have come to the Crown? It is true, by the *Roman* Law, or at least by a Judgment of the Senate in *Theodosius's* Time, the Endowments of the Heathenish Temples were, upon a full Debate, whether they should return to the right Heirs, or be Confiscated? in the End adjudged to the *Fisc*, or the Emperor's Exchequer, upon this Reason, that by the Will of the Donors, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. But in *England* it went otherwise. And when the Order of the Knights-Templers was dissolved, it was then judged in favour of the Lord by Escheat. For  
though

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though the Founders and Donors had totally alienated these Lands from themselves and their Heirs, yet there was no Reason from thence to conclude any thing that might wrong the Superior Lord of his Right in the case of an Escheat. And this must have held good, if those Alienations and Endowments had been absolute, without any Condition. But the Endowments being generally rather of the Nature of Covenants and Contracts, and made in Consideration of so many Masses to be said for their Souls; then it was most just, that, upon a Non-performance of the Condition, and when that publick Error and Cheat, which the Monks had put upon the World, was discovered, the Lands should have returned to the Founders and Patrons, and their Heirs and Successors. Nor was there any Grounds for the Lords to pretend to them by Escheat, especially where their Ancestors had consented to, and confirmed those Endowments. Therefore there was no need of excluding them by any special Proviso. But for the Founders and Donors, certainly if there had not been a particular Proviso made against them, they might have recovered the Lands which their Ancestors had superstitiously given away; and the Surrenders which Religious Persons made to the Crown, could not have cut off their Title. But this Act did that effectually. It is true, many of the greatest of them were of Royal Foundation, and these would have returned to the Crown without Dispute.

Another about the erecting new Bishopricks.

On the 23d of *May*, in the Session of Parliament, a Bill was brought in by *Cromwell*, for giving the King Power to erect new Bishopricks by his Letters Patents. It was read that Day for the first, second, and third Time; and sent down to the Commons. The Preamble of it was, ' That it was known what slothful and ungodly Life had been led by those who were called Religious. But that these Houses might be converted to better Uses; that God's Word might be better set forth, Children brought up in Learning, Clerks nourished in the Universities, and that old decayed Servants might have Livings; poor People might have Alms-Houses to maintain them; Readers of *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Latin*, might have good Stipends; daily Alms might be ministred, and Allowance might be made for mending of the Highways, and Exhibitions for Ministers of the Church, for these Ends. If the King thought fit to have more Bishopricks or Cathedral Churches erected out of the Rents of these Houses, full Power was given to him to erect, and found them, and to make Rules and Statutes for them, and such Translations of Sees or Divisions of them as he thought fit. But on this Act I must add a singular Remark. The Preamble, and material Parts of it, were drawn by the King himself; and the first Draught of it under his Hand, is yet extant; which shews his extraordinary Application and Understanding of Business. But in the same Paper there is a List of the Sees which he intended to found; of which what was done afterwards came so far short, that I know nothing to which it can be so reasonably imputed, as the declining of *Cranmer's* Interest at Court, who had proposed the Erecting of new Cathedrals and Sees, with other Things mentioned in the Preamble of the Statute, as a great mean for Reforming the Church. The Sees which the King then designed, with the Abbies out of which they were to be Erected, follow, as in the Paper under the King's own Hand.

The King's Design about these.

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<i>Essex.</i>		<i>Waltham.</i>	<i>Hartford.</i>		<i>St. Albans.</i>
<i>Bedfordshire</i>	}	<i>Dunstable.</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	}	<i>Osney</i>
and		<i>Newenham.</i>	and		and
<i>Buckinghamshire.</i>	}	<i>Clowstown.</i>	<i>Berkshire.</i>	}	<i>Tame.</i>
<i>Northampton</i>		}	<i>Peterborough.</i>		<i>Middlesex.</i>
and					
<i>Huntington.</i>					
<i>Leicester</i>	}	<i>Leicester.</i>	<i>Glocestershire.</i>	}	<i>St. Peters.</i>
and					
<i>Rutland.</i>					
<i>Lancashire.</i>		<i>Fountains, and the Arch-Deaconry of Richmond.</i>			
<i>Suffolk.</i>		<i>Edmonds-bury.</i>	<i>Stafford</i>	}	<i>Shrewsbury.</i>
			and		
			<i>Salop.</i>		
<i>Nottingham</i>	}	<i>Welbeck.</i>	<i>Cornwal.</i>	}	<i>Lanceston.</i>
and		<i>Wersop.</i>			<i>Bedmynne.</i>
<i>Derby.</i>		<i>Thurgarton.</i>			<i>Wardreth.</i>

Over these is written, *The Bishopricks to be made.* In another corner of the Page he writes as follows.

‘ *Places to be altered according to our Device, which have Sees in them.*  
 ‘ *Christ’s Church in Canterbury, St. Swithins, Ely, Duresm, Rochester,*  
 with a part of *Leeds, Worcester,* and all others having the same. Then  
 a little below; *Places to be altered into Colleges and Schools: Burton*  
*super Trent.* More is not written in that Paper, But I wonder much,  
 that in this List *Chester* was forgotten; yet it was erected before any  
 of them; for I have seen a Commission under the Privy-Seal, to the  
 Bishop of *Chester,* to take the Surrender of the Monastery of *Hammond*  
 in *Shropshire,* bearing date the 24th of *August* this Year. So it seems  
 the See of *Chester* was erected and endowed before the Act passed,  
 though there is among the Rolls a Charter for endowing and founding  
 of it afterwards. *Bristol* is not mentioned in this Paper, though a See  
 was afterwards erected there. It was not before the end of the next  
 Year that these Sees were founded; and there was in that interval so  
 great a Change made, both of the Council and Ministers, that no  
 wonder the Things now designed were never accomplished.

Another Act passed in this Parliament, concerning the Obedience  
 due to the King’s Proclamations. There had been great Exceptions  
 made to the Legality of the King’s Proceedings in the Articles about  
 Religion, and other Injunctions published by his Authority, which  
 were complained of as contrary to Law; since by these the King had,  
 without consent of Parliament, altered some Laws, and had laid Taxes  
 on his Spiritual Subjects. Upon which an Act passed, which sets forth  
 ‘ in the Preamble, the Contempt and Disobedience of the King’s Pro-  
 ‘ clamations, by some who did not consider what a King by his Royal  
 ‘ Power might do; which if it continued, would tend to the Disobe-  
 ‘ dience of the Laws of God, and the Dishonour of the King’s Majesty,  
 ‘ (who may full ill bear it.) Considering also, that many Occasions  
 ‘ might require speedy Remedies, and that delaying these till a Parlia-  
 ‘ ment met, might occasion great Prejudices to the Realm; and that  
 ‘ the King by his Royal Power given of God, might do many Things  
 ‘ in such Cases: Therefore it is Enacted, That the King for the Time  
 being,

An Act about the King’s Proclamations.

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‘ being, with Advice of his Council, might set forth Proclamations  
 ‘ with Pains and Penalties in them, which were to be obeyed as if they  
 ‘ were made by an Act of Parliament. But this was not to be so ex-  
 ‘ tended, that any of the King’s Subjects should suffer in their Estates, Li-  
 ‘ berties, or Persons, by virtue of it: Nor that by it any of the King’s  
 ‘ Proclamations, Laws or Customs were to be broken and subverted.  
 Then follow some Clauses about the publishing of Proclamations, and  
 the way of prosecuting those who contemned and disobeyed them. It  
 is also added, ‘ That if any offended against them, and in further Con-  
 ‘ tempt went out of the Realm, he was to be adjudged a Traitor. This  
 ‘ also gave Power to the Councillors of the King’s Successor, if he were  
 ‘ under Age, to set forth Proclamations in his Name, which were to be  
 ‘ obeyed in the same manner with those set forth by the King himself.  
 This Act gave great Power to the Judges, since there were such Restri-  
 ctions in some Branches of it, which seemed to lessen the great extent  
 of the other Parts of it; so that the Expositors of the Law had much  
 referred to them: Upon this Act were the great Changes of Religion  
 in the Non-Age of *Edward* the 6th grounded.

An Act a-  
 bout Prece-  
 dence.

There is another Act, which but collaterally belongs to Ecclesiastical  
 Affairs, and therefore shall be but slightly touched. It is the Act of the  
 Precedency of the Officers of State, by which the Lord Vicegerent has  
 the Precedence of all Persons in the Kingdom, next the Royal Family;  
 and on this I must make one Remark, which may seem very improper  
 for one of my Profession; especially when it is an Animadversion on  
 one of the greatest Men that any Age has produced, the most Learned  
 Mr. *Selden*. He, in his Titles of Honour, says, ‘ That this Statute  
 ‘ was never printed in the Statute-Book, and but incorrectly by ano-  
 ‘ ther, and that therefore he inserts it literally, as is in the Record.  
 In which there are two Mistakes. For it is printed in the Statute-Book  
 that was set out in that King’s Reign, though left out in some later  
 Statute-Books; and that which he prints, is not exactly according to the  
 Record. For as he prints it, the Bishop of *London* is not named in the  
 Precedency, which is not according to the Parliament-Roll, in which  
 the Bishop of *London* has the Precedence next the Archbishop of *Tork*;  
 and though this is corrected in a Posthumous Edition; yet in that set out  
 by himself, it is wanting: Nor is that Omission among the Errors of  
 the Press, for though there are many of these gathered to be amended,  
 this is none of them. This I do not take notice of out of any Vanity,  
 or Humour of Censuring a Man so great in all sorts of Learning; but  
 my Design is only to let ingenious Persons see, that they ought not to  
 take Things on Trust easily, no not from the greatest Authors.

Some Acts  
 of Attain-  
 ders

These are all the publick Acts that relate to Religion, which were  
 passed in this Parliament. With these there passed an Act of Attain-  
 der of the Marquess of *Exeter*, and the Lord *Montacute*, with many  
 others, that were either found to have had a great Hand in the late  
 Rebellion; or were discovered to hold Correspondence with Cardinal  
*Pool*, who was then trafficking with Foreign Princes, and projecting a  
 League among them against the King. But of this I shall give a more  
 full Account at the end of this Book; being there to open the Grounds  
 of all the Attainders that were passed in these last Years of the King’s  
 Reign. There is one remarkable Thing that belongs to this Act.

Some



Some were to be attainted in Absence ; others they had no mind to bring to make their Answer, but yet designed to attaint them. Such were the Marchioness of *Exeter*, and the Countess of *Sarum*, Mother to Cardinal *Poole*, whom by a gross Mistake, *Speed* mistakes to have been condemned without Arraignment or Tryal, as *Cromwell* had been by Parliament. For she was now Condemned a Year before him. About the Justice of doing this there was some Debate ; and to clear it, *Cromwell* sent for the Judges, and asked their Opinions, Whether a Man might be attainted in Parliament, without being brought to make his Answer ? They said, It was a dangerous Question. That the Parliament ought to be an Example to all interior Courts ; and that when any Person was charged with a Crime, he, by the common Rule of Justice and Equity should be heard to plead for himself. But the Parliament being the Supream Court of the Nation, what way soever they proceeded, it must be good in Law ; and it could never be questioned, whether the Party was brought to answer or not. And thus a very ill Precedent was made, by which the most innocent Person in the World might be ruined. And this, as has often been observed in the like Cases, fell very soon heavily on the Author of the Counsel, as shall appear.

When the Parliament was Prorogued, on the 28th of *June*, the King apprehended that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* might be much cast down with the Act for the six Articles, sent for him, and told him, That he had heard how much, and with what Learning he had argued against it, and therefore he desired he would put all his Arguments in Writing, and bring them to him. Next Day he sent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord *Cromwell*, to dine with him. Ordering them to assure him of the King's constant and unshaken Kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could. When they were at Table with him at *Lambeth*, they run out much on his Commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the Act with so much Learning, Gravity, and Eloquence ; that even those that differed from him, were much taken with what he said, and that he needed fear nothing from the King. *Cromwell* saying, That this Difference the King put between him, and all his other Councillors ; that when Complaints were brought of others, the King received them, and tried the Truth of them ; but he would not so much as hearken to any Complaint of the Archbishop. From that he went on to make a Parallel between him and Cardinal *Wolfey*. That the one lost his Friends by his Haughtiness and Pride, but the other gained on his Enemies by his Gentleness and Mildness. Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* said, He might best speak of the Cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his Man. This nettled *Cromwell*, who answered, That though he had served him, yet he never liked his Manners : and that though the Cardinal had designed, (if his Attempt for the Popedom had been successful,) to have made him his Admiral ; yet he had resolved not to accept of it, nor to leave his Country. To which the Duke of *Norfolk* replied, with a deep Oath, *That he Lyed*, with other reproachful Language. This troubled *Cranmer* extremely, who did all he could to quiet and reconcile them. But now the Enmity between those two great Ministers broke out to that height, that they were never afterwards hearty Friends.

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The King's  
care of *Cran-*  
*mer*.  
*Antia. Brit. in*  
*vis. Cran.*

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*Cranmer*  
writes his  
Reasons a-  
gainst the six  
Articles.

But *Cranmer* went about that which the King had commanded ; and made a Book of the Reasons that led him to oppose the six Articles, in which the Places out of the Scriptures, the Authorities of the ancient Doctors, with the Arguments drawn from these, were all digested in a good Method. This he commanded his Secretary to write out in a fair Hand, that it might be given to the King. The Secretary returning with it from *Croyden*, where the *Arch-Bishop* was then, to *Lambeth*, found the Key of his Chamber was carried away by the *Arch-Bishop's* Almoner : So that he being obliged to go over to *London*, and not daring to trust the Book to any Other's Keeping, carried it with himself ; where both he, and the Book, met with an unlookt-for Encounter. Some others that were with him in the Wherry, would needs go to the *Southwark* Side, to look on a Bear-Baiting that was near the River, where the King was in Person. The Bear broke loose into the River, and the Dogs after her. They that were in the Boat leaped out, and left the poor Secretary alone there. But the Bear got into the Boat, with the the Dogs about her and sunk it. The Secretary apprehending his Life was in Danger, did not mind his Book, which he lost in the Water. But being quickly rescued, and brought to Land, he began to look for his Book, and saw it floating in the River. So he desired the Bearward to bring it to him ; who took it up ; but before he would restore it, put it into the Hands of a Priest that stood there, to see what it might contain. The Priest reading a little in it, found it a Confutation of the six Articles ; and told the Bearward, that whosoever claimed it, would be hanged for his Pains. But the *Arch-Bishop's* Secretary thinking to mend the Matter, said, it was his Lord's Book. This made the Bearward more intractable, for he was a spiteful Papist, and hated the *Arch-Bishop*, so that no Offers or Entreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon *Morice*, (that was the Secretary's Name,) went and opened the Matter to *Cromwell* the next Day ; *Cromwell* was then going to Court, and he expected to find the Bearward there, looking to deliver the Book to some of *Cranmer's* Enemies ; he therefore ordered *Morice* to go along with him. Where, as they had expected, they found the Fellow with the Book about him ; upon whom *Cromwell* called, and took the Book out of his Hand, threatening him severely for his Presumption in meddling with a Privy-Councillor's Book.

Proceedings  
upon that Act.

But though *Cranmer* escaped this Hazard, yet in *London* the Storm of the late Act was falling heavily on them that were obnoxious. *Shaxton* and *Latimer*, the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, within a Week after the Session of Parliament, as it appears, resigned their Bishopricks. For on the 7th of *July* the Chapters of these Churches petitioned the King for his Leave to fill those Sees, they being then vacant by the free Resignation of the former Bishops. Upon which the *Congé d'Elire* for both was granted. Nor was this all, but they being presented, as having spoken against the six Articles, were put in Prison, where the one lay till the King died, and the other till a little before his Death, as shall be shewn in its proper Place. There were also Commissions issued out, for proceeding upon that Statute : and those who were Commissioned for *London*, were all secret Favourers of Popery ; so they proceeded most severely, and examined many Witnesses against all who were presented : whom they Interrogated not only upon the express Words of the Statute ; but upon all such collateral or presumptive Circumstances, as might entangle them, or conclude them Guilty.

Guilty. So that in a very little while 500 Persons were put in Prison, and involved in the Breach of the Statute. Upon this not only *Cranmer* and *Cromwell*, but the Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Audly* the Chancellor represented to the King how hard it would be, and of what ill Consequence, to execute the Law upon so many Persons. So the King was prevailed with to pardon them all; and I find no further proceeding upon this Statute till *Cromwell* fell.

But the opposite Party used all the Arts possible to insinuate themselves into the King. And therefore, to shew how far their Compliance would go, *Bonner* took a strange Commission from the King, on the 12th of *November* this Year. It has been certainly enrolled; but it is not there now, so that I judge it was razed in that Suppression of Records, which was in *Queen Mary's* Time. But, as Men are commonly more careless at Home, *Bonner* has left it on Record in his own Register, Whether the other Bishops took such Commissions from this King, I know not. But I am certain there is none such in *Cranmer's* Register: and it is not likely, if any such had been taken out by him, that ever it would have been razed. The Commission it self will be found in the Collection of Papers at the End. The Substance of it is, 'That since  
' all Jurisdiction, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, flowed from the King  
' as Supreme Head, and he was the Foundation of all Power; it be-  
' came those who exercised it only (*Præcarid*) at the King's Courtesy,  
' gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his Bounty; and  
' to declare that they would deliver it up again, when it should please  
' him to call for it. And since the King had constituted the Lord *Crom-*  
' *well* his Vice-Gerent in Ecclesiastical Affairs; yet because he could  
' not look into all those Matters, therefore the King, upon *Bonner's*  
' Petition, did empower him in his own stead, to ordain such as he  
' found worthy, to present and give Institution, with all the other Parts  
' of Episcopal Authority, for which he is duly commissioned; and  
' this to last during the King's Pleasure only. And all the Parts of the  
' Episcopal Function being reckoned up, it concluded with a strict  
' Charge to the Bishop to ordain none but such, of whose Integrity,  
' good Life and Learning, he had very good Assurance. For as the  
' Corruptions of the Christian Doctrine, and of Mens Manners, had  
' chiefly proceeded from ill Pastours; so it was not to be doubted, but  
' good Pastours, well chosen, would again reform the Christian Do-  
' ctrine, and the Lives of Christians.' After he had taken this Com-  
mission *Bonner* might well have been called one of the *King's Bishops*. The true Reason of this profound Compliance, was, That the Popish Party apprehended that *Cranmer's* great Interest with the King, was chiefly grounded on some Opinions he had, of the Ecclesiastical Officers being as much subject to the King's Power, as all other Civil Officers were. And this having endeared him so much to the King, therefore they resolved to out-do him in that Point. But there was this Difference, that *Cranmer* was once of that Opinion, and if he followed it at all, it was out of Conscience: But *Bonner*, against his Conscience, (if he had any) complied with it.

Now followed the final Dissolution of the Abbies; there are 57 Surrenders upon Record this Year. The Originals of about 20 of these are yet to be seen. Thirty Seven of them were Abbies or Priors, and 20 Nunneries. The good House of *Godstow* now fell, surrendered with the rest, though among the last of them. Now the great Parliament Ab-

bars

1339.

Col. Numb. 132

Dissolution of  
the great Ab-  
bies

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bats surrendred apace ; as those of *Westminster*, *St. Albans*, *St. Edmundsbury*, *Canterbury*, *St. Mary in York*, *Selby*, *St. Peter's in Gloucester*, *Cirencester*, *Waltham*, *Winchcombe*, *Malmesbury* and *Battel*. Three others were attained ; *Glastenbury*, *Reading*, and *Colchester*. The Deeds of the rest are lost. Here it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to know who were the Parliamentary Abbats. There were in all 28, as they were commonly given. *Fuller* has given a Catalogue of them in three Places of his History of *Abbies* ; but as every one of these differs from the others ; so none of them are according to the Journals of Parliament ; The Lord *Herbert* is also mistaken in his Account. I shall not rise higher in my Enquiry than this Reign, for anciently many more Abbats and Priors sate in Parliament, beside other Clergy that had likewise their Writs ; and of whose Right to sit in the House of Commons, there was a Question moved in *Edward* the Sixth's Reign, as shall be opened in its proper Place. Much less will I presume to determine so great a Point in Law, Whether they sate in the House of Lords, as being a part of the Ecclesiastical State, or as holding their Lands of the King by Baronage ? I am only to observe the Matter of Fact, which is, That in the Journals of Parliament in this Reign, these 28 Abbats had their Writs, *Abington*, *St. Albans*, *St. Austins Canterbury*, *Battle*, *St. Bennets in the Holm*, *Berdeny*, *Cirencester*, *Colchester*, *Coventry*, *Croyland*, *St. Edmundsbury*, *Evesham*, *Glastenbury*, *Gloucester*, *Hide*, *Malmesbury*, *St. Mary's in York*, *Peterborough*, *Ramsfey*, *Reading*, *Selby*, *Shrewsbury*, *Tavenstock*, *Teuksbury*, *Thorney*, *Waltham*, *Westminster* and *Winchelcomb* ; to whom also the Prior of *St. John's* may be added. But besides all these, I find, that in the 28th. Year of this King, the Abbat of *Burton* upon *Trent* sate in Parliament. Generally *Coventry* and *Burton* were held by the same Man, as one Bishop held both *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, though two different Bishopricks ; but in that Year they were held by two different Persons, and both had their Writs to that Parliament. The Method used in the Suppression of these Houses, will appear by one compleat Report made of the Suppression of the Abbey of *Teuksbury*, which out of many I copied, is in the *Collection*. From it the Reader will see, what Provision was made for the Abbat, the Prior, the other Officers, and the Monks, and other Servants of the House ; and what Buildings they ordered to be defaced, and what to remain ; and how they did estimate the Jewels, Plate, and other Ornaments. But Monasteries were not sufficient to stop the Appetite of some that were about the King ; for Hospitals were next look'd after. One of these was this Year surrendred by *Thomas Thirleby*, with two other Priests ; he was Master of *St. Thomas's* Hospital in *Southwark*, and was designed Bishop of *Westminster*, to which he made his way by that Resignation. He was a learned and modest Man, but of so fickle or cowardly a Temper, that he turned always with the Stream in every Change that was made, till Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown ; but then, being ashamed of so many Turns, he resolved to shew he could once be firm to somewhat.

*Coll. & Num 3.*  
*Sett. 5.*

Some Hospitals surrendred.

The Abbies sold or given away.

Now were all the Monasteries of *England* suppressed, and the King had then in his Hand the greatest Opportunity of making Royal and Noble Foundations, that ever King of *England* had. But whether out of Policy, to give a general Content to the Gentry, by selling to them at low Rates, or out of Easiness to his Courtiers, or out of an unmeasured Lavishness in his Expence, it came far short of what he had given out

out he would do, and what himself seemed once to have designed. The clear Yearly Value of all the suppressed Houses is cast up, in an Account then stated to be, *viz.* 131607 *l.* 6 *s.* 4 *d.* as the Rents were then rated, but was at least ten Times so much in true value. Of which he designed to convert 18000 *l.* into a Revenue for Eighteen Bishopricks and Cathedrals. But of these he only erected six, as shall be afterwards shewn. Great Sums were indeed laid out on building and fortifying many Ports, in the Channel, and other Parts of *England*, which were raised by the Sale of Abbey-Lands.

At this Time many were offering Projects for Noble Foundations, on which the King seemed very earnest: But it is very likely, that before he was aware of it, he had so out-run himself in his Bounty, that it was not possible for him to bring these to any effect. Yet I shall set down one of the Projects, which shews the greatness of his Mind that designed it; that is, of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who was afterwards one of the wisest Ministers that ever this Nation bred. The King designed to found a House for the Study of the Civil Law, and the Purity of the *Latin* and *French* Tongues: So he ordered Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, and two others, *Thomas Denton*, and *Robert Cary*, to make a full Project, of the Nature, and Orders of such a House, who brought it to him in a Writing, the Original whereof is yet extant. The design of it was, that there should be frequent Pleadings, and other Exercises in the *Latin* and *French* Tongues; and when the King's Students were brought to some Ripeness, they should be sent with his Ambassadors to Foreign Parts, and trained up in the Knowledge of Foreign Affairs, and so the House should be the Nursery for Ambassadors. Some were also to be appointed to write the History of all Embassies, Treaties, and other foreign Transactions; as also of all Arraignments, and Publick Tryals at Home. But before any of them might write on these Subjects, the Lord Chancellor was to give them an Oath, that they should do it truly, without respect of Persons, or any other corrupt Affection. This noble Design miscarried. But if it had been well laid, and regulated, it is easie to gather what great and publick Advantages might have flowed from it. Among which, it is not inconsiderable, that we should have been delivered from a Rabble of ill Writers of History, who have without due Care or Enquiry, delivered to us the Transactions of that Time so imperfectly, that there is still need of enquiring into Registers and Papers for these Matters. Which in such a House had been more certainly and clearly conveyed to Posterity, than can be now expected at such a distance of Time, and after such a rasure of Records, and other Confusions, in which many of these Papers have been lost. And this help was the more necessary, after the Suppression of Religious Houses: In most of which a Chronicle of the Times was kept, and still filled up as new Transactions came to their Knowledge. It is true, most of these were written by Men of weak Judgments, who were more punctual in delivering Fables and Trifles, than in opening observable Transactions. Yet some of them were Men of better Understandings, and it is like were directed by their Abbats, who being Lords of Parliament, understood Affairs well; only an invincible Humour of lying, when it might raise the Credit of their Religion, or Order, or House, runs through all their Manuscripts.

1539.

A Project of  
a Seminary  
for Ministers  
of State

In Bibliol.  
Nob. D. D.  
Guil. Pier-  
point.

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A Proclamation about the free use of the Scriptures. Coll. Numb. 15.

One thing was very remarkable, which was this Year granted, at *Cranmer's* Intercession. There was nothing could so much recover Reformation, that was declining so fast, as the free use of the Scriptures; and though these had been set up in the Churches a Year ago, yet he pressed, and now procured leave for private Persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their Houses. So this was granted by Letters Patents directed to *Cromwell*, bearing date the 13th of *November*, The Substance of which was, ' That the King was desirous to have his Subjects attain ' the Knowledge of God's Word; which could not be effected by any ' Means so well, as by granting them the free and liberal Use of the ' Bible in the *English* Tongue, which to avoid Dissension, he intended ' should pass among them only by one Translation. Therefore *Cromwell* ' was charged to take Care, that for the space of five Years, there ' should be no Impression of the Bible, or any part of it, but only by ' such as should be assigned by him. But *Gardiner* opposed this all he could; and, one Day, in a Conference before the King, he provoked *Cranmer* to shew any Difference between the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Apostolical Canons, which he pretended were equal to the other Writings of the Apostles. Upon which they disputed for some Time. But the King perceived solid Learning, tempered with great Modesty, in what *Cranmer* said; and nothing but Vanity and Affectation in *Gardiner's* Reasonings. So he took him up sharply, and told him, that *Cranmer* was an old and experienc'd Captain, and was not to be troubled by Fresh-men and Novices.

The King designs to marry *Anne*, of *Cleve*.

The great Matter of the King's Marriage came on at this Time. Many Reports were brought the King of the Beauty of *Anne* of *Cleve*, so that he inclined to ally himself with that Family. Both the Emperor, and the King of *France*, had courted him to Matches which they had projected. The Emperor proposed the Dutches of *Milan*, his Kinswoman, and Daughter to the King of *Denmark*. He was then designing to break the League of *Smalcald*, and to make himself Master of *Germany*: And therefore he took much Pains with the King, to divide him from the Princes there; which was in great part effected by the Statute for the six Articles: Upon which the Ambassadors of the Princes had complained, and said, That whereas the King had been in so fair a Way of Union with them, he had now broke it off, and made so severe a Law about Communion in one kind, Private Masses, and the Celibate of the Clergy, which differed so much from their Doctrine, that they could entertain no further Correspondence with him, if that Law was not mitigated. But *Gardiner* wrought much on the King's Vanity and Passions; and told him, That it was below his Dignity, and high Learning, to have a Company of dull *Germans*, and small Princes, dictate to him in Matters of Religion. There was also another Thing which he oft made use of, (though it argues somewhere a great Ignorance of the Constitution of the Empire,) That the King could not expect these Princes would ever be for his Supremacy; since if they acknowledged that in him, they must likewise yield to the Emperor. This was a great Mistake; for as the Princes of *Germany* never acknowledged the Emperor to have a Sovereignty in their Dominions; so they did acknowledge the Diet, in which the Sovereignty of the Empire lies, to have a Power of making or changing what Laws they pleased about Religion. And in Things that were not determined by the Diet, every Prince pretended to it as highly in his own Dominions, as the King could do

do in *England*. But as untrue as this Allegation was, it served *Gardiner's* turn; for the King was sufficiently irritated with it against the Princes, so that there was now a great Coldness in their Correspondence. Yet the Project of a Match with the Dutchess of *Milan* failing, and those proposed by *France* not being acceptable, *Cromwell* moved the King about an Alliance with the Duke of *Cleve*; who, as he was the Emperor's Neighbour in *Flanders*, had also a Pretension to the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, and his eldest Daughter was married to the Duke of *Saxony*. So that the King having then some Apprehensions of a War with the Emperor, this seemed a very proper Alliance to give him a Diversion.

There had been a Treaty between her Father, and the Duke of *Lorraine*, in order to a Match between the Duke of *Lorraine's* Son, and her, but they both being under Age, it went no further than a Contract between their Fathers. *Hans Holbin* having taken her Picture, sent it over to the King. But in that he bestowed the common Complement of his Art, somewhat too liberally, on a Lady that was in a fair Way to be Queen. The King liked the Picture, better than the Original, when he had the Occasion afterwards to compare them. The Duke of *Saxony*, who was very zealous for the *Ausburg* Confession, finding the King had declined so much from it, dissuaded the Match. But *Cromwell* set it on mightily, expecting a great Support from a Queen of his own making, whose Friends being all *Lutherans*, it tended also to bring down the Popish Party at Court, and again to recover the Ground they had now lost. Those that had seen the Lady, did much commend her Beauty, and Person. But she could speak no Language but *Dutch*, to which the King was a Stranger. Nor was she bred to Musick, with which the King was much taken. So that except her Person had charmed him, there was nothing left for her to gain upon him by. After some Months Treaty, one of the Counts Palatine of the *Rhine*, with other Ambassadors from the Duke of *Saxony*, and her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, (for her Father was lately dead) came over, and concluded the Match.

In the end of *December* she was brought over to *England*: And the King being impatient to see her, went down *Incognito* to *Rocheſter*. But when he had a sight of her, finding none of those Charms which he was made believe were in her, he was so extremely surprized, that he not only did not like her, but took an Aversion to her, which he could never after overcome. He swore they had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him, and was very sorry he had gone so far, but glad it had proceeded no further. And presently he resolved, if it were possible, to break off the Matter, and never to yoke himself with her. But his Affairs were not then in such a Condition, that he could safely put that Affront on the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Cleves*, which the sending back of this Lady would have done. For the *Germans*, being of all Nations most sensible of every thing in which the Honour of their Family is touched; he knew they would resent such an Injury. And it was not safe for him to adventure that at such a Time. For the Emperor was then in *Paris*, whither he had gone to an Interview with *Francis*. And his Reception was not only as magnificent as could be, but there was all the Evidence possible of hearty Friendship and Kindness. The King also understood, That between them there was somewhat projected against himself. And now *Francis*, that had been as much obliged by him, as possibly one Prince could be by another, was not only

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Who comes over to *England*,

But is much disliked by the King.

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forgetful of it, but intended to take Advantage from the Distractions and Discontents of the *English*, to drive them out of *France*, if it were possible. And it is not to be doubted but the Emperor would gladly have embroiled these two Kings, that he might have a better Opportunity both to make himself Master of *Germany*, and to force the King of *England* into an Alliance, by which the Lady *Mary* should be Legitimated, and the Princes of *Germany* be left destitute of a Support, which made them Insolent and Intractable. The King apprehended the Conjunction of those two great Princes against himself, which was much set forward by the Pope; and that they would set up the King of *Scotland* against him, who with that Foreign Assistance, and the Discontents at Home, would have made War upon great Advantages; especially those in the North of *England*, being ill-affected to him: And therefore he judged it necessary for his Affairs, not to lose the Princes of *Germany*. Only he resolved, first, to try if any Nullities or Pre-contracts could excuse him fairly at their Hands. He returned to *Greenwich* very melancholy. He much blamed the Earl of *Southampton*, who being sent over to receive her at *Callice*, had written an high Commendation of her Beauty. But he excused himself, that he thought the Thing was so far gone, that it was decent to write as he had done. The King lamented his Condition in that Marriage, and expressed great Trouble, both to the Lord *Russel*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and others about him. The last of those told him, 'This was one Advantage that mean Persons had over Princes: That great Princes must take such Wives as are brought them, whereas meaner Persons go and chuse Wives for themselves. But when the King saw *Cromwell*, he gave his Grief a freer vent to him. He finding the King so much troubled, would have cast the chief Blame on the Earl of *Southampton*, for whom he had no great Kindness: And said, when he found her far short of what Reports and Pictures had made her, he should have stayed her at *Callice*, till he had given the King notice of it. But the Earl's Commission being only to bring her over, he said, It had been too great a Presumption in him, to have interposed in such a manner. And the King was convinced he was in the right. So now, all they had to insist on, was the clearing of that Contract that had passed between her and the Marquis of *Lorraine*: which the Ambassadors, who had been with the King, had undertaken should be fully done, and brought over with her in due Form of Law. So after the Lady was brought in great State to *Greenwich*, the Council met, and sent for the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Cleves* that conducted her over; and desired to see what they had brought for clearing the breach of that Contract with the Marquis of *Lorraine*. But they had brought nothing, and made no account of it, saying, That the Contract was in their Minority, when they could give no Consent; and that nothing had followed on it after they came to be of Age. But this did not satisfy the King's Council, who said, These were but their Words, and they must see better Proofs. The King's Marriage was annulled with *Anne Boleyn*, upon a Pre-contract; therefore he must not again run the like Hazard. So *Olisleger* and *Hogesden*, the Ambassadors from *Cleve*, did, by a formal Instrument, protest before *Cromwell*, That in a Peace made between their late Master, *John Duke of Cleve*, and *Anthony Duke of Lorraine*, one of the Conditions was, That this Lady being then under Age, should be given in Marriage to *Francis* Son to the Duke of *Lorraine*,

who



who was likewise under Age, which Treaty they affirmed they saw and read. But that afterwards *Henry de Groffe*, Ambassador of *Charles Duke of Gueldres*, upon whose Mediation that Peace had been concluded, declared in their hearing, that the Espousals were Annulled, and of no Effect; and that this was registred in the Chancery of *Cleve*, of which they promised to bring an Authentical Extract within three Months to *England*. Some of the Councillors, who knew the King's secret dislike of her Person, would have insisted more on this. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Duresm*, said, If there was no more than that, it could be no just Hindrance to the Solemnization of the Marriage. So the King seeing there was no Remedy, and being much pressed, both by the Ministers of *Cleve*, and by the Lord *Cromwell*, married her on the 6th of *January*: But expressed so much Aversion and Dislike of her, that every Body about him took notice of it. Next Day the Lord *Cromwell* asked him how he liked her then? He told him, *He was not every Man*, therefore he would be free with him: He liked her worse than he did. He suspected she was no Maid; and had such ill smells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he should ever consummate the Marriage. This was sad News to *Cromwell*, who knew well how delicate the King was in these Matters, and that so great a Misfortune must needs turn very heavy on him, that was the chief Promoter of it. He knew his Enemies would draw great Advantages from this; and understood the King's Temper too well, to think his Greatness would last long, if he could not induce the King to like the Queen better. But that was not to be done; for though the King lived five Months with her in that State, and very oft lay in the Bed with her, yet his Aversion rather encreased than abated. She seemed not much concerned at it; and, as their Conversation was not great, so she was of an heavy Composition, and was not much displeas'd, to be delivered from a Marriage in which she had so little Satisfaction. Yet one thing shews that she wanted not Capacity; for she learned the *English* Language very soon; and before her Marriage was annulled, she spoke *English* freely, as appears by some of the Depositions.

There was an Instrument brought over from *Cleve*, taken out of the Chancery there; by which it appeared, That *Henry de Groffe*, Ambassador from the Duke of *Gueldres*, had, on the 15th of *February*, in the Year 1535, declared the Nullity of the former Contract, in express Words, which are set down in *High-Dutch*, but thus put in *Latine*; *Sponsalia illa progressum suum non habitura*, (I will not answer for the *Latine*;) *ex quo dictus Dux Carolus admodum doleret, & propterea quædam fecisset, & amplius facturum esset*: And *Pallandus*, that was Ambassador from the Duke of *Cleves* in the Duke of *Gueldres*'s Court, wrote to his Master, *Illustrissimum Ducem Gueldriæ certo scire prima illa Sponsalia inter Domellam Annam fore inania & progressum suum non habitura*. When this was shewed the King, his Council found great Exceptions to it, upon the Ambiguity of the Word *Sponsalia*; it not being expressed, whether they were Espousals by the Words of the Present, or of the Future Tense, and intended to make use of that when there should be a fit Opportunity for it.

On the 12th of *April* a Session of Parliament was held. The Journal shews, that neither the Abbat of *Westminster*, nor any other Abbat was present. After the Lord Chancellor had opened the Reasons for

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But yet marries her,

And could never love her.

A Parliament called.

1540. the King's meeting them at that Time, as they related to the Civil Government; *Cromwell*, as Lord Vice-gerent, spake next in the King's Name, and said, ' There was nothing which the King so much desired, ' as a firm Union among all his Subjects, in which he placed his chief ' Security. He knew there were many Incendiaries, and much Cockle ' grew up with the Wheat. The Rashness and Licentiousness of some, ' and the inveterate Superstition and Stiffness of others in the Ancient ' Corruptions, had raised great Dissentions, to the sad regret of all ' good Christians. Some were called Papists, others Hereticks, which ' Bitterness of Spirit seemed the more strange, since now the Holy ' Scriptures, by the King's great Care of his People, were in all their ' Hands, in a Language which they understood. But these were ' grossly perverted by both Sides, who studied rather to justify their ' Passions out of them, than to direct their Belief by them. The King ' leaned neither to the right nor to the left Hand, neither to the one ' nor the other Party, but set the pure and sincere Doctrine of the ' Christian Faith only before his Eyes: And therefore was now resolv- ' ed to have this set forth to his Subjects, without any corrupt Mix- ' tures; and to have such decent Ceremonies continued, and the true ' use of them taught, by which all Abuses might be cut off, and Di- ' sputes about the Exposition of the Scriptures cease, and so all his Sub- ' jects might be well instructed in their Faith, and directed in the rever- ' ent Worship of God; and resolved to punish severely all Transgres- ' sors, of what sort or side soever they were. The King was resolved, ' That Christ, that the Gospel of Christ, and the Truth should have ' the Victory. And therefore had appointed some Bishops and Divines ' to draw up an Exposition of those Things that were necessary for the ' Institution of a Christian Man: Who were, the Two Archbishops, ' the Bishop of *London, Duresm, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford*, and ' *St. David's*; and Doctors, *Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Cglethorp,* ' *Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins, and Tresham*. He ' also had appointed others to examine what Ceremonies should be re- ' tained, and what was the true use of them; who were the Bishops ' of *Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Landaff*. ' The King had also commanded the Judges, and other Justices of the ' Peace, and Persons commissioned for the Execution of the Act for- ' merly passed, to proceed against all Transgressors, and punish them ' according to Law. And he concluded with an high Commendation ' of the King, whose due Praises, he said, a Man of far greater Elo- ' quence than himself was, could not fully set forth. The Lords ap- ' proved of this Nomination, and ordered that these Committees should sit ' constantly on *Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays*; and on other Days ' they were to sit in the Afternoon. But their Proceedings will require so ' full a Relation, that I shall first open the other Affairs that passed in this ' Session, and leave these to the last.

He is made Earl of *Essex*. On the 14th of *April* the King created *Cromwell* Earl of *Essex*; the Male Line of the *Bourchiers*, that had carried that Title, being exting- ' uished. This shews, that the true Causes of *Cromwell's* Fall, must be ' found in some other Thing, than his making up the King's Marriage; ' who had never thus raised his Title, if he had intended so soon to pull ' him down.

On the 22d of *April*, a Bill was brought in for Suppressing the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*. Their first Foundation was to be a Guard to the Pilgrims that went to the Holy Land. For some Ages, that was extolled as the highest Expression of Devotion, and a Reverence to our Saviour, to go and view the Places of his Abode; and chiefly the Places where he was Crucified, Buried, and ascended to Heaven. Upon which, many entered into a Religious Knighthood, who were to defend the Holy Land, and conduct the Pilgrims. Those were of two sorts; the *Knights-Templars*, and *Hospitallers*. The former were the greater and richer, but the other were also very considerable. The Popes and their Clergy did every where animate all Princes, and great Persons, to undertake Expeditions into these Parts, which were very costly and dangerous, and proved fatal to almost all the Princes that made them. Yet the Belief of the Pains of Purgatory, from which all were delivered by the Pope's Power, who went on this Expedition; such as died in it being also reckoned Martyrs, wrought wonderfully on a blind and superstitious Age. But such as could not go, were persuaded, That if on their Death-beds they vowed to go upon their Recovery, and left some Lands to maintain a Knight that should go thither and fight against the Infidels, it would do as well. Upon this, great and vast Endowments were made. But there were many Complaints made of the *Templars*, for betraying and robbing the Pilgrims, and other horrid Abuses, which may reasonably be believed to have been true; though other Writers of that Age lay the blame rather on the Covetousness of the King of *France*, and the Pope's Malice to them: Yet in a General Council, the whole Order was Condemned, and Suppressed, and such of them as could be taken, were cruelly put to Death. The Order of the *Hospitallers* stood, yet did not grow much after that. They were beaten out of the *Holy Land* by the *Sultans*, and lately out of the Isle of *Rhodes*, and were at this Time in *Malta*. Their great Master depended on the Pope and the Emperor; so it was not thought fit, to let a House, that was subject to a Foreign Power, stand longer. And it seems they would not willingly surrender up their House, as others had done. Therefore it was necessary to force them out of it by an Act of Parliament, which on the 22d of *April* was read the first Time, and on the 26th the Second Time, and on the 29th the Third Time, by which both their House in *England*, and another they had in *Kilmainam* in *Ireland*, were suppressed, great Pensions being reserved by the Act to the Priors, a 1000 *l.* to him of *St. John's* near *London*, and 500 Marks to the other, with very considerable Allowances for the Knights, which in all amounted to near 3000 *l.* Yearly. But on the 14th of *May*, the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25th, and a Vote passed, that their Bills should remain in the State they were in.

Upon their next Meeting, as they were going on in their Business, a great Change of Court broke out. For on the 13th of *June*, at the Council Table, the Duke of *Norfolk*, in the King's Name, challenged the Lord *Cromwell* of High-Treason, and Arresting him, sent him Prisoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies among all sorts of Persons. The Nobility despised him, and thought it lessened the greatness of their Titles, to see the Son of a Black-Smith raised so many Degrees above them. His aspiring to the Order of the Garter, was thought inexcusable Vanity; and his having so many Places heaped on him, as Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, and Lord Vice ge-

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Cromwell's Fall

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rent, with the Mastership of the Rolls, with which he had but lately parted, drew much envy on him. All the Popish Party hated him out of measure. The Suppression of the Abbies was laid wholly at his Door : The Attainders, and all other severe proceedings, were imputed to his Counsels. He was also thought to be the Person that had kept the King and the Emperor at such Distance : And therefore the Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Gardiner*, beside private Animosities, hated him on that account. And they did not think it impossible, if he were out of the Way, to bring on a Treaty with the Emperor, which they hoped would open the Way for one with the Pope. But other more secret Reasons wrought his Ruine with the King. The fear he was in of a Conjunction between the Emperor and *France* did now abate : For he understood that it went no further than Complements. And though he clearly discovered, having sent over the Duke of *Norfolk* to *Francis*, that he was not to depend much on his Friendship ; yet at the same Time he knew that the Emperor would not yield up the Dutchy of *Milan* to him, upon which his Heart was much set. So he saw they could come to no Agreement ; Therefore he made no great account of the Loss of *France*, since he knew the Emperor would willingly make an Alliance with him : The hopes of which made him more indifferent, whether the *German* Princes were pleased with what he did, or not, since he had now attained the end he had proposed to himself in all his Negotiations with them, which was, to secure himself from any Trouble the Emperor might give him. Therefore *Cromwell's* Counsels were now disliked, for he had always enclined the King to favour those Princes against the Emperor. Another secret Cause was, That as the King had an unconquerable Aversion to his Queen, so he was taken with the Beauty and Behaviour of *Mistress Katherine Howard*, Daughter to the Lord *Edmond Howard*, a Brother of the Duke of *Norfolk's*. And as this designed Match raised the Credit of her Uncle, so the ill Consequences of the former, drew him down who had been the chief Councillor in it. The King also found his Government was grown uneasy, and therefore judged it was no ill Policy to cast over all that had been done amiss, upon a Minister who had great Power with him ; and being now in Disgrace, all the Blame of these Things would be taken off from the King, and laid on him, and his Ruin would much appease Discontents, and make them more moderate in censuring the King, or his Proceedings. It is said, that other Particulars were charged on him, which lost him the King's Favour. If this be true, it is like they related to the Encouragement he was said to have given to some Reformers, in the Opposition they made to the six Articles ; upon the Execution of which the King was now much set. His Fall was so secretly carried, that though he had often before looked for it, knowing the King's uneasie and jealous Temper, yet at that Time he had no Apprehensions of it, till the Storm broke upon him. In his Fall he had the common Fate of all disgraced Ministers, to be forsaken by his Friends, and insulted over by his Enemies. Only *Cranmer* retained still so much of his former Simplicity, that he could never learn these Court Arts. Therefore he wrote to the King about him next Day, ' He much magnified his Diligence in the King's Service and Preservation, and discovering all Plots as soon as they were made : That he had always loved the King above all Things, and served him with great Fidelity and Success : That he thought no King of *England* had ever such a

The King  
in love with  
Mistress Katherine  
Howard.

*Cranmer's*  
Friendship to  
*Cromwell*.

{ Servant;





H. Holben pinxit.

R. White sculpsit.

Natus 1490  
 Regis vicarius  
 Generalis 1536



Eques Periseclidis  
 1537.  
 Capite truncatus  
 Julij, 18<sup>th</sup> 1540.

' Servant ; upon that Account he had loved him, as one that loved the  
 ' King above all others. But if he was a Traytor, he was glad it was  
 ' discovered. But he prayed God earnestly, to send the King such a  
 ' Chancellor in his stead, who could and would serve him as he had  
 ' done. This shews both the firmness of *Cranmer's* Friendship to him,  
 and that he had a great Soul, not turned by the Changes of Mens For-  
 tunes, to like or dislike them, as they stood or declined from their  
 Greatness. And had not the King's Kindness for *Cranmer* been deeply  
 rooted, this Letter had ruined him. For he was the most impatient of  
 Contradiction, in such Cases, that could be. *Cromwell's* Ruin was now  
 decreed ; and he who had so servilely complied with the King's Pleasure  
 in procuring some to be Attainted the Year before, without being  
 brought to make their Answer, fell now under the same Severity. For  
 whether it was that his Enemies knew, That if he were brought to  
 the Bar, he would so justify himself, that they would find great Diffi-  
 culties in the Process ; or whether it was that they blindly resolved to  
 follow that unjustifiable Precedent, of passing over so necessary a Rule to  
 all Courts, of giving the Party accused an hearing ; the Bill of At-  
 tainder was brought into the House of Lords, *Cranmer* being absent  
 that Day, as appears by the Journal, on the 17th of *June*, and read the  
 first Time, and on the 19th was read the second and third Time, and  
 sent down to the Commons. By which it appears, how few Friends  
 he had in that House, when a Bill of that Nature went on so hastily.  
 But it seems he found in the House of Commons somewhat of the  
 same Measure, which Ten Years before he had dealt to the Cardinal,  
 though not with the same Success. For his Matter stuck Ten Days  
 there. At length a new Bill of Attainder was brought up, conceived  
 in the House of Commons, with a Proviso annexed to it. They also  
 sent back the Bill which the Lords sent to them. But it is not clear  
 from the Journals what they meant by those two Bills. It seems they  
 rejected the Lords Bill, and yet sent it up with their own, either in Re-  
 spect to the Lords, or that they left it to their Choice, which of the  
 two Bills they would offer to the Royal Assent. But though this be  
 an Unparliamentary Way of Proceeding, I know no other Sense which  
 the Words of the Journal can bear, which I shall set down in the Mar-  
 gent, that the Reader may judge better concerning it. \* And that very  
 Day the King assented to it, as appears by the Letter written the next  
 Day by *Cromwell* to the King.

1540.

\* Journal  
Procer. Parag.Item Billa  
attinctura

*Tho. Cromwell Comitis Essex de crimine Heresis & Lesæ Majestatis, per Communes de novo concepta, & Assensa, & simul cum provisione eidem annexa. Quæ quidem Billa 10, 2do, & 3tio, lecta est ; & proviso ejusdem concernens Decanatum Wellensem perlecta est, & communi omnium Procerum consensu nemine discrepante expedita ; & simul cum ea referebatur Billa Attinctura quæ prius missa erat in Domum Communiarum.*

The A& said, ' That the King having raised *Thomas Cromwell* from  
 ' a base Degree, to great Dignities and high Trusts ; yet he had now,  
 ' by a great Number of Witnesses, Persons of Honour, found him to  
 ' be the most Corrupt Traitor, and Deceiver of the King and the  
 ' Crown, that had ever been known in his whole Reign. He had ta-  
 ' ken upon him to set at Liberty divers Persons put in Prison for Mis-  
 ' prison of Treason, and others that were suspected of it. He had  
 ' also received several Bribes, and for them granted Licences to carry  
 ' Money, Corn, Horses, and other Things out of the Kingdom, con-  
 ' trary to the King's Proclamations. He had also given our many Com-  
 ' missions without the King's Knowledge ; and being but of a base Birth,

*Cromwell's*  
 Attainder.  
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he said, *That he was sure of the King.* He had granted many Passports, both to the King's Subjects and Foreigners, for passing the Seas without Search. He being also an Heretick, had dispersed many Erroneous Books among the King's Subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the Belief of the Sacrament. And when some had informed him of this, and had shewed him these Heresies in Books printed in *England*, he said, *They were good, and that he found no Fault in them;* and said, *It was as lawful for every Christian Man to be the Minister of that Sacrament, as a Priest.* And whereas the King had constituted him Vice-gerent for the Spiritual Affairs of the Church; he had, under the Seal of that Office, licensed many that were suspected of Heresie, to Preach over the Kingdom; and he had, both by Word and in Writing, suggested to several Sheriffs, That it was the King's Pleasure they should discharge many Prisoners, of whom some were Indicted, others apprehended for Heresie. And when many particular Complaints were brought to him of detestable Heresies, with the Names of the Offenders, he not only defended the Hereticks, but severely checkt the Informers; and vexed some of them by Imprisonment, and other Ways, the Particulars of all which were too tedious to be recited. And he having entertained many of the King's Subjects about himself, whom he had infected with Heresie, and imagining he was by Force able to defend his Treasons and Heresies; on the last of *March*, in the 30th Year of the King's Reign, in the Parish of *St. Peter's the Poor* in *London*, when some of them complained to him of the new Preachers, such as *Barnes* and others, he said, *Their Preaching was good;* and said also, among other Things, *That if the King would turn from it, yet he would not turn: And if the King did turn, and all his People with him, he would fight in the Field in his own Person, with his Sword in his Hand against him, and all others: And then he pulled out his Dagger, and held it up, and said, or else this Dagger thrust me to the Heart, if I would not die in that Quarrel against them all; and I trust if I live one Year or two, it shall not be in the King's Power to resist, or lett it, if he would: And swearing a great Oath, said, I would do so indeed.* He had also by Oppression and Bribery made a great Estate to himself; and extorted much Money from the King's Subjects, and being greatly enriched, had treated the Nobility with much Contempt. And on the last of *January*, in the 31th Year of the King's Reign, in the Parish of *St. Martins in the Fields*, when some had put him in mind to what the King had raised him, he said, *If the Lords would handle him so, he would give them such a Break-fast as was never made in England, and that the proudest of them should know it.* For all which Treasons and Heresies, he was Attainted to suffer the Pains of Death, for Heresie and Treason, as should please the King, and to forfeit all his Estate and Goods to the King's use, that he had on the last of *March* in the 31st Year of the King's Reign, or since that Time. There was added to this Bill, a Proviso; That this should not be hurtful to the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and to the Dean and Chapter of *Wells*, with whom, it seems, he had made some Exchanges of Lands.

Censures pass upon it.

From these Particulars, the Reader will clearly see, why he was not brought to make his Answer, most of them relating to Orders and Directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the King's Warrant. And for the matter of Heresie, it has appeared how far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation, so that what he did that

Way,



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Way, was most likely done by the King's Order: But the King now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to stifle him by such an Attainder; that he might not discover the secret Orders or Directions given him for his own Justification. For the particulars of Bribery and Extortion, they being mentioned in general Expressions, seem only cast into the Heap to defame him. But for those treasonable Words, it was generally thought that they were a Contivance of his Enemies: since it seemed a thing very extravagant, for a Favourite, in the height of his Greatness, to talk so rudely. And if he had been guilty of it, *Bedlam* was thought a fitter place for his Residence than the *Tower*. Nor was it judged likely that he, having such great and watchful Enemies at Court, any such Discourses could have lain so long secret: Or if they had come to the King's knowledge, he was not a Prince of such a Temper as to have forgiven, much less employ'd and advanc'd a Man after such Discourses. And to think, that during these fifteen Months, after the Words were said to have been spoken, none would have had the Zeal for the King, or the Malice to *Cromwel*, as to repeat them, were Things that could not be believed. The Formality of drawing his Dagger, made it the more suspected; for this was to affix an Overt-Act to these Words, which, in the Opinion of many Lawyers, was necessary to make Words treasonable. But as if these Words had not been ill enough, some Writers since have made them worse; as if he had said, *He would thrust his Dagger in the King's Heart*: About which *Fuller* hath made another Story to excuse these Words, as if they had not been meant of the King, but of another. But all that is founded on a Mistake, which, if he had looked in the Record, he had corrected.

*Cromwel's* Fall was the first Step towards the King's Divorce. For, The King designs a Divorce from his Queen. on the 24th of *June*, he sent his Queen to *Richmond*, pretending the Country Air would agree better with her. But on the 6th of *July* a Motion was made, and assented to in the House of Lords, that they should make an Address to the King, desiring him to suffer his Marriage with the Queen to be tryed. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Duresm*, were sent down to the Commons, to represent the Matter to them, and to desire their concurrence in the Address. To which they agreed, and ordered Twenty of their Number to go along with the Peers. So the whole House of Lords, with these Commoners, went to the King; and told him, They had a Matter of great Consequence to propose to him, but it was of that Importance, that they first begged his leave to move it. That being obtained, they desired the King would order a Tryal to be made, of the Validity of his Marriage. To which the King consented, and made a deep Protestation, as in the Presence of God, that he should conceal nothing that related to it, and all its Circumstances; And that there was nothing that he held dearer than the Glory of God, the Good of the Commonwealth, and the Declaration of Truth. So a Commission was issued out to the Convocation to try it.

On the 7th of *July* it was brought before the Convocation, of which It's refer'd to the Convocation. the Reader will see a fuller Account in the Collection at the end, than is needful to be brought in here. The Case was opened by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and a Committee was appointed to consider it; and they deputed the Bishop of *Duresm*, and *Winchester*, and *Thirleby*, and *Richard*

1540. *Leighton*, Dean of *Tork*, to examine the Witnesses that Day. And the next Day they received the King's own Deposition; with a long Declaration of the whole Matter, under *Cromwell's* Hand, in a Letter to the King; and the Depositions of most of the Privy-Councillors, of the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Ruffel* then Admiral, of Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Doctor *Chambers*, and Doctor *Butts*, the King's Physicians, and of some Ladies that had talked with the Queen. All which amounted to this; That the King expected that the Pre-contract with the Marquess of *Lorraine* should have been more fully cleared. That the King always disliked her, and marry'd her full sore against his Heart; and since that time he had never consummated the Marriage. So the Substance of the whole Evidence being considered, it amounted to these three Particulars. *First*, That there had been a Contract between the Marquess of *Lorraine* and the Queen, which was not sufficiently cleared: For it did not yet appear, whether these Espousals were made by the Parties themselves, or in the Words of the Present Tense. Then it was said, That the King having marry'd her against his Will, he had not given a pure, inward, and compleat Consent: And since a Man's Act is only what is inward, extorted or forced Promises do not bind. And, *Thirdly*, That he had never consummated the Marriage. To which was added, the great Interest the whole Nation had in the King's having more Issue, which they saw he could never have by the Queen. This was furiously driven on by the Popish Party. And *Cranmer*, whether overcome with these Arguments, or rather with Fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after *Cromwell*, consented with the rest. So that the whole Convocation, without one disagreeing Vote, judged the Marriage null, and of no force: And that both the King, and the Lady, were free from the Bond of it.

Collect. Num.  
17.  
Collect. Num.  
18.

Reasons pre-  
tended for it.

Convoca-  
tion agree  
to it.  
Coll. Numb. 19.

It is cen-  
sured:

This was the greatest Piece of Compliance that ever the King had from the Clergy. For as they all knew there was nothing of Weight in that Præ-contract; so they laid down a most pernicious Precedent, for invalidating all Publick Treaties and Agreements: Since, if one of the Parties being unwilling to it, so that his Consent were not inward, he was not bound by it, there was no Safety among Men more. For no Man can know whether another consents inwardly: And when a Man does any thing with great Aversion, to infer from thence, that he does not inwardly consent, may furnish every one with an Excuse, to break loose from all Engagements: For he may pretend he did it unwillingly, and get his Friends to declare that he privately signified that to them. And for that Argument, which was taken from the want of Consummation, they had forgotten what was pleaded on the King's behalf ten Years before, That Consent, without Consummation, made a Marriage compleat; by which they concluded, That though Prince *Arthur* had not consummated his Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, yet his Consent did so compleat it, that the King could not afterwards lawfully marry her. But as the King was resolved on any Terms to be rid of this Queen, so the Clergy were also resolved not to incur his Displeasure: In which they rather sought for Reasons to give some colour to their Sentence, than past their Judgment upon the strength of them. This only can be said for their excuse, that these were as just and weighty Reasons as used to be admitted by the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce; and most of them being Canonists, and knowing how many Precedents there

there were to be found for such Divorces, they thought they might do it, as well as the Popes had formerly done.

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On the 9th of *July*, Sentence was given; which was signed by both Houses of Convocation, and had the two Arch-Bishops Seals put to it; of which whole Tryal the Record does yet remain, having escaped the Fate of the other Books of Convocation. The Original Depositions are also yet extant.

Only I shall add here a Reflection upon *Cromwell's* Misfortune, which may justly abate the Loftiness of haughty Men. The Day after he was attainted, being required to send to the King a full Account under his Hand of the Business of his Marriage; which Account he sent, as will be found in the Collection; he concludes it with these abject Words: *Coll. Numb 17.*

‘ I, a most woful Prisoner, ready to take the Death, when it shall please  
 ‘ God and your Majesty; and yet the frail Flesh inciteth me continual-  
 ‘ ly to call to your Grace for Mercy, and Grace for mine Offences.  
 ‘ And thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. Written at the *Tower*  
 ‘ this *Wednesday* the last of *June*, with the heavy Heart, and trembling  
 ‘ Hand, of your Highness most heavy, and most miserable Prisoner, and  
 ‘ poor Slave, *Thomas Cromwell*. And a little below that, ‘ *Most Graci-*  
 ‘ *ous Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.*

On the 10th of *July*, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* reported to the House of Lords, That the Convocation had judged the Marriage Null, both by the Law of God, and the Law of the Land. The Bishop of *Winchester* delivered the Judgment in Writing; which being read, he enlarged on all the Reasons of it. This satisfied the Lords, and they sent down *Cranmer* and him to the Commons, to give them the same Account. Next Day the King sent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, to let the Queen know what was done; who was not at all troubled at it, and seemed not ill-pleased. They told her, That the King would by Letters Patents Declare her his Adopted Sister, and give her Precedence before all the Ladies of *England*, next his Queen and Daughters; and assign her an Estate of 3000 *l.* a Year; and that she had her choice, either to live in *England*, or to return home again. She accepted the Offer, and under her Hand declared her Consent and Approbation of the Sentence; and chose to live still in *England*, where she was in great Honour, rather than return under that Disgrace to her own Country. She was also desired to write to her Brother, and let him know, that she approved of what was done in her Matter, and that the King used her as a Father, or a Brother; and therefore to desire him, and her other Friends, not to take this Matter ill, or lessen their Friendship to the King. She had no mind to do that, but said, it would be time enough when her Brother wrote to her, to send him such an Answer. But it was answered, That much depended on the first Impressions that are received of any Matter. She in Conclusion said, she should obey the King in every thing he desired her to do. So she wrote the Letter as they desir'd it; and the Day following, being the 12th of *July*, the Bill was brought into the House, for annulling the Marriage, which went easily through both Houses.

Report made to the Parliament.

The Queen consents to it.

Coll. Numb 20.

On the 16th of *July*, a Bill was brought in, for moderating the Statute of the Six Articles in the Clauses that related to the Marriage of the Priests, or their Incontinency with other Women. On the 17th it was agreed by the whole House, without a contradictory Vote, and sent

An Act about the Incontinence of Priests.

1540.

Another about Religion.

down to the Commons; who the 21<sup>st</sup> sent it up again. By it the Pains of Death were turned to Forfeitures of their Goods and Chattels, and the Rents of their Ecclesiastical Promotions, to the King.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, a Bill was brought in concerning a Declaration of the Christian Religion, and was then read the first, 2<sup>d</sup>, and 3<sup>d</sup> time, and passed without any Opposition, and sent down to the Commons; who agreeing to it, sent it up again the next Day. It contained, ' That the King, as Supreme Head of the Church, was taking much Pains for an Union among all his Subjects in Matters of Religion: And for preventing the further progress of Heresy, had appointed many of the Bishops, and the most learned Divines, to declare the principal Articles of the Christian Belief, with the Ceremonies, and Way of God's Service to be observed. That therefore a Thing of that Weight might not be rashly done, or hasted through in this Session of Parliament; but be done with that Care which was requisite; Therefore it was Enacted, ' That whatsoever was determined by the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and the other Divines, now commissioned for that Effect, or by any others appointed by the King, or by the whole Clergy of England, and published by the King's Authority, concerning the Christian Faith, or the Ceremonies of the Church, should be believed and obeyed by all the King's Subjects; as well as if the Particulars so set forth had been enumerated in this Act, any Custom or Law to the contrary notwithstanding. To this a strange Proviso was added, which destroyed the former Clause; ' That nothing should be done or determined by the Authority of this Act, which was contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom. But whether this Proviso was added by the House of Commons, or originally put into the Bill, does not appear. It was more likely it was put in at the first by the King's Council; for these contradictory Clauses raised the Prerogative higher, and left it in the Judge's Power to determine which of the two should be followed; by which all Ecclesiastical Matters were to be brought under Tryals at Common Law: For it was one of the great Designs, both of the Ministers and Lawyers at this time, to bring all Ecclesiastical Matters to the Cognizance of the Secular Judge.

But another Bill passed, which seems a little odd, concerning the Circumstances of that Time. ' That whereas many Marriages had been annulled in the Time of Popery, upon the Pretence of Pre-contracts, or other Degrees of Kindred, than those that were prohibited by the Law of God: Therefore, after a Marriage was consummated, no Pretence of any Pre-contract, or any Degrees of Kindred or Alliance, but those mentioned in the Law of God, should be brought or made use of, to annul it; since these Things had been oft pretended, only to dissolve a Marriage, when the Parties grew weary of each other, which was contrary to God's Law. Therefore it was Enacted, That no Pretence of Pre-contract, not consummated, should be made use of to annul a Marriage duly solemnized and consummated; and that no Degrees of Kindred, not mentioned by the Law of God, should be pleaded to annul a Marriage. This Act gave great Occasion of censuring the King's former Proceedings against Queen Anne Boleyn, since that which was now condemned had been the Pretence for dissolving his Marriage with her. Others thought the King did it on design to remove that Impediment out of the way of the Lady Elizabeth's

*beth's* succeeding to the Crown; since that Judgment, upon which she was illegitimated, was now indirectly censured: And that other Branch of the Act, for raking away all Prohibitions of Marriages, within any Degrees but those forbidden in Scripture, was to make way for the King's Marriage with *Katherine Howard*, who was Cousin-German to Queen *Anne Boleyn*; for that was one of the prohibited Degrees by the Canon Law.

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The Province of *Canterbury* offered a Subsidy of Four Shillings in the Pound, of all Ecclesiastical Preferments, to be payed in two Years; and that in acknowledgment of the great Liberty they enjoyed by being delivered from the Ultrations of the Bishops of *Rome*, and in recompence of the great Charges the King had been at, and was still to be at, in building Havens, Bulwarks, and other Forts, for the Defence of his Coasts, and the Security of his Subjects. This was confirmed in Parliament. But that did not satisfy the King, who had husbanded the Money that came in by the Sale of Abbey-Lands so ill, that now he wanted Money, and was forced to ask a Subsidy for his Marriage of the Parliament: This was obtained with great Difficulty. For it was said, That if the King was already in want, after so vast an Income, especially being engaged in no War, there would be no End of his Necessities; nor could it be possible for them to supply them. But it was answered, That the King had laid out a great Treasure in fortifying the Coast: And though he was then in no visible War, yet the Charge he was at in keeping up the War beyond Sea, was equal to the Expence of a War; and much more to the Advantage of his People, who were kept in Peace and Plenty. This obtained a Tenth, and Four Fifteenths. After the passing of all these Bills, and many other that concerned the Publick, with several others Bills of Attainder, for some that favoured the Pope's Interests, or corresponded with Cardinal *Pool*, which shall be mentioned in another Place, the King sent in a General Pardon, with the Ordinary Exceptions; and in particular, excepted *Cromwell*, the Countess of *Sarum*, with many others, then in Prison: Some of them were put in for opposing the King's Supremacy, and others for transgressing the Statute of the Six Articles. On the 24th of *July* the Parliament was dissolved.

Subsidies granted by the Clergy.

And Laity.

And now *Cromwell*, who had been six Weeks a Prisoner, was brought to his Execution. He had used all the Endeavours he could for his own Preservation. Once he wrote to the King in such melting Terms, that he made the Letter to be thrice read, and seemed touched with it. But the Charms of *Katherine Howard*, and the Endeavours of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, at length prevailed. So a Warrant was sent to cut off his Head, on the 28th of *July*, at *Tower-hill*. When he was brought to the Scaffold, his kindness to his Son made him very cautious in what he said; he declined the purging of himself, but said, 'He was by Law condemned to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that Death, for his Offences. He acknowledged his Sins against God, and his Offences against his Prince, who had raised him from a base Degree. He declared that he died in the Catholick Faith, not doubting of any Article of Faith, or of any Sacrament of the Church: And denied that he had been a Supporter of those who delivered ill Opinions: He confessed he had been seduced, but now died in the Catholick Faith, and desired them to pray for the King, and for the Prince, and for himself: And then prayed very fervently

*Cromwell's* Death

: for

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‘ for the Remission of his past Sins, and Admittance into Eternal Glory : And having given the Sign, the Executioner cut off his Head very barbarously.

His Character.

Thus fell that great Minister, that was raised meerly upon the Strength of his natural Parts. For as his Extraction was mean, so his Education was low : All the learning he had, was, that he had got the *New-Testament* in Latin by heart. His great Wisdom, and Dexterity in Business, raised him up through several Steps, till he was become as great as a Subject could be. He carryed his Greatness with wonderful Temper and Moderation ; and fell under the Weight of popular *Odium*, rather than Guilt. The Disorders in the Suppression of Abbeys were generally charged on him. Yet when he fell, no Bribery, nor cheating of the King, could be fastned on him ; though such things come out in Swarms on a disgraced Favourite, when there is any ground for them. By what he spoke at his Death, he left it much doubted of what Religion he dyed. But it is certain he was a *Lutheran*. The Term *Catholick Faith* used by him in his last Speech, seemed to make it doubtful ; but that was then used in *England*, in its true Sense, in Opposition to the Novelties of the See of *Rome*, as will afterwards appear on another Occasion. So that his Profession of the Catholick Faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded, That he dyed in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But his praying in *English*, and that only to God through Christ, without any of those Tricks that were used when those of that Church died, shewed he was none of theirs. With him the Office of the King's Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical Affairs died, as it rose first in his Person : And as all the Clergy opposed the setting up a new Officer, whose Interest should oblige him to oppose a Reconciliation with *Rome*, so it seems none were fond to succeed in an Office, that proved so fatal to him that had first carryed it. The King was said to have lamented his Death, after it was too late ; but the Fall of the new Queen, that followed not long after, and the Miseries which fell also on the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Family, some Years after, were looked on as the Scourges of Heaven, for their cruel Prosecution of this unfortunate Minister.

Designs against Cranmer.

With his Fall, the Progress of the Reformation, which had been by his Endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopt. For all that *Cranmer* could do after this, was to keep the Ground they had gained : But he could never advance much further. And indeed every one expected to see him go next. For, as one *Gostwick*, Knight for *Bedfordshire*, had named him in the House of Commons, as the Supporter and Promoter of all the Heresie that was in *England* ; so the Popish Party reckon'd they had but half done their Work, by destroying *Cromwell* ; and that it was not finished till *Cranmer* followed him. Therefore all possible Endeavours were used to make Discoveries of the Encouragement, which, as was believed, he gave to the Preachers of the condemned Doctrines. And it is very probable, that had not the Incontinence of *Katherine Howard*, (whom the King declared Queen on the 8th of *August*), broken out not long after, he had been Sacrificed the next Session of Parliament.

But now I return to my proper Business, to give an Account of Church-matters for this Year ; with which these great Changes in Court had so great a Relation, that the Reader will excuse the Digression about them.

Upon

Upon *Cromwell's* Fall, *Gardiner*, and those that followed him, made no doubt but they should quickly recover what they had lost of late Years. So their greatest Attempt was upon the Translation of the Scriptures. The Convocation Books (as I have been forced often to lament), are lost; so that here I cannot stir, but as *Fuller* leads me: who assures the World that he Copied out of the Records with his own Pen what he published. And yet I doubt he has mistaken himself in the Year; and that which he calls the Convocation of this Year, was the Convocation of the Year 1542. For he tells us, That their 7th Session was the 10th of *March*. Now in this Year the Convocation did not sit down till the 13th of *April*, but that Year it sate all *March*. So likewise he tells us of the Bishops of *Westminster*, *Glocester* and *Peterborough*, bearing a share in this Convocation: Whereas these were not Consecrated before Winter, and could not sit as Bishops in this Synod. And besides, *Thirleby* sate at this time in the lower House; as was formerly shewn in the Process about *Anne of Cleves* Marriage. So that their Attempt against the *New Testament* belongs to the Year 1542.

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But they were now much better employed, though not in the way of Convocation. For a select number of them sate by virtue of a Commission from the King confirmed in Parliament. Their first Work was to draw up a Declaration of the Christian Doctrine, for the necessary Erudition of a Christian Man. They thought, that to speak of Faith in general, ought naturally to go before an Exposition of the Christian Belief; and therefore with that they began.

A Commission sits about Religion.

The Church of *Rome*, that designed to keep her Children in Ignorance, had made no great Account of Faith; which they generally taught, consisted chiefly in an Implicite Believing whatever the Church proposed, without any Explicite Knowledge of Particulars. So that a Christian Faith, as they had explained it, was a Submission to the Church. The Reformers finding that this was the Spring of all their other Errors, and that which gave them Colour and Authority; did on the other hand set up the Strength of their whole Cause on an Explicite believing the Truth of the Scriptures, because of the Authority of God, who had revealed them. And said, That as the great Subject of the Apostles Preaching, was *Faith*, so that which they every where taught, was to read and believe the Scriptures. Upon which followed nice Disputing, what was that saving Faith by which the Scriptures say, *We are Justified*. They could not say, It was barely crediting the Divine Revelation, since in that Sense the Devils believed. Therefore they generally placed it, at first, in their being assured that they should be saved by Christ dying for them. In which, their Design was to make Holiness and all other Graces necessary requisites in the Composition of Faith; though they would not make them formally parts of it. For since Christ's Death has its full Virtue and Effect upon none but those who are regenerate, and live according to his Gospel; none could be assured that he should be saved by Christ's Death, till he first found in himself those necessary Qualifications which are delivered in the Gospel. Having once settled on this Phrase, their Followers would needs defend it, but really made it worse by their Explanations. The Church of *Rome*, thought they had them at great Advantages in it, and called them *Solifidians*, and said they were against good Works: though whatever unwary Expressions some of them threw out, they always declared good Works indispensably necessary to Salvation.

An Explanation of Faith.

But

1540.

But they differed from the Church of *Rome* in two Things that were material. There was also a Third, but there the Difference was more in the manner of Expression. The one was, What were good Works? The Church of *Rome* had generally delivered, That Works which did not immediate Honour to God, or his Saints, were more valuable than Works done to other Men; and that the Honour they did to Saints, in their Images and Relicks, and to God, in his Priests that were dedicated to him, were the highest Pieces of Holiness, as having the best Objects. This was the Foundation of all that Trade, which brought in both Riches and Glory to their Church. On the other Hand, the Reformers taught, That Justice and Mercy, with other good Works, done in Obedience to God's Commandments, were only necessary. And for these things, so much magnified at *Rome*, they acknowledged there ought to be a decent Splendor in the Worship of God; and good Provision to be made for the Encouragement of those who dedicated themselves to his Service in the Church; and that what was beyond these, was the Effect of Ignorance and Superstition. The other main Difference was about the Merit of good Works; which the Friars had raised so high, that People were come to think they bought and sold with Almighty God, for Heaven and all other his Blessings. This the Reformers judged was the height of Arrogance; and therefore taught, That good Works were indeed absolutely necessary to Salvation; but that the Purchase of Heaven was only by the Death and Intercession of Jesus Christ. With these material Differences they joyned another that consisted more in Words; Whether Obedience was an essential Part of Faith? The Reformers said it certainly accompanied and followed Faith; but thought not fit to make it an Ingredient in the Nature of Faith. These Things had been now much canvassed in Disputes: And it was thought by many, that Men of ill Lives made no good use of some of the Expressions of the Reformers, that separated Faith from good Works, and came to perswade themselves, that if they could but attain to a firm Assurance, That they should be saved by Christ, all would be well with them. Therefore now when they went about to state the true Notion of Faith, *Cranmer* commanded Doctor *Redmayn*, who was esteemed the most learned and judicious Divine of that Time, to write a short Treatise on these Heads: Which he did with that Solidity and Clearness, that it will sufficiently justify any advantageous Character that can be given of the Author; and according to the Conclusions of that Treatise, they laid down the Nature of Faith thus: ' That it stands in two several Senses in Scripture; The one is the ' Perswasion of the Truths, both of natural and revealed Religion, ' wrought in the Mind by God's Holy Spirit. And the other is such ' a Belief as begets a Submission to the Will of God, and hath Hope, ' Love, and Obedience to God's Commandments joyned to it; which ' was *Abraham's* Faith, and that which according to *St. Paul* wrought ' by Charity, and was so much commended in the Epistle to the *He-* ' *brews*. That this was the Faith which in Baptism is professed, from ' which Christians are called the *Faithful*. And in those Scriptures ' where it is said, That we are justified by Faith, they declared, we ' may not think that we be justified by Faith, as it is a separate Ver- ' tue from Hope and Charity, Fear of God, and Repentance; but by ' it is meant Faith, neither only, nor alone, but with the foresaid ' Vertues coupled together; containing (as is aforesaid) the Obedi- ' ence



‘ence to the whole Doctrine and Religion of Christ. But for the Definition of Faith, which some proposed, as if it were a Certainty that one was Predestinated, they found nothing of it, either in the Scriptures, or the Doctors, and thought that could not be known: For though God never failed in his Promises to Men, yet such was the frailty of Men, that they often failed in their Promises to God, and so did forfeit their Right to the Promises, which are all made upon Conditions that depend on us.

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Upon this Occasion I shall digress a little, to show with what Care *Cranmer* considered so weighty a Point. Among his other Papers, I find a Collection of a great many Places out of the Scripture, concerning Justification by Faith, together with a vast number of Quotations, out of *Origen*, *Basil*, *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, *Prosper*, *Chrysostom*, *Gennadius*, *Beda*, *Hesychius*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius*; together with many later Writers, such as *Anselm*, *Bernard*, *Peter Lombard*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Lyranus*, and *Bruno*; in which the Sense of those Authors in this Point did appear; all drawn out with his own Hand. To this is added another Collection of many Places of the Fathers, in which they speak of the *Merit of good Works*: And at the end of the whole Collection he writes these Words; ‘This Proposition, That we are justified by Christ only, and not by our good Works, is a very true and necessary Doctrine of *St. Paul’s*, and the other Apostles, taught by them, to set forth thereby the Glory of Christ, and the Mercy of God through Christ. And after some further Discourse to the same purpose, he concludes, ‘Although all that be justified must of necessity have Charity, as well as Faith, yet neither Faith nor Charity be the Worthiness nor Merits of our Justification: But that is to be ascribed only to our Saviour Christ, who was offered upon the Cross for our Sins, and rose again for our Justification. This I set down to let the World see that *Cranmer* was not at all concerned in those Niceties, which have been so much enquired into since that time, about the instrumentality of Faith in Justification; all that he then considered, being, That the Glory of it might be ascribed only to the Death and Intercession of Jesus Christ.

*Cranmer’s*  
Opinion about it

After this was thus laid down, there followed an Explanation of the Apostles Creed, full of excellent Matters; being a large Paraphrase on every Article of the Creed, with such serious and practical Inferences, that I must acknowledge, after all the practical Books we have had, I find great Edification in reading that over and over again. The Style is strong, nervous, and well-fitted for the weakest Capacities. There is nothing in this that is controverted between the Papists and the Reformers; except the Definition of the *Holy Catholick Church*, which they give us thus: *That it comprehends all Assemblies of Men over the whole World, that receive the Faith of Christ; who ought to hold an Unity of Love, and brotherly Agreement together, by which they become Members of the Catholick Church.* Upon which a long Excursion is made, to shew the Injustice and Unreasonableness of the Plea of the Church of Rome, who place the Unity of the Catholick Church, in a Submission to the Bishop of their City; without any ground from Scripture, or the Ancient Writers.

They explain the Apostles Creed.

From that they proceeded to examine the Seven Sacraments: And here fell in stiff Debates, which remain in some Authentick Writings, that give a great light to their Proceedings. The Method which they

The Seven Sacraments.

1540 followed was this. First, The whole Business they were to consider, was divided into so many Heads; which were proposed as Queries, and these were given out to so many Bishops and Divines: And at a prefixed time every one brought his Opinion in writing, upon all the Queries. So, concerning the Seven Sacraments, the Queries were given out to the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester* and *Carlisle*, (tho' the last was not in the Commission), and to the Bishops of *Duresm*, *Hereford*, and *St. David's*. For though the Bishop of *Winchester*, was in this Commission, yet he did nothing in this particular; but I imagine that he was gone out of Town, and the Bishop of *Carlisle* was appointed to supply his Absence. The Queries were also given to Doctor *Thirleby*, then Bishop Elect of *Westminster*, to Doctors *Robertson*, *Day*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, (though not in the Commission), *Symmonds*, *Tresham*, *Coren*, (though not in the Commission), *Edgeworth*, *Oglethorp*, *Crayford*, *Wilson*, and *Robins*. When their Answers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the Particulars, in which they agreed or disagreed: which the one did in *Latin*, and the other in *English*; only those who compared them, it seems, doing it for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, took no Notice of his Opinions in the Extract they made. And of these, the Original answers of the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester* and *Carlisle*, and these Doctors, *Day*, *Robertson*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Symmonds*, *Tresham*, *Coren*, *Edgeworth* and *Oglethorp*, are yet extant. But the Papers given in by the Bishops of *Duresm*, *Hereford* and *St. David's*, and the Elect of *Westminster*, and Doctors, *Crayford*, *Wilson* and *Robins*, though they are mentioned in the Extracts made out of them, yet are lost. This the Reader will find in the Collection; which, though it be somewhat large, yet I thought such Pieces were of too great Importance, not to be communicated to the World; since it is perhaps as great an Evidence of the Ripeness of their Proceedings, as can be shewed in any Church, or any Age of it. And though other Papers of this sort do not occur in this King's Reign: yet I have reason to conclude from this Instance, that they proceeded with the same Maturity in the rest of their Deliberations. In which I am the more confirmed, because I find another Instance like this, in the Reformation that was further carried on in the succeeding Reign of *Edward* the 6th; of many Bishops and Divines giving in their Opinions under their hands, upon some Heads then examined and changed. In *Cranmer's* Paper, some singular Opinions of his, about the Nature of Ecclesiastical Offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all possible Modesty, so they were not established as the Doctrine of the Church, but laid aside as particular Conceits of his own, and it seems that afterwards he changed his Opinion. For he subscribed the Book that was soon after set out; which is directly contrary to those Opinions set down in these Papers. *Cranmer* was for reducing these Sacraments to two, but the Popish Party was then prevalent, so the old Number of Seven was agreed to.

Baptism was explained in the same manner that had been done three Years before, in the Articles then set out: only the Matter of Original Sin was more enlarged on.

Secondly, Penance was formerly placed in the Absolution of the Priest; which by the former Articles was only declared a thing desirable, and not to be contemned if it might be had; yet all Merit of good Works was rejected, though they were declared necessary; and Sinners were taught

With great  
Maturity.

Collect.  
Numb. 21.

taught to depend wholly on the Sufferings of Christ; with other good Directions about Repentance.

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*Thirdly*, In the Explanation of the Eucharist, Transubstantiation was fully asserted: As also the Concomitancy of the Blood with the Flesh; so that Communion in both Kinds was not necessary. The use of hearing Mass, though one did not Communicate, was also asserted. To which were added very good Rules about the Disposition of Mind that ought to accompany this Sacrament.

*Fourthly*, Matrimony was said to be Instituted of God, and Sanctified by Christ: The Degrees in the *Mosaical* Law were declared obligatory, none else: and the Bond of Marriage was declared not separable on any Account.

*Fifthly*, Orders were to be administered in the Church, according to the *New Testament*: but the particular Forms, of Nominating, Electing, Presenting, or Appointing Ecclesiastical Ministers, was left to the Laws of every Country, to be made by the Assent of the Prince. The Office of Church-men was to Preach, Administer the Sacraments, to Bind and Loose, and to pray for the whole Flock: But they must execute these, with such Limitation as was allowed by the Laws of every Kingdom. The Scripture, they said, made express mention only of the two Orders of Priests and Deacons. To these the Primitive Church had added some Inferior Degrees, which were also not to be contemned. But no Bishop had any Authority over other Bishops by the Law of God. Upon which followed a long Digression, confuting the Pretensions of the Bishops of *Rome*; with an Explanation of the King's Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters; which was before-hand set down in another Place, to shew what they understood by the King's being *Supream Head of the Church*.

*Sixthly*, Confirmation was said to have been used in the Primitive Church, in Imitation of the Apostles; who by laying on their Hands conferred the Holy-Ghost, in an extraordinary manner. And therefore was of great Advantage, but not necessary to Salvation.

*Seventhly*, Extream Unction was said to have been derived from the Practice of the Apostles, mentioned by St. *James*, for the Health both of Body and Soul: And though the sick Person was not always recovered of his bodily Sickness by it, yet Remission of Sins was obtained by it; and that which God knew to be best for our bodily Condition, to whose Will we ought always to submit. But this Sacrament was only fruitful to those who by Penance were restored to the State of Grace.

Then followed an Explanation of the Ten Commandments, which contains many good Rules of Morality, drawn from every one of them. The 2d Commandment *Gardiner* had a mind to have shortened, and to cast into the first. *Cranmer* was for setting it down as it was in the Law of *Moses*. But a Temper was found: It was placed as a Distinct Commandment, but not at full length; the Words, *For I the Lord thy God, &c.* being left out, and only those that go before being set down. In the Explanation of this Commandment, Images were said to be profitable for putting us in mind of the great Blessings we have received by our Saviour, and of the Vertues and Holiness of the Saints, by which we were to be stirred up to imitate them: So that they were not to be despised, though we be forbidden to do any godly Honour to them. And therefore the Superstition of preferring one Image to another, as if they had any special Vertue in them, or the adorning them richly, and making Vows and Pil-

The Ten  
Command-  
ments.

1540. grimages to them, is condemned; yet the Censuring of Images, and Kneeling before them, are not condemned: But the People must be taught, that these Things were not to be done to the Image it self, but to God and his Honour. To the third Commandment, they reduced the Invocation of God's Name for his Gifts: And they condemned the Invocation of Saints, when such Things were prayed for from them, which were only given by God. This was the giving his Glory to Creatures; yet to pray to Saints as Intercessors is declared lawful, and according to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. Upon the fourth Commandment, a Rest from Labour every seventh Day is said to be Ceremonial, and such as only obliged *Jews*; but the Spiritual Signification of Rest among Christians, was to abstain from Sin, and other carnal Pleasures. But besides that, we were also bound by this Precept sometimes to cease from Labour, that we may serve and worship God both in publick and private: And that on the Days appointed for this purpose, People ought to examine their Lives the past Week, and set to Amendment, and give themselves to Prayer, Reading and Meditation. Yet in Cases of Necessity, such as saving their Corn or Cattle, Men ought not superstitiously to think that it is a Sin to Work on that Day, but to do their Work without scruple. Then follow very profitable Expositions of the other Commandments, with many grave and weighty Admonitions concerning the Duties by them enjoyned, and against those Sins which are too common in all Ages.

The Lord's  
Prayer.

After that, an Explanation of the Lord's Prayer was added. In the Preface to which it is said, That it is meet and requisite that the unlearned People should make their Prayers in their Mother-Tongue; whereby they may be the more stirred to Devotion, and to mind the Things they prayed for. Then followed an Exposition of the Angels Salutation of the Blessed Virgin: In which the whole History of the Incarnation of Christ was opened, and the *Ave Maria* explained; which Hymn was chiefly to be used in Commemoration of Christ's Incarnation, and likewise to set forth the Praises of the Blessed Virgin. The

The *Ave*  
*Maria*.

Free-Will.

next Article is about Free-will, which they say must be in Man; otherwise all Precepts and Exhortations are to no purpose. They defined it a *Power of the Will, joynd with Reason, whereby a reasonable Creature, without Constraint, in Things of Reason, discerneth and willeth Good and Evil; but chooseth Good by the Assistance of God's Grace, and Evil of it self.* This was perfect in the State of Innocency, but is much impaired by *Adam's* Fall, and now by an especial Grace (offered to all Men, but enjoyed only by those who by their Free-will do accept the same,) it was restored, that with great Watchfulness we may serve God acceptably. And as many Places of Scripture shew, That Free-will is still in Man, so there be many others which shew that the Grace of God is necessary, that doth both prevent us, and assist us, both to begin, and perform every good Work. Therefore all Men ought most gratefully to receive and follow the Motions of the Holy Ghost, and to beg God's Grace with earnest Devotion, and a stedfast Faith; which he will grant to all that so ask it, both because he is naturally Good, and he has promised to grant our Desires. For he is not the Author of Sin, nor the Cause of Man's Damnation; but this Men draw on themselves, who by Vice have corrupted those Natures which God made good. Therefore all Preachers were warned so to moderate themselves in this high Point, that they neither should so Preach the Grace of God, as to  
take

take away Free-will; nor so extol Free-will, as Injury might be done to the Grace of God. 1540.

After this they handled Justification. Having stated the Miseries of Man by Nature, and the Guilt of Sin, with the unspeakable Goodness of God, in sending Christ to redeem us by his Death, who was the Mediator between God and Man: They next shew how Men are made Partakers of the Blessings which he hath procured. Justification is the making of us Righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled to him, and made Heirs of eternal Life: That by his Grace we may walk in his Ways, and be reputed Just and Righteous in the Day of Judgment, and so attain everlasting Happiness. God is the chief Cause of our Justification: Yet Man, prevented by Grace, is by his free Consent and Obedience a worker toward the attaining his own Justification. For though it is only procured through the Merits of Christ's Death, yet every one must do many Things to attain a Right and Claim to that, which, though it was offered to all, yet was applied but to a few. We must have a stedfast Faith, true Repentance, real Purposes of Amendment; committing Sin no more, but serving God all our Lives; which if we fail from, we must recover it by Penance, Fasting, Alms, Prayers, with other good Works, and a firm Faith, going forward in Mortification and Obedience to the Laws of God; it being certain that Men might fall away from their Justification. All curious Reasonings about Predestination were to be set apart; there being no Certainty to be had of our Election, but by feeling the Motions of God's Spirit in us, by a good and vertuous Life, and persevering in it to the End. Therefore it was to be taught, that as on the one Hand we are to be justified freely by the free Grace of God, so on the other Hand, when it is said, *We are justified by Faith*, it must be understood of such a Faith, in which the Fear of God, Repentance, Hope and Charity, be included; all which must be joyned together in our Justification: And though these be imperfect, yet God accepteth of them freely thorough Christ.

Next, good Works were explained, which were said to be absolutely necessary to Salvation. But these were not only outward corporal Works, but inward spiritual Works; as the Love and Fear of God, Patience, Humility, and the like. Nor were they Superstitions and Men's Inventions, such as those in which Monks and Friars exercised themselves; nor only moral Works done by the Power of natural Reason; but the Works of Charity, flowing from a pure Heart, a good Conscience, and Faith unfeigned, which were meritorious towards the attaining of everlasting Life. Other Works were of an inferior Sort; such as Fasting, Alms-deeds, and other Fruits of Penance. And the Merit of good Works is reconciled with the Freedom of God's Mercies to us, since all our Works are done by his Grace; so that we have no cause of Boasting, but must ascribe all to the Grace and Goodness of God. The last Chapter is about Prayers for Souls departed, which is the same that was formerly set out in the Articles three Years before.

And this was finished and set forth this Year, with a Preface written by those of the Clergy who had been employed in it; declaring with what Care they had examined the Scriptures, and the ancient Doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered this Exposition of the Christian Faith. To this the King added another Preface some Years after, declaring that although he had cast out the Darknes, by setting forth the Scriptures to his People, which had produced

very

All this set forth in a Book,

And published by the King's Authority.

1540. very good Effects ; yet, as Hypocrisie and Superstition were purged away, so a Spirit of Presumption, Dissention, and carnal Liberty was breaking in. For repressing which, he had by the Advice of his Clergy, set forth a Declaration of the true Knowledge of God, for directing all Mens Belief and Practice ; which both Houses of Parliament had seen, and liked very well. So that he verily trusted it contained a true and sufficient Doctrine, for the attaining everlasting Life. Therefore he required all his People, to read and print in their Hearts, the Doctrine of this Book. He also willed them to remember, that as there were some Teachers, whose Office it was to instruct the People ; so the rest ought to be taught, and to those it was not necessary to read the Scriptures : And that therefore he had restrained it from a great many, esteeming it sufficient for such to hear the Doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their Preachers, which they should lay up in their Hearts, and practise in their Lives. Lastly, He desired all his Subjects to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility, that they might read and carry in their Hearts the Doctrine set forth in this Book. But though I have joyned the Account of this Preface, to the Extract here made of the Bishop's Book, yet it was not prefixed to it, till above Two Years after the other was set out.

When this was published, both Parties found Cause in it both to be glad and sorrowful. The Reformers rejoiced to see the Doctrine of the Gospel thus opened more and more ; for they concluded that Ignorance and Prejudices, being the chief Supports of the Errours they complained of ; the instructing People in Divine Matters, even though some Particulars displeased them, yet would awaken and work upon an inquisitive Humour that was then a stirring ; and they did not doubt but their Doctrines were so clear, that Inquiries into Religion would do their Business. They were also glad to see the Morals of Christianity so well cleared, which they hoped would dispose People to a better taste of Divine Matters ; since they had observed that Purity of Soul does mightily prepare People for sound Opinions. Most of the Superstitious Conceits and Practices, which had for some Ages embased the Christian Faith, were now removed ; and the great Fundamental of Christianity, the Covenant between God and Man in Christ, with the Conditions of it, was plainly and sincerely declared. There was also another Principle laid down, that was big with a further Reformation : For every National Church was declared a compleat Body within it self, with Power to reform Heresies, correct Abuses, and do every thing else that was necessary for keeping it self pure, or governing its Members. By which there was a fair way opened for a full Discussion of things afterwards, when a fitter Opportunity should be offered. But on the other hand, the Popish Party thought they had gained much. The Seven Sacraments were again asserted, so that here much Ground was recovered, and they hoped more would follow. There were many things laid down, to which they knew the Reformers would never consent. So that they, who were resolved to comply with every thing that the King had a Mind to, were pretty safe. But the others, who followed their Perswasions and Consciences were brought into many Snares ; and the Popish Party was confident that their absolute Compliance, which was joyned with all possible Submission and Flattery, would gain the King at length : And the Stiffness of others, who would not give that Deference to the King's Judgment and Pleasure, would so alienate him from them, that

It is variously censured.

that he would in the End abandon them; for with the King's Years, his Uneasiness and Peevishness grew mightily on him.

The Dissolution of the King's Marriage with *Anne of Cleves*, had so offended the Princes of *Germany*, that though upon the Ladies Account, they made no publick Noise of it; yet there was little more Intercourse between the King and them, especially *Cromwel* falling, that had always carried on the Correspondence with them. And as this Intercourse went off, so a Secret Treaty was set on Foot between the King and the Emperor; yet, it came not to a Conclusion till two Years after.

The other Bishops that were appointed to examine the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, drew up a Rubrick and *Rationale* of them; which I do not find was printed, but a very Authentical M.S. of a great part of it is extant. The Alterations they made were inconsiderable, and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting, either the Missals, Breviaries, or other Offices; for a few Rasures of these Collects in which the Pope was prayed for, of *Thomas Becket's* Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whose Days were by the King's Injunctions no more to be observed, with some other Deletions, made that the old Books did still serve. For whether it was, that the Change of the Mass-Books, and other publick Offices, would have been too great a Charge to the Nation; or whether they thought it would have possessed the People with an Opinion that the Religion was altered, since the Books of the ancient Worship were changed; which remaining the same, they might be the more easily perswaded, That the Religion was still the same; there was no new Impression of the Breviaries, Missals, and other Rituals, during this King's Reign. Yet in Queen *Mary's* time they took Care that Posterity should not know how much was dashed out or changed. For as all Parishes were required to furnish themselves with new compleat Books of the Offices; so the dashed Books where every-where brought in, and destroyed. But it is likely that most of those Scandalous Hymns and Prayers, which are addressed to Saints in the same Style, in which good Christians worship God, were all struck out; because they were now condemned, as appears from the Extract of the other Book set out by the Bishops.

But as they went on in these Things, the Popish Party, whose Counsels were laid very close, and managed with great Dexterity, chiefly by the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, pursued the Ruine of those whom they called Hereticks; knowing well that if the King was once set against them, and they provoked against the Government, he would be not only alienated from them, but forced, for securing himself against them, to gain the Hearts of his other Subjects by a Conjunction with the Emperor, and by his Means with the Pope. The first on whom this Design took Effect, were Doctor *Barnes*, Mr. *Gerrard*, and Mr. *Jerome*, all Priests; who had been among the earliest Converts to *Luther's* Doctrine. *Barnes* had in a Sermon at *Cambridge*, during the Cardinal's Greatness, reflected on the Pomp and State in which he lived, so plainly, that every Body understood of whom he meant. So he was carried up to *London*; but by the Interposition of *Gardiner* and *Fox*, who were his Friends, he was saved at that time, having abjured some Opinions that were objected to him. But other Accusations being afterwards brought against him, he was again Imprisoned, and it was believed that he would have been burnt. But he made his Escape and went to *Germany*, where he gave himself to the Study of the Scriptures and Divinity.

1545.

Corrections  
of the Mass-  
Book and o-  
ther Offices.  
Ex M.S.S.  
D.D. stilling-  
fleet.

A Persecu-  
tion of Pro-  
testants,

Of Barnes  
and others.

1540.

In which he became so considerable, that not only the *German* Divines, but their Princes, took great notice of him: And the King of *Denmark* sending over Ambassadors to the King, he was sent with them; though perhaps *Fox* was ill informed, when he says he was one of them. *Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*, being at *Smalcald* in the Year 1536. sent him over to *England*, where he was received and kindly entertained by *Cromwell*, and well used by the King. And by his means the Correspondence with the *Germans* was chiefly kept up. For he was often sent over to the Courts of several Princes. But in particular, he had the Misfortune to be first employed in the Project of the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*; for that giving the King so little Satisfaction, all who were the main Promoters of it fell in Disgrace upon it.

But other Things concurred to destroy *Barnes*. In Lent this Year *Bonner* had appointed him, and *Gerrard*, and *Jerome*, turns in the Court of Sermons at *St. Paul's Cross*; they being in favour with *Cromwell*, on whom *Bonner* depended wholly. But *Gardiner* sent *Bonner* word, That he intended himself to Preach on Sunday at *St. Paul's Cross*: And in his Sermon he treated of Justification, and other Points, with many Reflections on the *Lutherans*. *Barnes*, when it came to his Turn, made use of the same Text, but preached contrary Doctrine; not without some unhandsome Reflections on *Gardiner's* Person; and he played on his Name, alluding to a *Gardiner's* setting ill Plants in a Garden. The other two preached the same Doctrine, but made no Reflections on any Person. *Gardiner* seemed to bear it with a great Appearance of Neglect and Indifferency. But his Friends complained to the King of the unsufferable Insolencies of these Preachers, who did not spare so great a Prelate, especially he being a Privy-Councillor. So *Barnes* was questioned for it, and commanded to go and give the Bishop of *Winchester* Satisfaction. And the Bishop carried the Matter with a great shew of Moderation, and acted outwardly in it, as became his Function: Though it was believed the Matter stuck deeper in his Heart, which the Effects that followed seemed to demonstrate. The King concerned himself in the Matter, and did argue with *Barnes* about the Points in Difference. But whether he was truly convinced, or overcome rather with the Fear of the King, than with the Force of his Reasonings, he and his two Friends, *William Jerome*, and *Thomas Gerrard*, signed a Paper (which

Coll. Numb. 22.

will be found in the Collection,) in which he acknowledged, ' That  
' having been brought before the King, for Things preached by him,  
' His Highness, being assisted by some of the Clergy, and so disputed  
' with him, that he was convinced of his Rashness and Oversight; and  
' promised to abstain from such Indiscretions for the future, and to submit  
' to any Orders the King should give for what was past.

The Articles were; ' *First*, That though we are redeemed only by  
' the Death of Christ, in which we participate by Faith and Baptism;  
' yet by not following the Commandments of Christ, we lose the Benefits  
' of it, which we cannot recover but by Penance.

' *Secondly*, That God is not the Author of Sin, or Evil, which he  
' only permits.

' *Thirdly*, That we ought to reconcile our selves to our Neighbours,  
' and forgive, before we can be forgiven.

' *Fourthly*, That good Works, done sincerely according to the Scri-  
' ptures, are profitable and helpful to Salvation.

' *Fifthly*,



‘ *Fifthly*, That Laws made by Christian Rulers ought to be obeyed by their Subjects, for Conscience-sake: And that whosoever breaks them, breaks God’s Commandments.

1540.

It’s not likely that *Barnes* could say any thing directly contrary to these Articles: Though having brought much of *Luther’s* Heat over with him, he might have said some Things that founded ill upon these Heads. There were other Points in Difference between *Gardiner* and him, about Justification; but it seems the King thought these were of so subtle a Nature, that no Article of Faith was controverted in them; and therefore left the Bishop and him to agree these among themselves, which they in a great measure did. So the King commanded *Barnes* and his Friend to Preach at the *Spittle* in the *Easter-Week*, and openly to recant what they had formerly said. And *Barnes* was in particular to ask the Bishop of *Winchester’s* Pardon, which he did: And *Gardiner* being twice desired by him, to give some Sign that he forgave him, did lift up his Finger. But in their Sermons, it was said they justified in one part, what they recanted in another. Of which Complaints being brought to the King, he, without hearing them, sent them all to the *Tower*. And *Cromwell’s* Interest at Court was then declining so fast, that either he could not protect them, or else would not prejudice himself by interposing in a Matter which gave the King so great Offence. They lay in the *Tower* till the Parliament met, and then they were attainted of Heresie, without ever being brought to make their Answer. And it seems for the Extraordinariness of the Thing, they resolved to mix Attainers for Things that were very different from one another. For four others were by the same Act attainted of Treason, who were *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damply*, *Edmund Brindholme*, and *Clement Philpot*, for assisting *Reginald Pool*, adhering to the Bishop of *Rome*, denying the King to be the Supream Head on Earth, of the Church of *England*, and designing to surprize the Town of *Callice*. One *Derby Gunnings* was also attainted of Treason, for assisting one *Fitz-Gerald* a Traitor in *Ireland*. And after all these, *Barnes*, *Gerrard*, and *Jerome*, are attainted of Heresie, being, as the Act says, ‘ Detestable Hereticks, who had conspired together to set forth many Heresies; and taking themselves to be Men of Learning, had expounded the Scriptures, perverting them to their Heresies, the Number of which was too long to be repeated: That having formerly abjured, they were now incorrigible Hereticks; and so were condemned to be burned, or suffer any other Death, as should please the King. And two Days after *Cromwell’s* Death, being the 30th of *July*, they were brought to *Smithfield*, where in their Execution there was as odd a Mixture as had been in their Attainers. For *Abel Featherston* and *Powel*, that were attainted by another Act of the same Parliament, for owning the Pope’s Supremacy, and denying the King’s, were carried to the Place of Execution, and coupled with the other three. So that one of each was put into a Hurdle, and carried together, which every Body condemned as an extravagant Affectation of the Shew of Impartial Justice.

Who were  
condemned  
in Parlia-  
ment.

When they were brought to the Stake, *Barnes* spake thus to the People: ‘ Since he was to be burned as an Heretick, he would declare what Opinions he held. So he enlarged on all the Articles of the Creed, to shew he believed them all. He expressed a particular Abhorrence of an Opinion which some Anabaptists held, That the Blessed Virgin

Their  
Speeches at  
the Stake;

1170.

' was as a Saffron Bagg ; (by which indecent *Simile* they meant that  
 ' our Saviour took no Substance of her). He explained his Opinion of  
 ' Good Works, that they must of Necessity be done, since without  
 ' them none should ever enter into the Kingdom of God. They were  
 ' commanded of God, to shew forth our Profession by them ; but he  
 ' believed, as they were not pure nor perfect, so they did not avail to  
 ' our Justification, nor merit any thing at the Hands of God ; for that  
 ' was to be ascribed to the Merits of the Death and Passion of Christ.  
 ' He professed great Reverence to the Blessed Virgin and Saints. But  
 ' said, he saw no warrant in Scriptures for praying to them : Nor was it  
 ' certain whether they prayed for us or not ; but if the Saints did pray  
 ' for those on Earth, he trusted within half an hour to be praying for  
 ' them all. Then he asked the Sheriff if he had any Articles against  
 ' them, for which they were condemned : who answered he had none.  
 ' He next asked the People, if they knew wherefore he died, or if they  
 ' had been led into any Errours by his Preaching ; but none made answer.  
 ' Then he said, he heard he was condemned to die by an Act of Parlia-  
 ' ment ; and it seemed it was for Heresie, since they were to be burnt.  
 ' He prayed God to forgive those who had been the occasions of it. And  
 ' in particular, for the Bishop of *Winchester*, if he had sought or procured  
 ' his Death, he prayed God heartily to forgive him, as Christ forgave his  
 ' Murtherers. He prayed earnestly for the King, and the Prince ; and  
 ' exhorted the People to pray for them. He said, some had reported that  
 ' he had been a Preacher of Sedition and Disobedience : But he declared  
 ' to the People, that they were bound by the Law of God, to obey their  
 ' King's Laws with all Humility, not only for fear, but for Conscience ;  
 ' adding, That if the King commanded any thing against God's Law,  
 ' though it were in their Power to resist him, yet they might not do it.  
 ' Then he desired the Sheriff to carry five Requests from him to the King.

' *First*, That since he had taken the Abbey-Lands into his Hands,  
 ' for which he did not blame him, (as the Sheriff fancied he was about  
 ' to do, and thereupon stopped him), but was glad that Superstition  
 ' was taken away ; and that the King was then a compleat King, obeyed  
 ' by all his Subjects, which had been done through the Preaching of  
 ' them, and such Wretches as they were ; yet he wished the King would  
 ' bestow these Goods, or some of them, to the Comfort of his poor  
 ' Subjects who had great need of them.

' *Secondly*, That Marriage might be had in greater Esteem, and that  
 ' Men might not upon light Pretences cast off their Wives ; and that  
 ' those who were unmarried, might not be suffered to live in Whore-  
 ' dom.

' *Thirdly*, That Abominable Swearers might be punished.

' *Fourthly*, That since the King had begun to set forth Christian Re-  
 ' ligion, he would go forward in it, and make an End ; for though he  
 ' had done a great deal, yet many things remained to be done, and he  
 ' wished that the King might not be deceived with false Teachers.

' The *Fifth* Desire, he said he had forgot

' Then he begged that they all would forgive him, if at any time he  
 ' had said or done Evil unadvisedly ; and so turned about, and prepared  
 ' himself for his Death.

' *Jerome* spake next, and declared his Faith upon every Article of the  
 ' Creed ; and said that he believed that was in the Holy Scriptures. He  
 ' also prayed for the King, and the Prince. And concluded with a very  
 ' Pathetical

Pathetical Exhortation to mutual Love and Charity ; that they would propose to themselves the Pattern of Christ's wonderful Love, through whom only he hoped to be saved ; and desired all their Prayers for himself and his Brethren. Then *Gerrard* declared his Faith, and said, That if through Ignorance or Negligence, he had taught any Error, he was sorry for it ; and asked God pardon and them, whom he had thereby offended. But he protested, that according to his Learning and Knowledge, he had always set forth the Honour of God, and the Obedience of the King's Laws. Then they all prayed for the Pardon of their Sins, and Constancy and Patience in their Sufferings : And so they embraced and kissed one another, and then the Executioners tyed them to the Stake, and set fire to them.

540.

Their Death did rather encourage than dishearten their Followers : who seeing such an extraordinary Measure of Patience in them, were the more confirmed in their Resolutions of suffering for a good Conscience, and for his Name, who did not forsake his Servants in their cruel Agonies. One Difference between their Sufferings, and the other three who were hanged for asserting the Pope's Supremacy, was remarkable ; that though the others demeaned themselves toward them with the most uncharitable and spiteful Malice that was possible, (so that their own Historian says, That their being carried with them to their Execution, was bitterer to them than Death it self ; yet they declared their hearty forgiving of their Enemies, and of *Gardiner* in particular, who was generally looked on as the Person that procured their Death ; which Imputation stuck fast to him, though by a printed Apology he studied to clear himself of any other Concernment in it, than by giving his Vote for the Act of their Attainder.

Now *Bonner* began to shew his Nature. Hitherto he had acted another Part. For being most extremely desirous of Preferment, he had so complied with *Cromwell* and *Cranmer*, that they had great Confidence in him ; and he being a blustering and forward Man, they thought he might do the Reformation good Service, and therefore he was advanced so high by their Means. But as soon as ever *Cromwell* fell, the very next Day he shewed his Ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the Wind. For *Grafton* the Printer, (whom *Cromwell* favoured much for his Printing the Bible, and who was by that Means very familiar with *Bonner*), meeting him, said, He was very sorry for the News he heard of *Cromwell's* being sent to the Tower. *Bonner* answered, It had been good he had been dispatcht long ago. So the other shrunk away, perceiving the Change that was in him. And some Days after that, *Grafton* being brought before the Council, for some Verses which he was believed to have Printed in Commendation of *Cromwell*, *Bonner* informed the Council of what *Grafton* had said to him upon *Cromwell's* being Arrested, to make the other Charge seem the more probable. Yet *Audley* the Chancellor was *Grafton's* Friend, and brought him off. But *Bonner* gave the City of *London* quickly Cause to apprehend the utmost Severities from him. For many were indicted by his Procurement. Yet the King was loth to give too many Instances of Cruelty, in this Declination of his Age, and therefore by an Order from the *Star-Chamber* they were discharged. But upon what Motives, I cannot fancy, he pickt out an Instance, which, if the deeper Stains of his following Life had not dasht all particular Spots, had been sufficient to have blemisht him for ever. There was one *Richard Mekins*, a Boy not

Bonner's Cru-  
elty.

1540. above Fifteen Years of Age, and both Illiterate and very Ignorant, who had said somewhat against the Corporal Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, and in Commendation of Doctor *Barnes*. Upon this he was Indicted. The Words were proved by two Witnesses, and a Day was appointed for the Juries to bring in their Verdict. The Day being come, the Grand Jury was called for, then the Fore-man said, They had found nothing. This put *Bonner* in a Fury, and he charged them with Perjury: But they said they could find nothing, for the Witnesses did not agree. The one deposed, That he had said the Sacrament was nothing but a *Ceremony*; and the other, That it was nothing but a *Signification*. But *Bonner* still persisted and told them, that he had said, *That Barnes dyed Holy*. But they could not find these Words to be against the Statute. Upon which *Bonner* cursed, and was in a great Rage, and caused them to go aside again: So they being overawed, returned and found the Indictment. Then sate the Jury upon Life and Death, who found him Guilty; And he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he was brought to the Stake, he was taught to speak much good of *Bonner*, and to condemn all Hereticks, and *Barnes* in particular, saying, He had learned Heresie of him. Thus the Boy was made to dye with a Lye in his Mouth. For *Barnes* held not that Opinion of the Sacraments being only a Ceremony or Signification, but was a zealous *Lutheran*: Which appeared very signally on many Occasions, chiefly in *Lambert's* Case. Three others were also burned at *Salisbury* upon the same Statute, one of whom was a Priest. Two also were burned at *Lincoln* in one Day: Besides, a great Number of Persons were brought in Trouble, and kept long in Prison upon the Statute of the Six Articles. But more Blood I find not spilt at this Time.

In the End of this Year were the new Bishopticks founded. For in December was the Abbey of *Westminster* converted into a Bishop's See, and a Deanery and Twelve Prebends, with the Officers for a Cathedral and a Quire. And in the Year following, on the 4th of *August*, the King erected out of the Monastery of *St. Werburgh* at *Chester*, a Bishoprick, a Deanry, and Six Prebends. In *September*, out of the Monastery at *St. Peter's* at *Glocester*, the King endowed a Bishoprick, a Deanry, and Six Prebendaries. And in the same Month, the Abbey of *Peterborough* was converted to a Bishop's Seat, a Deanry, and Six Prebendaries. And to lay this whole Matter together, two Years after this, the Abbey of *Osney* in *Oxford* was converted into a Bishoprick, a Deanry, and Six Prebends. And the Monastery of *St. Austin's* in *Bristol* was changed into the same use. There are many other Grants also in the Rolls, both to the Bishops, and Deans, and Chapters of these Sees. But these Foundations will be better understood, by their Charters; of which, since the Bishoprick of *Westminster* is least known, because long ago suppressed, I have chosen to set down the Charter of that See; which the Reader will find in the Collection: And they running all in the same Style, one may serve for the rest. The Substance of the Preamble is, 'That the King being moved by the Grace of God, and intending nothing more than that true Religion, and the sincere Worship of God, should not be abolished, but rather restored to the Primitive Sincerity, and reformed from those Abuses, with which the Profession and the Lives of the Monks had so long and so lamentably corrupted Religion; had, as far as human Infirmity could foresee, designed that the Word of God might be sincerely Preached, the Sacra-

New Bishop-  
ricks found-  
ed.

Collect.  
Numb. 23.

ments

ments purely Administred, good Order kept up, the Youth well Instructed, and old People relieved, with other publick Alms-deeds. And therefore the King Erected and Endowed these Sees. The Day after these several Grants, there followed a Writ to the Arch-Bishop, containing, That the King had appointed such a Person to be Bishop of that See, Requiring him to Consecrate and Ordain him in due Form. Then the Priors at most Cathedrals, such as *Canterbury, Winchester, Duresm, Worcester, Carlisle, Rochester* and *Ely*, were also converted into Deaneries, and Colleges of Prebends, with many other Officers, and an Allowance of Charity to be Yearly distributed to the Poor.

But as all this came far short of what the King had once intended, so *Cranmer's* Design was quite disappointed. For he had projected that in every Cathedral there should be Provision made for Readers of Divinity, and of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and a great Number of Students to be both exercised in the daily Worship of God, and trained up in Study and Devotion, whom the Bishop might transplant out of this Nursery, into all the Parts of his Diocess. And thus every Bishop should have had a College of Clergy-men under his Eye, to be preferred according to their Merit: He saw great Disorders among some Prebendaries, and in a long Letter, the Original of which I have seen, he expressed his Regret that these Endowments went in such a Channel. Yet now his Power was not great at Court, and the other Party run down all his Motions. But those who observed Things narrowly, judged that a good Mixture of Prebendaries, and of young Clerks bred up about Cathedrals, under the Bishop's Eye, and the Conduct and Direction of the Dean and Prebendaries, had been one of the greatest Blessings that could have befallen the Church: Which not being sufficiently provided of Houses for the Forming of the Minds and Manners of those who are to be received into Orders, has since felt the ill Effects of it very sensibly. Against this, *Cranmer* had projected a noble Remedy, had not the Popish Party then at Court, who very well apprehended the Advantages such Nurseries would have given to the Reformation, born down this Proposition, and turned all the King's Bounty and Foundations another Way.

These new Foundations gave some Credit to the King's Proceedings, and made the Suppression of Chantries and Chappels go on more smoothly. But those of the *Roman* Party beyond Sea, censured this, as they had done all the rest of the King's Actings. They said, It was but a slight Restitution of a small part of the Goods, of which he had robbed the Church. And they Complained of the King's encroaching on the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Church, by dismembring Diocesses, and removing Churches from one Jurisdiction to another. To this it was answered, That the Necessities which their Practices put on the King, both to fortifie his Coast and Dominions, to send Money beyond Sea for keeping the War at a Distance from himself, and to secure his Quiet at Home, by easie Grants of these Lands, made him that he could not do all that he intended. And for the Division of Diocesses, many Things were brought from the *Roman* Law, to shew, That the Division of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, whether of Patriarchs, Primate, Metropolitans or Bishops, was Regulated by the Emperors, of which the Ancient Councils always approved. And in *England*, when the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* being judged of too great an Extent, the Bishoprick of *Ely* was taken out of it, it was done only by the King, with the Consent of his Clergy and Nobles. Pope

*Nicolas,*

1547.

*Cranmer's*  
Design  
carries.

These Foundations censured.

1540.

*Nicolas* indeed officiously intruded himself into that Matter, by sending afterwards a Confirmation of that which was done. But that was one of the great Arts of the Papacy, to offer Confirmations of Things that were done without the Popes. For these being easily received by them, that thought of nothing more than to give the better Countenance to their own Acts, the Popes afterwards founded a Right on these Confirmations. The very receiving of them was pretended to be an Acknowledgment of a Title in the Pope. And the Matter was so artificially managed, that Princes were noozed into some Approbation of such a Pretence, before they were aware of it. And then the Authority of the Canon-Law prevailing, Maxims were laid down in it, by which the most tacite and inconsiderate Acts of Princes, were construed to such Senses, as still advanced the Greatness of the Papal Pretensions.

This Business of the new Foundations being thus settled, the Matters of the Church were now put in a Method; and the Bishop's Book was the Standard of Religion: So that whosoever was not agreeable to that, was judged Heretical, whether it leaned to the one side, or the other. But it seems that the King, by some secret Order, had chained up the Party, which was going on the Execution of the Statute of the six Articles, that they should not proceed capitally.

The State  
of the Court  
at this Time.

Thus Matters went this Year, and with this the Series of the History of the Reformation, made by this King, ends: for it was now digested and formed into a Body. What followed was not in a Thred, but now and then some remarkable Things were done; sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other Party. For after *Cromwell* fell, the King did not go on so steadily in any Thing as he had done formerly. *Cromwell* had an Ascendant over him, which after *Cardinal Wolfsey's* Fall none besides himself ever had. They knew how to manage the King's uneasie and imperious Humour; but now none had such a Power over him. The Duke of *Norfolk* was rich and brave, and made his Court well, but had not so great a Genius; so that the King did rather trust and fear, than esteem him. *Gardiner* was only a Tool, and being of an abject Spirit, was employed, but not at all revered by the King. *Cranmer* retained always his Candour and Simplicity, and was a great Prelate; but neither a good Courtier, nor a States-man. And the King esteemed him more for his Vertues, than for his Dexterity and Cunning in Business. So that now the King was left wholly to himself; and being extream humorous and impatient, there were more Errors committed in the last Years of his Government, than had been for his whole Reign before. *France* forsook him, *Scotland* made War upon him, which might have been fatal to him, if their King had not died in the beginning of it, leaving an Infant-Princess, but a few Days old, behind him. And though the Emperor made Peace with him, yet it was but an hollow Agreement. Of all which I shall give but slender Hints, in the rest of this Book; and rather open some few Particulars, than pursue a continued Narration, since the Matter of my Work fails me.

The Bible  
in English set  
up in all  
Churches.  
*Coll. Numb. 24.*

In *May*, the 33d Year of the King's Reign, a new Impression of the Bible was finished, and the King, by Proclamation, 'Required all Curates and Parishioners of every Town and Parish, to provide themselves a Copy of it before All-Hallowtide; under the Penalty of forfeiting forty Shillings a Month, after that, till they had done. He declared that he set it forth, to the end that his People might by Reading

ing

ing it, perceive the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God; observe his Commandments, obey the Laws, and their Prince, and live in godly Charity among themselves: But that the King did not thereby intend that his Subjects should presume to expound, or take Arguments from Scripture, nor disturb Divine Service, by reading it when Mass was Celebrating; but should read it meekly, humbly, and reverently, for their Instruction, Edification, and Amendment. There was also Care taken so to regulate the Prices of the Bibles, that there should be no exacting on the Subjects in the Sale of them. And *Bonner* seeing the King's Mind was set on this, ordered six of these great Bibles to be set up in several Places of *St. Paul's*; that all Persons who could read, might at all times have free access to them. And upon the Pillars to which these Bibles were chained, an Exhortation was set up, Admonishing all that came thither to read, That they should lay aside Vain-glory, Hypocrisy, and all other corrupt Affections, and bring with them Discretion, good Intentions, Charity, Reverence, and a quiet Behaviour, for the Edification of their own Souls; but not to draw Multitudes about them, nor to make Expositions of what they read, nor to read aloud, nor make Noise in time of Divine Service, nor enter into Disputes concerning it. But People came generally to hear the Scriptures read, and such as could read, and had clear Voices, came often thither with great Crowds about them. And many set their Children to School, that they might carry them with them to *St. Paul's*, and hear them read the Scriptures. Nor could the People be hindred from entering into Disputes about some Places: For who could hear the Words of the Institution of the Sacrament, *Drink ye all of it*, or *St. Paul's* Discourse against Worship in an unknown Tongue, and not from thence be led to consider, that the People were deprived of the Cup, which by Christ's express Command was to be drank by all; and that they were kept in a Worship, to which the unlearned could not say, *Amen*, since they understood not what was said, either in the Collects or Hymns? So the King had many Complaints brought him, of the Abuses that were said to have risen from the Liberty given the People to read the Scriptures. Upon which, *Bonner*, (no doubt having obtained the King's Leave,) set up a new Advertisement, in which he complained of these Abuses, in the reading the Bible; for which he threatned the People, that he would remove these Bibles out of the Church, if they continued as they did, to abuse so high a Favour. Yet these Complaints produced no further Severity at this Time: But by them the Popish Party afterwards obtained what they desired. This Summer the King turned the Monastery of *Burton* upon *Trent* into a Collegiate Church, for a Dean and four Prebends; and the Monastery of *Thornton* in *Lincolnshire* into another, for a Dean and four Prebends. In this Year *Cranmer* took it into Consideration, to what Excess the Tables of the Bishops had risen, whereby those Revenues that ought to have been applied to better Purposes, were wasted on great Entertainments; which, though they passed under the decent Name of Hospitality, yet were in themselves both too high and expensive, and proved great Hindrances to Churchmens Charity, in more necessary and profitable Instances. He therefore set out an Order, for regulating that Expende; by which an Archbishops Table was not to exceed six Dishes of Meat, and four of \* *Banquet*; a Bishops, five Dishes of Meat, and three of Banquet; a Deans

1540.

Coll. Numb. 27.

1541.

Antiq. Brit.

in Reg. Polo.

A Rule about Churchmens House-keeping.

\* *Banquet* \* *Banquet*.

1541. or Arch-Deacons Table was not to exceed four Dishes, and two of Banquet; and other Clergy-men might be served only with two Dishes. But he that gives us the Account of this, laments that this Regulation took no effect: And complains that the People, expecting generally such splendid House-keeping from the dignified Clergy, and not considering how short their Revenues are, of what they were anciently; they out of a weak Compliance with the Multitude, have disabled themselves of keeping Hospitality, as our Saviour ordered it, not for the Rich, but the Poor; not to mention the other ill Effects that follow too sumptuous a Table.

The King goes to York.

In the end of this Year, the Tragical Fall of the Queen put a stop to all other Proceedings. The King had invited his Nephew, the King of Scotland, to meet him at York, who was resolved to come thither. The King intended to gain upon him all he could, and to engage him to follow the Copy he had set him, in extirpating the Pope's Supremacy, and suppressing Abbeys, and to establish a firm Agreement in all other Things. The Clergy of Scotland feared the ill Effects of that Interview, especially their King being a Prince of most extraordinary Parts, who, had he not blemished his Government with being so extremely addicted to his Pleasures, was the greatest Prince that Nation had for several Ages. He was a great Patron of Learning, and Executor of Justice: He used in Person and *Incognito*, to go over his Kingdom, and see how Justice was every where done. He had no very good Opinion of the Religious Orders, and had encouraged *Buchanan* to write a severe and witty Libel against the *Franciscan* Friars. So that they were very apprehensive that he might have been wrought on by his Uncle. Therefore they used all their Endeavours to divert his Journey. But the *French* King, that had him fast engaged to his Interest, falling then off from the King, wrought more on him. So instead of meeting the King at York, where magnificent Preparations were made for his Reception, he sent his Excuse; which provoked his Uncle, and gave Occasion to a Breach that followed not long after.

An Account of the State of Scotland.

But here I shall crave the Readers leave to give a full Representation of the State of Religion at this Time in Scotland, and of the footing the Reformation had got there. Its neighbourhood to England, and the Union of these Kingdoms, first in the same Religion, and since under the same Princes, together with the Intercourse that was both in this and the next Reign, between these Nations, seem not only to justify this Digression, but rather challenge it as a Part of the History, without which it would be defective. And it may be the rather expected from one, who had his Birth and Education in that Kingdom.

The beginnings of Learning there.

The Correspondence between that Crown and France was the Cause that what Learning they had, came from Paris, where our Kings generally kept some Scholars; and from that great Nursery they were brought over, and set in the Universities of Scotland to propagate Learning there. From the Year 1412. in which *Wardlaw*, Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, first founded that University, Learning had made such a Progress, that more Colleges were soon after founded in that City. Universities were also founded both at *Glasgow* and *Aberdeen*, which have since furnished that Nation with many eminent Scholars in all Professions. But at the time that Learning came into Scotland, the knowledge



knowledge of true Religion also followed it: And in that same Archbishop's time, one *John Resby* an *English* man, a Follower of *Wickliff's* Opinions, was charged with Heresie. Forty Articles were objected to him, of which two are only mentioned. The one was, That *The Pope is not Christ's Vicar*. The other was, That *he was not to be esteemed a Pope, if he was a Man of wicked Life*. For maintaining these, he was burnt *Anno 1407*. Twenty Four Years after that, one *Paul Craw* came out of *Germany*, and being a *Bohemian* and an *Hussite*, was infusing his Doctrine into some at *St. Andrews*, which being discovered, he was judged an obstinate Heretick, and burnt there, *Anno 1432*. And to encourage People to prosecute such Persons, *Fogo*, who had discovered him, was rewarded with the Abbey of *Melrofs* soon after.

It does not appear that those Doctrines, which were called *Lollardies* in *England*, had gained many Followers in *Scotland*, till near the end of that Century. But then it was found that they were much spread over the Western Parts; which being in the neighbourhood of *England*, those who were persecuted there, might perhaps fly into *Scotland*, and spread their Doctrine in that Kingdom. Several Persons of Quality were then charged with these Articles, and brought to the Archbishop of *Glasgow's* Courts. But they answered him with such Confidence, that he thought fit to discharge them, with an Admonition to take heed of new Doctrines, and to content themselves with the Faith of the Church.

At this time the Clergy in *Scotland* were both very ignorant and dissolute in their Manners. The Secular Clergy minded nothing but their Tithes, and did either hire some Friars to Preach, or some poor Priests to sing Masses to them at their Churches. The Abbats had possessed themselves of the best Seats, and the greatest Wealth of the Nation: And by a profuse Superstition, almost the one half of the Kingdom fell into the Hands of the Churchmen. The Bishops looked more after the Affairs of the State, than the Concerns of the Church; and were resolved to maintain by their Cruelty, what their Predecessors had acquired by Fraud and Impostures. And, as *Lesley* himself confesses, there was no Pains taken to instruct the People in the Principles of Religion; nor were the Children at all catechised, but left in Ignorance: And the ill Lives of the Clergy, who were both Covetous and Lewd, disposed the People to favour those that preach'd for a Reformation. The first that suffered in this Age was *Patrick Hamilton*, a Person of very noble Blood: His Father was Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, and his Mother Sister to the Duke of *Albany*; so nearly was he on both sides related to the King. He was provided of the Abbey of *Fern* in his youth; and being designed for greater Preferments, he was sent to Travel: But as he went thorough *Germany*, he contracted a Friendship with *Luther*, *Melancton*, and others of their Persuasion; by whose means he was instructed in the Points about which they differed from the Church of *Rome*. He returned to *Scotland*, that he might communicate that Knowledge to others with which himself was so happily enlightned. And little considering, either the hindrance of his further Preferment, or the other Dangers that might lie in his way, he spared not to lay open the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and to shew the Errors that had crept into the *Christian* Religion. He was a Man both of great Learning, and of a sweet and charming

1541.

And of the Reformation. Archbishop Spotswood.

L. 157.

Spotswood.

The Clergy were both ignorant and cruel.

Patrick Hamilton's sufferings.

1541. Conversation, and came to be followed and esteemed by all sorts of People.

The Clergy being enraged at this, invited him to *St. Andrews*, that there might be Conferences held with him, about those Points which he condemned. And one Friar *Campbel*, Prior of the *Dominicans*, who had the Reputation of a learned Man, was appointed to treat with him. They had many Conferences together, and the Prior seemed to be convinced in most Points; and acknowledged there were many Things in the Church that required Reformation. But all this while he was betraying him; so that when the Abbat looked for no such Thing, he was in the Night-time made Prisoner, and carried to the Arch-bishop's Castle. There several Articles were objected to him, about Original Sin, Free-will, Justification, Good Works, Priestly Absolution, Auricular Confession, Purgatory, and the Pope's being Antichrist. Some of these he positively adhered to, the others he thought were disputable Points; yet he said he would not condemn them, except he saw better Reasons than any he had yet heard. The Matter was referred to Twelve Divines of the University, of whom Friar *Campbel* was one. And within a Day or two they censured all his Tenets as Heretical, and contrary to the Faith of the Church. On the first of *March* Judgment was given upon him, by *Beaton* Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*, with whom sat the Arch-bishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Brichen* and *Dunblain*, five *Abbats*, and many of the inferior Clergy. They also made the whole University, old and young, sign it. He was declared an obstinate Heretick, and delivered to the Secular Power.

The King had at that time gone a Pilgrimage to *Rofs*, and the Clergy fearing lest nearness of Blood, with the Intercessions which might be made for him, should snatch this Prey out of their Hands, proceeded that same Day to his Execution. So in the Afternoon he was brought to the Stake before *St. Salvador's* College. He stripped himself of his Garments, and gave them to his Man; and said, *He had no more to leave him, but the Example of his Death: That he prayed him to keep in mind. For though it was bitter and painful in Mans Judgment, yet it was the entrance to Everlasting Life, which none could inherit that denied Christ before such a Congregation.* Then he was tied to a Stake, and a great deal of Fewel was heaped about him; which he seemed not to fear, but continued lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and recommending his Soul to God. When the Train of Powder was kindled, it did not take hold of the Fewel, but only scorched his Hand, and the side of his Face. This occasioned some delay, till more Powder was brought from the Castle; during which time the Friars were very troublesome, and called to him to turn, and pray to our Lady, and say *Salve Regina*. None were more officious than Friar *Campbel*. The Abbat wished him often to let him alone, and give him no more Trouble. But the Friar continuing to importune him, he said to him, *Wicked Man, thou knowest that I am not an Heretick, and that it is the Truth of God for which I now suffer. So much thou didst confess to me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the Judgment-Seat of Christ.* By this time more Powder was brought, and the Fire was kindled. He cried out with a loud Voice, *How long, O Lord, shall Darknes oppress this Realm? How long wilt thou suffer this Tyranny of Men?*

*Men*: And died repeating these Words, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*. The Patience and Constancy he expressed in his Sufferings, made the Spectators generally conclude that he was a true Martyr of Christ; in which they were the more confirmed, by Friar *Campbell's* falling into great Despair soon after, who from that turned frantick, and died within a Year.

1541.

On this I have insisted the more fully, because it was indeed the beginning of the Reformation in *Scotland*; and raised there an Humour of inquiring into Points of Religion, which did always prove fatal to the Church of *Rome*. In the University it self many were wrought on, and particularly one *Seaton*, a Dominican Friar, who was the King's Confessor. He being appointed to preach the next Lent at *St. Andrew's*, insisted much on these Points: 'That the Law of God was the only Rule of Righteousness, that Sin was only committed when God's Law was violated, that no Man could satisfy for Sin, and that Pardon was to be obtained by unfeigned Repentance and true Faith. But he never mentioned Purgatory, Pilgrimages, Merits nor Prayers to Saints; which used to be the Subjects on which the Friars insisted most on these Occasions. Being gone from *St. Andrew's*, he heard that another Friar of his own Order had refuted these Doctrines. So he returned, and confirmed them in another Sermon; in which he also made some Reflections on Bishops that were not *Teachers*, calling them *Dumb-Dogs*. For this he was carried before the Arch-Bishop; but he defended himself, saying, That he had only in *St. Paul's* Words said *A Bishop should teach*, and in *Esaias's* Words, That such as did not teach were *Dumb-Dogs*: but having said this in the general, he did not apply it to any Bishop in particular. The Arch-Bishop was nettled at this Answer, yet resolved to let him alone till he should be brought into Disgrace with the King. And that was soon done, for the King being a Licentious Prince, and Friar *Seaton* having often reprov'd him boldly for it, he grew weary of him. The Clergy perceiving this, were resolved to fall upon him. So he withdrew to *Berwick*, but wrote to the King, that if he would hear him make his Defence, he would return and justify all that he had taught. He taxed the Cruelty of the Clergy, and desired the King would restrain their Tyranny, and consider that he was obliged to protect his Subjects from their Severity and Malice. But receiving no satisfactory Answer, he lived in *England*, where he was entertain'd by the Duke of *Suffolk* as his Chaplain: Not long after this, one *Forrest*, a simple *Benedictin* Monk, was accused for having said that *Patrick Hamilton had died a Martyr*; yet since there was no sufficient Proof to convict him, a Friar, one *Walter Lainge*, was sent to confess him, to whom in Confession he acknowledged, he thought *Hamilton* was a good Man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. This being revealed by the Friar, was taken for good Evidence. So the poor Man was condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. As he was led out to his Execution, he said, *Fie on Falshood, fie on Friars, Revealers of Confession; Let never Man trust them after me: They are Despisers of God, and Deceivers of Men*. When they were considering in what place to burn him, a simple Man that attended the Arch-bishop, advised to burn him in some low Cellar; For, said he, *the Smoak of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infested all those on whom it blew*.

The King's  
Confessor fa-  
vours the Re-  
formation.

*Forrest's* Suffer-  
ings.

1541.  
A further  
Persecution  
in Scotland.

Soon after this, Abbat *Hamilton's* Brother and Sister were brought into the Bishop's Courts; but the King, who favoured this Brother, perswaded him to absent himself. His Sister and six others being brought before the Bishop of *Ross*, who was deputed by the Arch-bishop to proceed against them, the King himself dealt with the Woman to abjure, which she and the other six did. Two others were more resolute, The one was *Normand Gowrlay*, who was charged with denying the Pope's Authority in *Scotland*, and saying, There was no Purgatory: The other was *David Straiton*. He was charged with the same Opinions. They also alledged, That he had denied that Tithes were due to Church-men; and that when the Vicar came to take the Tithes out of some Fish-boats that belonged to him, he alledged, The Tithes was to be taken where the Stock grew, and therefore ordered the Tenth Fish to be cast into the Sea, and bad the Vicar to seek them there. They were both judged obstinate Hereticks, and burnt at one Stake the 27th of *August*, 1534. Upon this Persecution, some others, who were cited to appear, fled into *England*. Those were *Alexander Alesse*, *John Fife*, *John Mackbee*, and one *Mackdowgall*. The first of these was received by *Cromwell* into his Family, and grew into great Favour with King *Henry*, and was commonly called his Scholar; of whom see what was said Page 205. But after *Cromwell's* Death, he took *Fife* with him, and they went into *Saxony*, and were both Professors in *Leipsick*. *Mackbee* was at first entertained by *Shaxton*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; but he went afterwards into *Denmark*, where he was known by the Name of Doctor *Maccabeus*, and was Chaplain to King *Christian* the second.

The Progress  
of the Refor-  
mation.

Lestey.

The 1570's.

But all these violent Proceedings were not effectual enough to quench that Light which was then shining there. Many by searching the Scriptures, came to the Knowledge of the Truth, and the Noise of what was then doing in *England*, awakned others to make further Enquiries into Matters of Religion. Pope *Clement* the 7th apprehending that King *Henry* might prevail on his Nephew to follow his Example, wrote Letters full of earnest Exhortations to him to continue in the Catholick Faith. Upon which King *James* called a Parliament, and there in the Presence of the Pope's Nuncio; declared his Zeal for that Faith and the Apostolick See. The Parliament also concurred with him in it; and made Acts against Hereticks, and for maintaining the Pope's Authority. That same Pope did afterwards send to desire him to assist him in making War against the King of *England*; for he was resolved to divide that Kingdom among those who would assist him in driving out King *Henry*. But the firm Peace at that time between the King of *England* and the *French* King, kept him quiet from any Trouble, which otherwise the King of *Scotland* might have given him. Yet King *Henry* sent the Bishop of *St. David's*, with the Duke of *Norfolk's* Brother, Lord *William Howard* to him, so unexpectedly, that they came to him at *Sterlin* before he had heard of their being sent. The Bishop brought with him some of the Books that had been writ for the justifying King *Henry's* Proceeding; he desired that King would impartially examine them. But he put them into the Hands of some about him that were addicted to the Interests of *Rome*, who, without ever reading them, told him they were full of pestilent Doctrine and Heresie.

The secret Business they came for, was, To perswade that King to concur with his Uncle, and to agree on an Interview between them: and they offered him in their Master's Name the Lady *Mary* in Marriage,

riage, and that he should be made Duke of *York*, and \* Lord Lieutenant of all *England*. But the Clergy diverted him from it, and persuaded him rather to go on in his Design of a Match with *France*. And their Councils did so prevail, that he resolved to go in Person, and fetch a Queen from thence. On the first of *January* 1537. he was married to *Magdalen*, Daughter to *Francis* the First. But she being then gone far in a Consumption, died soon after he had brought her Home, on the 28th of *May*. She was much lamented by all Persons, the Clergy only excepted; for she had been bred in the Queen of *Navarre's* Court, and so they apprehended she might incline the King to a Reformation. But he had seen another Lady in *France*, *Mary of Guise*, whom he then liked so well, that after his Queen's Death, he sent Cardinal *Benton* into *France* to treat for a Match with her. This gave the Clergy as much Joy as the former Marriage had raised Fear; for no Family in *Christendom* was more devoted to the Interests of the Papacy than that was. And now the King, though he had freer Thoughts himself, yet was so engaged to the pretended old Religion, that he became a violent Persecutor of all who differed from it.

The King grew very expensive, he indulged himself much in his Pleasures; he built Four Noble Palaces, which considering that Kingdom and that Age, were very extraordinary Buildings; he had also many natural Children, all which Things concurred to make him very desirous of Money. There were two different Parties in the Court. The Nobility on the one Hand represented to him the great Wealth that the Abbats had gathered; and that if he would do as his Uncle had done, he would thereby raise his Revenue to the Triple of what it was, and provide plentifully for his Children. The Clergy on the other Hand assured him, That if he would set up a strict Inquisition of Hereticks, he would discover so many Men of Estates that were guilty, that by their Forfeitures he might raise about an Hundred Thousand Crowns a Year: And for his Children, the easiest way of providing for them, was to give them good Abbeyes and Priories. This they thought would engage both the King and his Sons to maintain their Rights more steadily, if their own Interests were interwoven with them. They also persuaded the King, That if he maintained the established Religion, it would give him a good Interest in *England*, and make him be set up by Foreign Princes as the Head of the League, which the Pope and the Emperor were then projecting against King *Henry*. These Counsels being seconded by his Queen, who was a wise and good Lady, but wonderfully zealous for the Papacy, did so prevail with him, that as he made Four of his Children Abbats of Priors, so he gave way to the persecuting Humour of his Priests; and gave Sir *James Hamilton* (a Natural Brother of the Earl of *Arran's*, in whom the Clergy put much Confidence,) a Commission to proceed against all that were suspected of Heresie. In the Year 1539. many were cited to appear before a Meeting of the Bishops at *Edinburgh*. Of those, Nine abjured, many were banished, and Five were burnt. *Forrester*, a Gentleman, *Simpson*, a Secular Priest; *Killore* and *Beverage*, Two Friars; and *Forrest*, a Canon Regular, were burnt on the *Castle-hill* of *Edinburgh*. The last of these was a zealous constant Preacher, which was a rare Thing in those Days. His Diocesan, the Bishop of *Dunkeld* sent for him, and rebuked him for it, and bid him, *When he found a good Epistle, or good Gospel, that made*

1541.  
 Regni Ar  
 glicani Vicarius

The King  
 wholly guided  
 by the Clergy.

1451.

for the Liberties of the Holy Church, to preach on that, and let the rest alone. The good Man answered, *He had read both the Old Testament, and the New, and never found an ill Epistle, or ill Gospel in any of them.* The Bishop replied, that *he thanked God he had lived well these many Tears, and never knew either the Old or New: he contented himself with his Portuise, and his Pontifical; and if the other would trouble himself with these Fantasies, he would repent it when he could not help it.* Forest said, *He was resolved to do what he conceived was his Duty, whatever might be the Danger of it.* By this it appears how deliberately the Clergy at that Time delivered themselves up to Ignorance and Superstition.

Two other  
Martyrs.

In the same Year *Russel*, a *Franciscan* Friar, and one *Kennedy*, a young Man of 18 Years of Age, were brought before the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*. That Bishop was a learned and moderate Man, and was much against these cruel Proceedings; he was also in great Credit with the King, having been his Tutor. Yet he was forced by the Threatnings of his Brethren, to go on with the Persecution. So those two, *Russel*, and *Kennedy*, being brought before him. *Kennedy*, that was young and fearful, had resolved to submit and abjure. But being brought to the Bar, and encouraged by *Russel*'s Discourses, he felt so high a Measure of Courage and Joy in his Heart, that he fell down on his Knees, and broke forth in these Words; 'Wonderful, O God, is thy Love and 'Mercy towards me a miserable Wretch; for now, when I would have 'denied thee, and thy Son my Saviour, thou hast by thine own Hand 'pulled me back from the bottom of Hell, and given me most Hea- 'venly Comfort, which hath removed the ungodly Fear that before 'oppressed my Mind. Now I despise Death, do what you please, I thank 'God I am ready. There followed a long Dispute between the Friar and the Divines that sate with the Arch-Bishop; but when he perceived they would hear nothing, and answered him only with Revilings and Jeers, he gave it over, and concluded in these Words; 'This is your 'Hour and Power of Darkness; now ye sit as Judges, and we stand 'wrongfully condemned; but the Day cometh which will shew our 'Innocence, and you shall see your own Blindness to your everlasting 'Confusion; Go on, and fulfil the Measure of your Iniquity. This put the Arch-Bishop in great Confusion, so that he said to those about him, That these rigorous Executions did hurt the Cause of the Church more than could well be thought of; and he declared that his Opinion was, That their Lives should be spared, and some other Course taken with them. But those that sate with him said, If he took a Course different from what the other Prelates had taken, he was not the Churches Friend. This, with other threatenning Expressions prevailed so far on his Fears, that he gave Judgment. So they were burnt; but at their Death they expressed so much Constancy and Joy, that the People were much wrought on by their Behaviour. *Russel* encouraged *Kennedy*, his Partner in Sufferings, in these Words: 'Fear not, Brother, for he is more 'mighty that is in us, than he that is in the World; the Pain which 'we shall suffer is short and light; but our Joy and Consolation shall 'never have an end. Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him, for whose Sake we suffer. Therefore let us strive to enter 'in by the same strait Way, which our Saviour hath taken before us. With the Blood of such Martyrs was the Field of that Church sown, which did quickly rise up in a plentiful Harvest.

Among

Among those that were at this Time in Hazard, *George Buchanan* was one. The Clergy were resolv'd to be revenged on him for the Sharpness of the Poems he had written against them. And the King had so absolutely left all Men to their Mercy, that he had died with the rest, if he had not made his Escape out of Prison: Then he went beyond Sea, and lived Twenty Years in that Exile, and was forced to teach a School most part of the Time; yet the Greatness of his Mind was not oppress'd with that mean Employment. In his Writings there appears, not only all the Beauty and Graces of the Latin Tongue, but a Vigor of Mind and Quickness of Thought, far beyond *Bembo*, or the other *Italians*, who at that time affect'd to revive the Purity of the *Roman* Stile. It was but a feeble Imitation of *Tully* in them; but his Stile is so natural and nervous, and his Reflections on Things are so solid, (besides his Immortal Poems, in which he shews how well he could imitate all the *Roman* Poets in their several ways of Writing, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to prefer the Copy to the Original,) that he is justly reckon'd the greatest and best of our modern Authors. This was the State of Affairs at this Time in *Scotland*. And so I shall leave this Digression, on which if I have stay'd too long, my Kindness to my Native Country must be my Excuse; and now I return to the Affairs of *England*.

The King went his Progress with his fair and beloved Queen, and when he came to *York*, he issued out a Proclamation, *That all who had been aggrieved for want of Justice, by any whom he had formerly employed, should come to him, and his Council for Redress.* This was done to cast all past Miscarriages on *Cromwell*, and to put the People in Hopes of better Times. But upon his return to *London*, he met with a new Affliction. He was so much taken with his Queen, that on All-Saints Day, when he received the Sacrament, he openly gave God Thanks for the good Life he led, and trusted still to lead with her; and desired his Ghostly Father to joyn with him in the same Thanksgiving to God. But this Joy lasted not long: For the next Day, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* came to him, and gave him a doleful Account of the Queen's ill Life, as it had been brought him by one *John Lassels*: Who, when the King was in his Progress, had told him that his Sister who had been an old Servant of the Duke of *Norfolk's*, under whose Care the Queen was brought up, said to him, That the Queen was lewd, and that one *Francis Deirham* had enjoyed her often; as also one *Mannock*; with other foul Circumstances, not fit to be related. The Arch-bishop communicated it to the Lord Chancellor, and the other Privy-Councillors that were at *London*. They agreed, That the Arch-bishop should open it to the King. But he not knowing how to do it in Discourse, set it down in Writing, and put it in the King's Hands. When the King read it, he seem'd much perplexed; but lov'd the Queen so tenderly, that he look'd on it as a Forgery. And now the Arch-bishop was in extream Danger, for if full Evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turn'd on him to his Ruine. The King imparted it to some other Councillors, and told them, That he could not believe it, yet he would try it out, but with all possible Secrecy. So the Lord-Privy-Seal was sent to *London*, to examine *Lassels*, who stood to what he had inform'd. Then he sent the same Lord into *Sussex*; where *Lassels's* Sister lived, to try if she would justifie what her Brother had reported in her Name. And she owning it, he order'd *Deirham* and *Mannock* to be arrest'd upon some other Pretences; but they

1541.

The Queen's  
ill Life is  
discover'd.

1541  
 And confessed by herself and others

they being examined, not only confessed what was informed, but revealed some other Circumstances that shewed the Queen had laid aside all Sense of Modesty, as well as the Fear of a Discovery; three several Women having been Witnesses to these her lewd Practices. The Report of that struck the King into a most profound Pensiveness, and he burst out into Tears, and lamented his Misfortune. The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and some other Councillors, were sent to examine the Queen. She at first denied every Thing; but when she perceived it was already known, she confessed all, and set it under her Hand. There were also evident Presumptions that she had intended to continue that Course of Life: For as she had got *Deirham* into her Service, so she had brought one of the Women, who had been formerly privy to their Familiarities, to serve about her Bed-chamber. One *Culpeper* was also charged upon vehement Suspicion: For when the King was at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochford's* means, he was brought into the Queen's Chamber at Eleven a Clock in the Night, and staid there till Four the next Morning. The Queen also gave him a Gold Chain, and a rich Cap. He being examined, confessed the Crime; for which both *Deirham* and he suffered. Others were also indicted of Misprision of Treason, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. But this occasioned a new Parliament to be summoned.

1542.  
 A new Parliament called.

On the 16th of *January* the Parliament met; to which the Bishops of *Westminster*, *Chester*, *Peterborough* and *Glocester*, had their Writs. The Lord *Cromwell* also had his Writ, though I do not find by any Record that he was restored in Blood. On the 28th of *January*, the Lord Chancellor moved the House of Lords, to consider the Case the King was in, by the Queen's ill Carriage: And that there might be no ground of Suspicion or Complaint, he proposed that some of their Number should be sent to examine the Queen. Whereupon the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Westminster*, were sent to her. How much she confessed to them is not very clear, neither by the Journal, nor the Act of Parliament; which only says, That she confessed, without mentioning the Particulars. Upon this, the Processes of those that had been formerly attainted, being also brought as an Evidence, the Act passed in both Houses. In it they petitioned the King.

The Act about the Queen.

- ' *First*, Not to be troubled at the Matter, since that might be a means to shorten his Life.
- ' *Secondly*, To pardon every Thing that had been spoken against the Queen.
- ' *Thirdly*, That the Queen and her Complices might be attainted of High Treason, for her taking *Deirham* into her Service; and another Woman into her Chamber, who had known their former ill Life; by which it appeared what she intended to do: And then admitting *Culpeper* to be so long with her, in a vile Place so many Hours in the Night. Therefore it is desired, that she and they, with the Bawd, the Lady *Rochford*, may be attainted of Treason; and that the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* should suffer the Pains of Death.
- ' *Fourthly*, That the King would not trouble himself to give his Assent to this Act in his own Person, but grant it by his Letters Patents under his Hand and Great Seal.

' *Fifthly*,



*Fifthly*, That the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Norfolk*, Counteſs of *Bridgewater*, the Lord *William Howard* and his Lady, the Four other Men, and five Women, who were already attainted by the Courſe of Common-Law, (except the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and the Counteſs of *Bridgewater*;) that knew the Queen's vicious Life, and had concealed it, ſhould be all attainted of Miſprifion of Treafon.

1542.

It was alſo Enacted, That whoſoever knew any Thing of the Incontinence of the Queen, (for the time being,) ſhould reveal it with all poſſible ſpeed, under the Pains of Treafon. And that if the King or his Succeſſors ſhould intend to marry any Woman, whom they took to be a pure and clean Maid; if ſhe, not being ſo, did not declare the ſame to the King, it ſhould be High Treafon; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of Miſprifion of Treafon. And if the Queen, or the Prince's Wife, ſhould procure any by Meſſages, or Words, to know her carnally; or any other by Meſſages, or Words, ſhould ſollicite them; they, their Councillors and Abettors, are to be adjudged high Traitors.

This Act being aſſented to, by the King's Letters Patents, the Queen, and the Lady *Rochford*, were beheaded on *Tower-hill* the 12th of *February*. The Queen confeſſed the Miſcarriages of her former Life, before the King married her: But ſtood abſolutely to her denial, as to any Thing after that: And proteſted to Dr. *White*, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, That ſhe took God and his Angels to be her Witneſſes, upon the Salvation of her Soul, that ſhe was guiltleſs of that Act of deſiling her Sovereign's Bed, for which ſhe was condemned. Yet the Lasciviousneſs of her former Life, made People incline to believe any ill Thing that could be reported of her. But for the Lady *Rochford*, every Body obſerved God's Juſtice on her; who had the chief Hand both in Queen *Anne Boleyn's*, and her own Husband's Death: And it now appearing ſo evidently what ſort of Woman ſhe was, it tended much to raiſe their Reputations again, in whoſe Fall her Spite and other Artifices had ſo great a Hand. She had been a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the laſt four Queens: But now it was found how unworthy ſhe was of that Truſt.

Cenfures  
paſt upon it.

It was thought extream Cruelty to be ſo ſevere to the Queen's Kindred, for not diſcovering her former ill Life. Since the making ſuch a Diſcovery had been inconſiſtent with the Rules of Juſtice or Decency. The old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, being her Grand-mother, had bred her of a Child: And it was ſaid, for her to have gone and told the King, That ſhe was a Whore, when he intended to marry her, as it was an unheard-of thing, ſo the not doing of it, could not have drawn ſo ſevere a Punishment, from any but a Prince of that King's Temper. But the King pardoned her, and moſt of the reſt; though ſome continued in Priſon after the reſt were diſcharged.

But for the other Part of this Act, obliging a Woman to reveal her own former Incontinence, if the King intended to marry her, (which, by a Miſtake, the Lord *Herbert* ſays was paſſed in another Act, taking it from *Hall*, and not looking into the Record:) It was thought a Piece of grievous Tyranny; ſince if a King, eſpecially one of ſo imperious a Temper as this was, ſhould deſign ſuch an Honour to any of his Subjects, who had failed in their former Life, they muſt either deſame themſelves, by publiſhing ſo diſgraceful a Secret, or run the hazard of being afterwards attainted of Treafon. Upon this, thoſe that took an

1542. indiscreet Liberty to rally that Sex unjustly and severely, said th e King could induce none that was reputed a Maid to marry him : So that not so much Choice, as Necessity, put him on marrying a Widow about two Years after this. But this Part of the Act was afterwards repealed in the first Parliament of King *Edward* the 6th.

Act about  
Hospitals,  
&c.

There passed another Act in this Parliament, that made way for the Dissolution of Colleges, Hospitals, and other Foundations of that Nature. The Courtiers had been practising with the Presidents and Governors of some of these, to make Resignations of them to the King ; which were conceived in the same Stile that most of the Surrenders of Monasteries did run in. Eight of these were all really procured, which are enrolled. But they could not make any great Progress, because it was provided by the Local Statutes of most of them, that no President, or any other Fellows, could make any such Deed, without the Consent of all the Fellows in the House ; and this could not be so easily obtained. Therefore all such Statutes were annulled, and none were any more to be sworn to the Observation of them.

The Pa-  
pists design  
to suppress  
the English  
Bible.

In the Convocation that sat at that time, which, as was formerly observed, *Fuller* mistakes for the Convocation in the 31st Year of this King ; the Translation of the Bible was brought under Examination, and many of the Bishops were appointed to peruse it. For it seems Complaints were brought against it. It was certainly the greatest Eyesore of the Popish Party ; and that which they knew would most effectually beat down all their Projects. But there was no opposing it directly, for the King was fully resolved to go through with it. Therefore the Way they took, was once to load the Translation then set out, with as many Faults as they could ; and so to get it first condemned, and then to promise a new one : In the making and publishing of which, it would be easie to breed many Delays. But *Gardiner* had another singular Conceit : He fancied there were many Words in the New Testament, of such Majesty, that they were not to be translated ; but must stand in the *English* Bible as they were in the *Latin*. A Hundred of these he put into Writing, which was read in Convocation. His Design in this was visible ; That if a Translation must be made, it should be so daubed all through with *Latin* Words, that the People should not understand it much the better for its being in *English*. A taste of this the Reader may have by the first Twenty of them ; *Ecclesia, Pœnitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Contritus, Olocausta, Justitia, Justificatio, Idiota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Adorare, Sandalium, Simplex, Tetrarcha, Sacramentum, Simulacrum, Gloria*. The Design he had of keeping some of these, particularly the last save one, is plain enough ; that the People might not discover that visible Opposition, which was between the Scriptures, and the *Roman* Church, in the Matter of Images. This could not be better palliated, than by disguising these Places with Words that the People understood not. How this was received, *Fuller* has not told us. But it seems *Cranmer* found, that the Bishops were resolved, either to condemn the Translation of the Bible, or to proceed so slowly in it, that it should come to nothing. Therefore he moved the King to refer the perusing of it to the Two Universities. The Bishops took this very ill, when *Cranmer* intimated it to them in the King's Name ; and objected, that the Learning of the Universities was much decayed of late ; and that the Two Houses of Convocation were the more proper Judges of that, where the Learning of  
the

the Land was chiefly gathered together. But the Arch-bishop said he would stick close to the King's Pleasure, and that the Universities should examine it. Upon which, all the Bishops of his Province, except *Ely* and *St. David's*, protested against it; and soon after the Convocation was dissolved.

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Not long after this, I find *Bonner* made some Injunctions for his Clergy; which have a strain in them, so far different from the rest of his Life, that it's more probable they were drawn by another Pen, and imposed on *Bonner* by an Order from the King. They were set out in the 34th Year of the King's Reign; but the time of the Year is not express'd. The Reader will find them in the Collection at their full length, The Substance of them is;

*Bonner's*  
Injunctions.

- ' *First*, That all should observe the King's Injunctions.
- ' *Secondly*, That every Clergy-man should read and study a Chapter of the Bible every Day, with the Exposition of the Gloss, or some approved Doctor; which having once studied, they should retain it in their Memories, and be ready to give an Account of it to him, or any whom he should appoint.
- ' *Thirdly*, That they should study the Book set forth by the Bishops, of the Institution of a Christian Man.
- ' *Fourthly*, That such as did not reside in their Benefices, should bring their Curates to him, or his Officers, to be tried.
- ' *Fifthly*, That they should often exhort their Parishioners to make no private Contracts of Marriage.
- ' *Sixthly*, That they should marry none who were married before, till they were sufficiently assured that the former Husband or Wife were dead.
- ' *Seventhly*, That they should instruct the Children of their several Parishes; and teach them to read *English*, that they might know how to believe, and pray, and live according to the Will of God.
- ' *Eighthly*, That they should reconcile all that were in Enmity, and in that be a good Example to others.
- ' *Ninthly*, That none should receive the Communion, who did not Confess to their own Curates.
- ' *Tenthly*, That none should be suffered to go to Taverns, or Ale-houses, and use unlawful Games on Sundays, or Holy-days, in time of Divine Service.
- ' *Eleventhly*, That twice every Quarter, they should declare the Seven deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments.
- ' *Twelfthly*, That no Priest should go but in his Habit.
- ' *Thirteenthly*, That no Priest should be admitted to say Mass, without shewing his Letters of Orders to the Bishop or his Officers.
- ' *Fourteenthly*. That they should instruct the People to beware of Blasphemy, or Swearing by any Parts of Christ's Body; and to abstain from Scolding and Slandering, Adultery, Fornication, Gluttony or Drunkenness; and that they should present at the next Visitation, those who were guilty of these Sins.
- ' *Fifteenthly*, That no Priest should use unlawful Games, or go to Ale-houses or Taverns, but upon an urgent Necessity.
- ' *Sixteenthly*, No Plays or Interludes to be acted in the Churches.
- ' *Seventeenthly*, That there should be no Sermons preached, that had been made within these Two Hundred or Three Hundred Years.
- ' But when they preached, they should explain the whole Gospel and

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‘ Epistle for the Day, according to the mind of some good Doctor allowed by the Church of *England*; and chiefly to insist on those Places that might stir up the People to good Works, and to Prayer; and to explain the use of the Ceremonies of the Church. That there should be no railing in Sermons; but the Preacher should calmly and discreetly set forth the Excellencies of Vertue, and the Vileness of Sin; and should also explain the Prayers for that Day, that so the People might pray with one Heart; and should teach them the use of the Sacraments, particularly of the Mass; but should avoid the reciting of Fables, or Stories for which no good Writer could be vouched; and that when the Sermon was ended, the Preacher should in few Words resume the Substance of it

*Eighteenthly*, That none be suffered to Preach under the Degree of a Bishop, who had not obtained a Licence, either from the King, or him their Ordinary.

The manner of Preaching at that Time.

These Injunctions, especially when they are considered at their full length, will give great Light into the Temper of Men at that Time; and particularly inform us of the Design and Method in Preaching, as it was then set forward. Concerning which the Reader will not be ill pleased to receive some Information. In the Time of Popery there had been few Sermons but in *Lent*; for their Discourses on the Holy-Days, were rather Panegyricks on the Saints, or the vain magnifying of some of their Relicks, which were laid up in such or such Places. In *Lent* there was a more solemn and serious Way of Preaching; and the Friars, who chiefly maintained their Credit by their Performances at that Time, used all the Force of their Skill and Industry to raise the People into Heats, by passionate and affecting Discourses. Yet these generally tended to raise the value of some of the Laws of the Church, such as Abstinence at that Time, Confession, with other Corporal Severities; or some of the little Devices, that both inflamed a blind Devotion, and drew Money; such as Indulgencies, Pilgrimages, or the enriching the Shrines, and Relicks of the Saints. But there was not that Pains taken to inform the People of the Hatefulness of Vice, and the Excellency of Holiness, or of the wonderful Love of Christ, by which Men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him. And the Design of their Sermons was rather to raise a present Heat, which they knew afterwards how to manage, than to work a real Reformation on their Hearers. They had also intermixt with all Divine Truths, so many Fables, that they were become very extravagant; and that Alloy had so embased the whole, that there was great need of a good Discerning, to deliver People from those Prejudices, which these Mixtures brought upon the whole Christian Doctrine. Therefore the Reformers studied with all possible Care, to instruct the People in the Fundamentals of Christianity, with which they had been so little acquainted. From hence it came, that the People ran after those New Preachers with wonderful Zeal. It is true, there seem to be very foul and indiscreet Reflections on the other Party, in some of their Sermons. But if any have applied themselves much to observe what sort of Men, the Friars, and the rest of the Popish Clergy were at that Time, they shall find great Excuses of those Heats. And as our Saviour laid open the Hypocrisies and Impostures of the Scribes and Pharisees, in a Style which such Corruptions extorted: so there was great Cause given to treat them very roughly; though it is not to be denied, but those Preachers had

had some Mixtures of their own Resentments, for the Cruelties and ill Usage which they received from them. But now that the Reformation made a greater Progress, much Pains was taken to send eminent Preachers over the Nation; not confining them to particular Charges, but sending them with the King's License up and down to many Places. Many of these Licenses are enrolled, and it is likely that many were granted that were not so carefully preserved. But Provision was also made for Peoples daily Instruction; and because in that ignorant Time, there could not be found a sufficient Number of good Preachers, and in a Time of so much juggling, they would not trust the Instruction of the People to every one; therefore none was to Preach except he had gotten a particular License for it, from the King, or his Diocesan. But to qualifie this, a Book of Homilies was Printed, in which the Gospels and Epistles of all the Sundays and Holidays of the Year were set down, with an Homily to every one of these, which is a plain and practical Paraphrase on these Parcels of Scripture. To these are added many serious Exhortations, and some short Explanations of the most obvious Difficulties, that shew the Compiler of them was a Man both of good Judgment and Learning. To these were also added, Sermons upon several Occasions; as for Weddings, Christnings and Funerals; and these were to be read to the People by such as were not Licensed to Preach. But those who were Licensed to Preach, being oft accused for their Sermons, and Complaints being made to the King by hot Men on both Sides, they came generally to write and read their Sermons. From thence the reading of Sermons grew into a Practice in this Church; in which, if there was not that Heat and fire, which the Friars had shewed in their Declamations, so that the Passions of the Hearers were not so much wrought on by it; yet it has produced the greatest Treasure of weighty, grave and solid Sermons, that ever the Church of God had; which does in a great Measure compensate that seeming Flatness to vulgar Ears, that is in the Delivery of them.

The Injunctions take Notice of another thing, which the Sincerity of an Historian obliges me to give an Account of, though it was indeed the greatest blemish of that time. These were the Stage-plays and Interludes, that were then generally acted, and often in Churches. They were Representations of the Corruptions of the Monks, and some other Feats of the Popish Clergy. The Poems were ill contrived, and worse expressed; if there lies not some hidden Wit in these Ballads, (for Verses they were not), which at this Distance is lost. But from the representing the Immoralities and Disorders of the Clergy, they proceeded to act the Pageantry of their Worship. This took with the People much, who being provoked by the Miscarriages and Cruelties of some of the Clergy, were not ill pleased to see them and their Religion exposed to publick Scorn. The Clergy complained much of this; and said it was an Introduction to Atheism, and all sort of Irreligion. For if once they began to mock sacred Things, no Stop could be put to that petulant Humour. The grave and learned sort of Reformers disliked and condemned these Courses, as not suitable to the *Genius* of true Religion; but the political Men of that Party, made great use of them, encouraging them all they could; for they said, Contempt being the most operative and lasting Affection of the Mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those Abuses, which yet remained, than to expose them to the Contempt and Scorn of the People.

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Plays and  
Enterludes  
then acted.

1452.  
 War between England and Scotland

In the end of this Year a War broke out between *England* and *Scotland*, set on by the Instigation of the *French King*; who was also beginning to be an uneasy Neighbour to those of the *English Pale* about *Callice*. The King set out a long Declaration, in which he very largely laid out the Pretensions the Crown of *England* had, to an Homage from the Kings of *Scotland*. In this I am no fit Person to interpose; the Matter being disputed by the learned Men of both Nations. The *Scots* said it was only for some Lands their Kings had in *England*, that they did Homage; as the Kings of *England* did for *Normandy* and *Guienne*, to the Kings of *France*. But the *English* Writers cited many Records, to shew that the Homage was done for the Crown of *Scotland*. To this the *Scots* replied, that in the Invasion of *Edward* the First, he had carried away all their Ancient Records; so these being lost, they could only appeal to the Chronicles that lay up and down the Nation in their Monasteries: That all these affirmed the contrary, and that they were a free Kingdom; till *Edward* the First taking Advantage of their Disputes about the Succession to their Crown, upon the Death of *Alexander* the Third, got some of the Competitors to lay down their Pretensions at his Feet, and to promise Homage: That this was also performed by *John Balliol*, whom he preferred to the Crown of *Scotland*; but by these Means he lost the Hearts of the Nation, and it was said, That this Act of Homage could not give away the Rights of a free Crown and People. And they said, That whatsoever Submissions had been made since that time, they were only extorted by Force; as the Effects of Victory and Conquest, but gave no good Right, nor just Title. To all this the *English* Writers answered, That these Submissions by their Records, (which were the solemn Instruments of a Nation, that ought never to be called in Question), were sometimes freely made; and not by the Kings only, but by the Consent of their States. In this Uncertainty I must leave it with the Reader.

But after the King had opened this Pretension, ' He complained of the Disorders committed by the *Scots*; of the unkind Returns he had met with from their King for his Care of him, while he was an Infant; taking no Advantage of the Confusions in which that Kingdom then was, but on the contrary, protecting the Crown, and quieting the Kingdom. But that of late many Deceptions and Acts of Hostility had been committed by the *Scots*; and though some Treaties had been begun, they were managed with so much Shuffling and Inconstancy, that the King must now try it by War. Yet he concluded his Declaration ambiguously, neither keeping up nor laying down his Pretensions to that Crown; but expressing them in such a Manner, that which Way soever the Success of the War turned, he might be bound up to nothing, by what he now declared.

But whatsoever Justice might be in the King's Title, or Quarrel, his Sword was much the Sharper. He ordered the Duke of *Norfolk* to march into *Scotland*, about the End of *October*, with an Army of 20000 Men. *Hall* tells us, they burnt many Towns, and names them. But these were only single Houses, or little Villages; and the best Town he names is *Kelfo*, which is a little open Market-Town. Soon after they returned back into *England*; whether after they had spoiled the Neighbouring Country, they felt the Inconveniences of the Season of the Year, or whether hearing the *Scots* were gathering, they had no mind to go too far, I cannot determine; for the Writers of both Nations

Duke of Norfolk's Inroad into Scotland.

tions disagree, as to Reason the of their speedy Return. But any that knows the Country they spoiled, and where they stop, must conclude, that either they had secret Orders only to make an Inroad, and destroy some Places that lay along the River of *Tweed*, and upon the Border, which done, without driving the Breach too far, to retire back; or they must have had Apprehensions of the *Scotch* Armies coming to lie in these Moors and Hills of *Sautrey*, or *Lammer-Moor*, which they were to pass if they had gone farther; and there were about 10000 Men brought thither, but he that commanded them was much blamed for doing nothing; his Excuse was, That his Number did not equal theirs. About the End of *November*, the Lord *Maxwell* brought an Army of 15000 Men, together with a Train of Artillery of 24 Pieces of Ordnance. And since the Duke of *Norfolk* had retired towards *Berwick*, they resolved to enter *England* on the Western side by *Solway* Frith. The King went thither himself, but fatally left the Army, and yet was not many Miles from them when they were defeated. The Truth of it was, that King, who had hitherto raised the greatest Expectation, was about that time disturbed in his Fancy, thinking that he saw Apparitions, particularly of one, whom it was said, he had unjustly put to Death; so that he could not rest, nor be at quiet. But as his leaving the Army was ill advised, so his giving a Commission to *Oliver Sinclair*, that was his *Minion*, to command in Chief, did extremely disgust the Nobility. They loved not to be commanded by any but their King, and were already weary of the Insolence of that Favourite, who being but of ordinary Birth, was despised by them; so that they were beginning to separate. And when they were upon that Occasion in great Disorder, a small Body of *English*, not above 500 Horse, appeared. But they apprehending it was the Duke of *Norfolk's* Army, refused to fight, and fell in Confusion. Many Prisoners were taken, the chief of whom were, the Earls of *Glencairn*, and *Cassillis*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Sommervell*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*, and *Oliver Sinclair*; and about 200 Gentlemen and 800 Souldiers; and all the Ordnance and Baggage was also taken. The News of this being brought to the King of *Scotland*, increased his former Disorders; and some few Days after, he died, leaving an infant Daughter, but newly born, to succeed him.

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The *Scotch*  
Army defeated.

The Lords that were taken Prisoners, were brought to *London*, where, after they had been charged in Council, how unkindly they had used the King, they were put in the keeping of some of the greatest Quality about Court. But the Earl of *Cassillis* had the best Luck of them all; for being sent to *Lambeth*, where he was a Prisoner upon his Parole, *Cranmer* studied to free him from the Darkness and Fetters of Popery; in which he was so successful, that the other was afterwards a great Promoter of the Reformation in *Scotland*. The *Scots* had been hitherto possessed with most extraordinary Prejudices against the Changes that had been made in *England*; which concurring with the ancient Animosities between the two Nations, had raised a wonderful ill Opinion of the King's Proceedings. And though the Bishop of *St. David's* (*Barlow*) had been sent into *Scotland* with the Book of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, to clear these ill Impressions; yet his Endeavours were unsuccessful. The Pope, at the Instance of the *French* King, and to make that Kingdom sure, made *David Beaton*, Arch-bishop of *St. Andrew's*, a Cardinal; which gave him great Authority in the Kingdom; so he with the rest of the Clergy diverted the King from

Many Prisoners taken.

any

1542. any Correspondence with *England*, and assured him of Victory if he would make War on such an Heretical Prince. The Clergy also offered the King 50000 Crowns a Year, towards a War with *England*; and possessed all the Nation with very ill Thoughts of the Court and Clergy there. But the Lords that were now Prisoners, (chiefly the Earl of *Cassillis*, who was best instructed by his Religious Host;) conceived a better Opinion of the Reformation, and carried Home with them those Seeds of Knowledge, which produced afterwards a very fruitful Harvest. On all these Things I have dwelt the longer, that it might appear, whence the Inclination of the *Scottish* Nobility to Reform, did take its first Rise, though there was afterwards in the Methods, by which it was advanced, too great a Mixture of the Heat and Forwardness that is natural to the Genius of that Country.

When the News of the King of *Scotland's* Death, and of the young Queen's Birth that succeeded him, came to the Court, the King thought this a very favourable Conjunction to unite and settle the whole Island. But that unfortunate Princess was not born under such happy Stars, though she was Mother to him, in whom this long-desired Union took effect. The Lords that were then Prisoners began the Motion; and that being told the King, he called for them to *Hampton-Court*, in the *Christmas*-time, and said, Now an Opportunity was put in their Hands, to quiet all Troubles that had been between these Two Crowns, by the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* to their young Queen; in which he desired their Assistance, and gave them their Liberty, they leaving Hostages for the Performance of what was then offered by them. They all promised their Concurrence, and seemed much taken with the Greatness of the *English* Court, which the King always kept up, not without Affectation; they also said they thought God was better served there than in their own Country. So on *New-Years* Day they took their Journey towards *Scotland*; but the sequel of this will appear afterwards.

1543. A Parliament was summoned to meet the Two and twentieth of *January*, which sat to the 12th of *May*. So the Session begun in the 34th, and ended in the 35th Year of the King's Reign; from whence it is called in the Records, the Parliament of the 34th and 35th Year.

A new Parliament.

Here both the Temporality and Spirituality gave great Subsidies to the King, of Six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in Three Years. They set forth in their Preambles, 'The Expence the King had been at, in his War with *Scotland*, and for his other great and urgent Occasions, by which was meant a War with *France*, which broke out the following Summer. But with these, there passed other two Acts of great Importance to Religion. The Title of the first was, *An Act for the Advancement of True Religion, and Abolishment of the contrary*. The King was now entered upon a War, so it seemed reasonable to qualify the Severity of the late Acts about Religion, that all might be quiet at Home. *Cranmer* moved it first, and was faintly seconded by the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, and *Rochester*, who had promised to stick to him in it. At this Time a League was almost finished between the King and the Emperor, which did again raise the Spirits of the Popish Faction. They had been much cast down ever since the last Queen's Fall. But now that the Emperor was like to have an Interest in *English* Councils, they took Heart again; and *Gardiner* opposed

*Cranmer* promotes a Reformation.



posed the Arch-Bishops Motion with all possible Earnestness. And that whole Faction fell so upon it, that the timorous Bishops not only forsook *Cranmer*, but *Heath* of *Rocheſter*, and *Skip* of *Hereford*, were very earnest with him to stay for a better Opportunity; but he generously preferred his Conscience to those Arts of Policy, which he would never Practise; and said, He would push it as far as it would go. So he plied the King, and the other Lords so earnestly, that at length the Bill passed, though clogg'd with many Proviso's, and very much short of what he had designed.

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The Preamble set forth, ' That there being many Dissentions about Religion, the Scriptures, which the King had put into the Hands of his People, were abused by many Seditious Persons, in their Sermons, Books, Plays, Rhythmes, and Songs; from which great Inconveniences were like to arise. For preventing these, it was necessary to establish a Form of sincere Doctrine, conformable to that which was taught by the Apostles. Therefore all the Books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, of *Tindal's* Translation (which is called *Crafty*, *False*, and *Untrue*) are forbidden to be kept or used, in the King's Dominions; with all other Books, contrary to the Doctrine set forth in the Year 1540, with Punishments and Fines, and Imprisonment upon such as sold or kept such Books. But Bibles that were not of *Tindal's* Translation, were still to be kept, only the Annotations, or Preambles, that were in any of them, were to be cut out, or dashed; and the King's Proclamations and Injunctions, with the Primers and other Books Printed in *English*, for the Instruction of the People before the Year 1540, were still to be in Force; and among these, *Chaucer's* Books are by Name mentioned. No Books were to be Printed about Religion, without the King's Allowance. In no Plays, nor Enterludes, they might make any Expositions of Scripture; but only reproach Vice, and set forth Vertue in them. None might read the Scripture in an open Assembly, or expound it, but he who was Licensed by the King or his Ordinary; with a Proviso, That the Chancellors in Parliament, Judges, Records, or any others, who were wont in publick Occasions to make Speeches, and commonly took a Place of Scripture for their Text, might still do as they had done formerly. Every Nobleman, or Gentleman, might cause the Bible to be read to him, in or about his House, quietly and without Disturbance. Every Merchant that was a Householder, might also read it. But no Woman, nor Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-men, Serving-men, under the Degree of Yeomen; nor no Husbandmen or Labourers, might read it. Yet every Noble Woman, or Gentlewoman, might read it for her self; and so might all other Persons but those who were excepted. Every Person might read and teach in their Houses, the Book set out in the Year 1540, with the *Psalter*, *Primmer*, *Pater-noster*, the *Ave*, and the *Creed* in *English*. All Spiritual Persons, who preached or taught contrary to the Doctrine set forth in that Book, were to be admitted, for the first Conviction, to renounce their Errors; for the second to abjure, and carry a Faggot; which if they refused to do, or fell into a third Offence, they were to be burnt. But the Laity, for the third Offence, were only to forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and be liable to perpetual Imprisonment. But these Offences were to be objected to them, within a Year after they were committed. And whereas before, the Party accused was

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not allowed to bring Witnesses for his own Purgation; this was now granted him. But to this a severe Proviso was added, which seemed to overthrow all the former Favour; that the Act of the Six Articles was still in the same Force, in which it was before the making of this Act. Yet that was moderated by the next Proviso; That the King might at any time hereafter, at his Pleasure, change this Act or any Provision in it.

This last Proviso was made stronger by another Act, made for the due Execution of Proclamations, in pursuance of a former Act to the same Effect, of which mention was made in the 31st Year of the King's Reign. By that former Act there was so great a Number of Officers of State, and of the King's Household, of Judges, and other Persons, to sit on these Trials, that those not being easily brought together, the Act had never taken any Effect. Therefore it was now appointed, that nine Councillors should be a sufficient Number for these Trials. At the passing of that Act, the Lord *Montjoy* protested against it, which is the single Instance of a Protestation against any Publick Bill through this King's whole Reign.

The Act about Religion, freed the Subjects from the Fears under which they were before. For now the Laity were delivered from the hazard of burning; and the Spirituality were not in danger, but upon the third Conviction. They might also bring their own Witnesses, which was a great Favour to them. Yet that high Power which was given the King, of altering the Act, or any Parts of it, made, that they were not absolutely secured from their Fears, of which some Instances afterwards appeared. But as this Act was some Mitigation of former Severities, so it brought the Reformers to depend wholly on the King's Mercy for their Lives; since he could now chain up, or let loose, the Act of the Six Articles upon them at his pleasure.

A League between the King and the Emperor.

Soon after the end of this Parliament, a League was sworn between the King and the Emperor on *Trinity-Sunday*, Offensive and Defensive, for *England, Calais*, and the Places about it, and for all *Flanders*; with many other Particulars to be found in the Treaty, set down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. There is no mention made of the Legitimation of the Lady *Mary*; but it seems it was promised, That she should be declared next in the Succession of the Crown to Prince *Edward*, if the King had no other Children; which was done in the next Parliament, without any Reflections on her Birth; and the Emperor was content to accept of that, there being no other Terms to be obtained. The Popish Party, who had set up their Rest on bringing the King and Emperor to a League, and putting the Lady *Mary* into the Succession, no doubt prest the Emperor much to accept of this; which we may reasonably believe was vigorously driven on by *Bonner*, who was sent to *Spain* an Ambassador for concluding this Peace, by which also the Emperor gained much; for having engaged the Crowns of *England* and *France* in a War, and drawn off the King of *England* from his League with the Princes of *Germany*, he was now at more Leisure to prosecute his Designs in *Germany*.

A Treaty for a Match with the Queen of Scotland.

But the Negotiation in *Scotland* succeeded not to the King's Mind, though at first there were very good Appearances. The Cardinal, by forging a Will for the dead King, got himself and some of his Party, to be put into the Government. But the Earl of *Arran* (*Hamilton*) being the nearest in Blood to the young Queen, and being generally beloved for

for his Probity, was invited to assume the Government; which he managed with great Moderation, and an universal Applause. He summoned a Parliament which confirmed him in his Power, during the Minority of the Queen. The King sent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him, to agree the Marriage, and to desire him to send the young Queen into *England*. And if private Ends wrought much on him, *Sadler* was empowered to offer another Marriage of the King's second Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, to his Son. The Earl of *Arran* was himself inclinable to Reformation, and very much hated the Cardinal. So he was easily brought to consent to a Treaty for the Match, which was concluded in *August*. By which the young Queen was to be bred in *Scotland*, till she was Ten Years of Age; but the King might send a Nobleman, and his Wife, with other Persons, not exceeding Twenty, to wait on her. And for performance of this, Six Noblemen were to be sent from *Scotland* for Hostages. The Earl of *Arran* being then Governour, kept the Cardinal under Restraint till this Treaty was concluded: But he, corrupting his Keepers, made his Escape, and joyning with the Queen Mother, they made a strong Faction against the Governour; all the Clergy joyned with the Cardinal to oppose the Match with *England*, since they looked for Ruine if it succeeded. The Queen, being a Sister of *Guise*, and bred in the *French* Court, was wholly for their Interests; and all that had been obliged by that Court, or depended on it, were quickly drawn into the Party. It was also said to every Body, that it was much more the Interest of *Scotland* to match with *France*, than with *England*. If they were united to *France*, they might expect an easie Government. For the *French* being at such Distance from them, and knowing how easily they might throw themselves into the Arms of *England*, would certainly rule them gently, and avoid giving them great Provocations. But if they were united to *England*, they had no Remedy, but must look for an heavier Yoke to be laid on them. This meeting with the rooted Antipathy, that by a long continuance of War was grown up among them, to a savage Hatred of the *English* Nation; and being inflamed by the Considerations of Religion, raised an universal dislike of the Match with *England*, in the greatest Part of the whole Nation; only a few Men of greater Probity, who were weary of the Depredations and Wars in the Borders, and had a liking to the Reformation of the Church, were still for it.

The *French* Court struck in vigorously with their Party in *Scotland*, and sent over the Earl of *Lenox*; who, as he was next in Blood to the Crown, after the Earl of *Arran*, so was of the same Family of the *Stewards*, which had endeared him to the late King. He was to lead the Queen's Party against the *Hamiltons*; yet they employed another Tool, which was *John Hamilton*, base Brother to the Governour, who was afterwards Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*. He had great Power over his Brother; who being then not above Four and Twenty Years of Age, and having been the only lawful Son of his Father in his old Age, was never bred abroad; and so understood not the Policies and Arts of Courts, and was easily abused by his base Brother. He assured him, that if he went about to destroy Religion, by matching the Queen to an Heretical Prince, they would depose him from his Government, and declare him Illegitimate. There could be indeed nothing clearer than his Father's Divorce from his first Wife: For it had been formerly proved, that she had been married to the Lord *Tester's* Son before

1543.

The different Interests there.

The French Party prevails.

1543.

he married her, who claimed her as his Wife ; upon which, her Marriage with the Earl of *Arran* was declared Null in the Year 1507. And it was ten Years after, that the Earl of *Arran* did marry the Governor's Mother : Of which things the Original Instruments are yet extant. Yet it was now said, That that Pre-contract with the Lord *Tester's* Son was but a Forgery, to dissolve that Marriage ; and if the Earl of *Lenox*, (who was next to the Crown, in Case the Earl of *Arran* was Illegitimated), should by the Assistance of *France* procure a Review of that Process from *Rome*, and obtain a Revocation of that Sentence, by which his Fathers first Marriage was annulled ; then it was plain that the second Marriage, with the Issue by it, would be of no Force. All this wrought on the Governor much, and at length drew him off from the Match with *England*, and brought him over to the *French* Interests. Which being effected, there was no further Use of the Earl of *Lenox* ; so he finding himself neglected by the Queen, and the Cardinal, and abandoned by the Crown of *France*, fled into *England* ; where he was very kindly received by the King, who gave him in Marriage his Niece, Lady *Margaret Dowglafs*, whom the Queen of *Scotland* had born to the Earl of *Angus*, her second Husband. From which Marriage issued the Lord *Darnly*, Father to King *James*.

When the Lords of the *French* Faction had carried Things to their Mind in *Scotland*, it was next considered, what they should do to redeem the Hostages whom the Lords, who were Prisoners in *England*, had left behind them. And for this, no other Remedy could be found, but to let them take their Hazard, and leave them to the King of *England's* Mercy : To this they all agreed, only the Earl of *Cassillis* had too much Honour and Vertue to do so mean a thing. Therefore, after he had done all he could for maintaining the Treaty about the Match, he went into *England*, and offered himself again to be a Prisoner. But as generous Actions are a Reward to themselves, so they often meet with that Entertainment which they deserve. And upon this Occasion, the King was not wanting to express a very great Value for that Lord. He called him another *Regulus*, but used him better. For he both gave him his Liberty, and made him noble Presents, and sent him and his Hostages back, being resolved to have a severer Reparation for the Injury done him. All which I have opened more fully, because this will give a great Light to the Affairs of that Kingdom ; which will be found in the Reigns of the succeeding Princes, to have a great Intermixture with the Affairs of this Kingdom. Nor are they justly represented by any who write of these Times ; and having seen some Original Papers relating to *Scotland* at that time, I have done it upon more certain Information.

A War with  
*France*.

The King of *England* made War next upon *France* : The Grounds of this War are recited by the Lord *Herbert*. One of these is proper for me to repeat ; ' That the *French* King had not deserted the Bishop of *Rome*, and consented to a Reformation, as he had once promised. ' The rest related to other Things, such as the seizing our Ships ; ' The detaining the yearly Pension due to the King ; The fortifying *Ardes* to the Prejudice of the *English* Pale ; The revealing the King's Secrets to the Emperor ; The having given, first his Daughter, and ' then the Duke of *Guise's* Sister, in Marriage, to his Enemy, the King ' of *Scotland* ; and his confederating himself with the Turk. And ' Satisfaction not being given in these Particulars a War is declared.

In

In July the King married *Katherine Parre*, who had been formerly married to *Nevil Lord Latimer*. She was a secret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a Storm, which at this time fell on some in *Windsor*. For that being a Place to which the King did oft retire, it was thought fit to make some Examples there. And now the League with the Emperor, gave the Popish Faction a greater Interest in the King's Councils. There was at this time a Society at *Windsor*, that favoured the Reformation. *Anthony Person*, a Priest, *Robert Testwood*, and *John Marbeck*, Singing Men, and *Henry Filmer* of the Town of *Windsor*, were the chief of them. But those were much favoured by Sir *Philip Hobby* and his Lady, and several others of the King's Family. During *Cromwell's* Power, none questioned them; but after his Fall, they were looked on with an ill Eye. Doctor *London*, who had by the most servile Flatteries insinuated himself into *Cromwell*, and was much employed in the Suppression of Monasteries, and expressed a particular Zeal in removing all Images and Relicks which had been abused to Superstition, did now, upon *Cromwell's* Fall, apply himself to *Gardiner*, by whose Means he was made a Prebendary there. And to shew how dextrously he could make his Court both ways, or to make Compensation for what he had formerly done, he took Care to gather a whole Book of Informations, against those in *Windsor*, who favoured the *New Learning*, (which was the modest Phrase by which they termed the Reformation). He carried this Book to *Gardiner*, who moved the King in Council, that a Commission might be granted for searching suspected Houses at *Windsor*, in which it was informed there were many Books against the Six Articles. The King granted the Warrant for the Town, but not for the Castle. So those before named, were seized on, and some of these Books were found in their Houses. Dr. *Hains*, Dean of *Exeter*, and Prebendary of *Windsor*, being informed against, was also put in Prison; so was likewise Sir *Philip Hobby*. But there were likewise some Papers of Notes on the Bible, and of a Concordance in *English*, found in *Marbeck's* House, written with his own Hand; and he being an Illiterate Man, they did not doubt but these were other Men's Works, which he was writing out. So they began with him, and hoped to draw Discoveries from him. He was frequently examined, but would tell nothing that might do Hurt to any other Person. But being examined, who wrote these Notes, he said, They were his own; for he read all the Books he could light on, and wrote out what every Man had written on any Place of Scripture. And for his Concordance, he told them, that being a poor Man, he could not buy one of the Bibles, when they came first out in *English*, but set himself to write one out; by which another perceiving his Industry, suggested to him, That he would do well to write a Concordance in *English*; but he said, He knew not what that was; so the other Person explaining it to him, he got a *Latin* Concordance, and an *English* Bible; and having learned a little *Latin* when he was young, he, by comparing the *English* with the *Latin*, had drawn out a Concordance, which he had brought to the Letter L. This seemed so extravagant a thing to *Gardiner*, and the other Bishops that examined him, that they could by no Means believe it. But he desired they would draw out any Words of the Letter M, and give him the *Latin* Concordance, with the *English* Bible, and after a little time they should see whether he had not done the rest. So the Trial was made, and in a

1543.

A new Perfection of Protestants.

*Marbeck's* great Ingenuity.

Days

1543.

Days Time he had drawn out Three Sheets of Paper, upon those Words that were given him. This both satisfied and astonished the Bishops, wondering at the Ingeniousness and Diligence of so poor a Man. It was much talked of, and being told the King, he said, *Marbeck employed his Time better than those that examined him.* For the others, they were kept in Prison at *London*, till the 24th of *July*, that the King gave Orders to try them at *Windsor*.

Three burnt  
at *Windsor*.

There was a Court held there, on the 27th of *July*, where *Capon*, Bishop of *Sarum*, and *Franklin*, Dean of *Windsor*, and *Fachel*, Parson of *Reading*, and Three of the Judges, sate on those Four Men. They were Indicted for some Words spoken against the Mass. *Marbeck* only for writing out an Epistle of *Calvin's* against it; which, he said, he copied before the Act of the Six Articles was made. The Jury was not called out of the Town, for they would not trust it to them, but out of the Farms of the Chappel. They were all found guilty, and so condemned to be burnt, which was Executed on Three of them the next Day; only *Marbeck* was recommended to the Bishop of *Winchester's* Care, to procure his Pardon, which was obtained. The other Three expressed great Composure of Mind in their Sufferings, and died with much Christian Resolution and Patience, forgiving their Persecutors, and committing themselves to the Mercies of God, through *Jesus Christ*.

Their Per-  
secutors are  
perjured.

But in their Tryal, Doctor *London*, and *Simonds*, a Lawyer and an Informer, had studied to fish out Accusations against many of the King's Servants, as Sir *Philip Hobby*, and Sir *Thomas Cawarden*, with their Ladies, and several others who had favoured those Men. With these Informations, *Oakam*, that had been the Clerk of the Court, was sent to *Gardiner*: But one of the Queen's Servants who had discovered the Design, was before him at Court. Upon the Advertisement which he had brought, *Okam* was seized on at his coming to Court, and all his Papers were examined; in which they discovered a Conspiracy against those Gentlemen, with other Plots, that gave the King great Offence; but the Particulars are not mentioned. So Doctor *London* and *Simonds* were sent for, and examined upon this Discovery. But they, not knowing that their Letters were intercepted, denied there was any such Plot; and being put to their Oaths, swore it. Then their own Hand-Writing was produced against them. Upon which, they being thus Perjured, were ordered to be carried on Horseback, with their Faces to the Horse Tails, and Papers on their Foreheads, for their Perjury; and then to be set in the Pillory, both in *Windsor*, *Reading* and *Newbury*, where the King was at that Time. This was accordingly executed on them; but sunk so deep in Doctor *London's* Heart, that he died soon after. From all this it will appear what sort of Men the Persecutors at that Time were.

A Conspi-  
racy against  
*Cranmer*.

But this was a small part of what *Gardiner* had Projected: For he looked on these, as Persons unworthy of his Displeasure. *Cranmer* was chiefly aimed at by him. And therefore all that Party were still infusing it into the King's Mind, that it was great Injustice to prosecute poor Men with so much Severity, and let the chief Supporter of Heresie stand in so eminent a Degree, and in such Favour about him. At length the King, to discover the bottom of their Designs, seemed to give Ear to their Accusations, and desired to hear what Particulars could be objected against him. This gave them great Encouragement;

agement ; for till that Time, the King would let nothing be said against *Cranmer*. So they concluded he would be quickly ruined, since the King had opened his Ear to their Informations. Therefore many Particulars were quickly laid together, and put into the King's Hands ; who a little after that, going to divert himself on the River, ordered his Bargeman to Row towards *Lambeth* ; which being perceived by some of the Arch-Bishop's Servants, they acquainted him with it, who hastened down to his Stairs to do his Duty to the King. When the King saw him, he called him into the Barge ; and they being alone, the King lamented the Growth of Heresie, and the Dissensions and Confusions that were like to follow upon it ; and said, He intended to find out the chief Encourager and Favourer of these Heresies, and make him an Example to the rest. And he asked the Arch-Bishop's Opinion about it. Who answered him, That it was a good Resolution ; but entreated the King to consider well what Heresie was, and not to condemn those as Hereticks, who stood for the Word of God, against humane Inventions. But after some Discourse, the King told him he was the Man, who, as he was informed, was the chief Encourager of Heresie ; and then gave him the Articles that were brought against him, and his Chaplains, both by some Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, and the Justices of Peace in *Kent*. When he read them, he kneeled down, and desired the King would put the Matter to a Tryal. He acknowledged he was still of the same Mind he was of, when he opposed the Six Articles ; but that he had done nothing against them. Then the King asked him about his Wife. He frankly confessed he had a Wife ; but said, That he had sent her to *Germany*, upon the passing the Act against Priests having Wives. His Candor and Simplicity wrought so on the King, that he discovered to him the whole Plot that was laid against him, and said, That instead of bringing him to any Tryal about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his Accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit Judge in his own Cause. But the King said to him, he was resolved none other should Judge it, but those he should name. So he named his Chancellor, and his Register, to whom the King added another : And a Commission being given them, they went into *Kent*, and sate Three Weeks to find out the first Contrivers of this Accusation. And now every one disowned it, since they saw he was still firmly rooted in the King's Esteem and Favour. But it being observed, that the Commissioners proceeded faintly, *Cranmer's* Friends moved that some Man of Courage and Authority, might be sent thither to canvass this Accusation more carefully. So Doctor *Lee*, Dean of *Tork*, was brought up about *All-hallowtide*, and sent into *Kent*. And he, who had been well acquainted with the Arts of discovering Secrets, when he was one of the Visitors of the Abbeyes, managed it more vigorously. He ordered a Search to be made of all suspected Persons ; among whose Papers, Letters were found, both from the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Doctor *London*, and some of those whom *Cranmer* had treated with the greatest Freedom and Kindness, in which the whole Plot against him was discovered. But it was now near the Session of Parliament ; and the King was satisfied with the Discovery, but thought it not fit to make much Noise of it. And he received no Addresses from the Arch-Bishop to prosecute it further ; who was so noted for his  
Clemency,

1543.

Antiq. Brit

1543.  
His Christian Temper  
of Mind.

Clemency, and following our Saviour's Rule, of *doing Good for Evil*, that it was commonly said, The way to get his Favour, was to do him an Injury. These were the only Instances in which he expressed his Resentments. Two of the Conspirators against him, had been Persons signally obliged by him: The one was the Bishop Suffragan of *Dover*; the other was a Civilian, whom he had employed much in his Business. But all the Notice he took of it, was to shew them their Letters, and to admonish them to be more faithful and honest for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carried it so to them afterwards, as if he had absolutely forgotten what they had contrived against him. And a Person of Quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his Favour and Assistance in a Suit, in which he was to move the King, he went about it, and had almost procured it: But the King calling to mind, that he had been one of his secret Accusers, asked him, Whether he took him for his friend? He answered, That he did so. Then the King said, The other was a Knave, and was his mortal Enemy; and bid him, when he should see him next, call him a Knave to his Face. *Cranmer* answered, That such Language did not become a Bishop. But the King sullenly commanded him to do it; yet his Majesty was such, that he could not obey so harsh a Command. And so he passed the Matter over. When these Things came to be known, all Persons, that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, acknowledged that his Behaviour was suitable to the Example and Doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the World; and very well became so great a Bishop, and such a Reformer of the Christian Religion; who in those sublime and extraordinary Instances practised that which he taught others to do. The Year in which this fell out, is not express'd by those who have recorded it; but by the concurring Circumstances, I judge it likeliest to have been done this Year.

1544.  
A new Parliament.  
A<sup>c</sup>t about the Succession.

Soon after this the Parliament met, that was summoned to meet the 14th of *January*, in the 35th Year of the King's Reign; in which the A<sup>c</sup>t of the Succession of the Crown passed. Which contains, ' That the King being now to pass the Seas, to make War upon his ancient Enemy, the *French* King, and being desirous to settle the Succession to the Crown; It is Enacted, That in default of Heirs of Prince *Edward's* Body, or of Heirs by the King's present Marriage, the Crown shall go to the Lady *Mary*, the King's eldest Daughter: And in default of Heirs of her Body, or if she do not observe such Limitations or Conditions as shall be declared by the King's Letters Patents under his great Seal, or by his last Will under his Hand, it shall next fall to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and her Heirs; or if she have none, or shall not keep the Conditions declared by the King, it shall fall to any other that shall be declared by the King's Letters Patents, or his last Will signed with his Hand. There was also an Oath devised, instead of those formerly sworn, both against the Pope's Supremacy, and for maintaining the Succession in all Points according to this A<sup>c</sup>t: Which whosoever refused to take, was to be adjudged a Traytor; and whosoever should, either in Words, or by Writing, say any thing contrary to this A<sup>c</sup>t, or to the Peril and Slander of the King's Heirs, limited in the A<sup>c</sup>t, was to be adjudged a Traytor. This was done, no doubt, upon a secret Article of the Treaty with the Emperor; and did put new Life into  
the



the Popish Party, all whose Hopes depended on the Lady *Mary*. But how much this lessened the Prerogative, and the Right of Succession, will be easily discerned; the King in the affecting an unusual Extent of his own Power, though with the Diminution of the Rights of his Successors.

1544.

There was another Bill about the qualifying of the Act of the Six Articles, that was sent divers times from the one House to the other. It was brought to the Lords the first of *March*, and read the first time; and stuck till the 4th, when it was read the second time; on the 5th it was read the third time, and passed, and was sent down to the Commons, with *Words to be put in, or put out of it*. On the 6th, the Commons sent it up with some Alterations: And on the 8th the Lords sent it down again to the Commons; where it lay till the 17th, and then it was sent up with their Agreement. And the King's Assent was given, by his Letters Patents, on the 29th of *March*. The Preamble was, 'That whereas untrue Accusations, and Presentments, might be maliciously contrived against the King's Subjects, and kept secret till a Time were espied to have them by Malice convicted: Therefore it was Enacted, That none should be Indicted, but upon a Presentment by the Oaths of Twelve Men, Two at least, Three of the Commissioners appointed by the King: And that none should be Imprisoned, but upon an Indictment, except by a Special Warrant from the King; and that all Presentments should be made within one Year after the Offences were committed; and if Words were uttered in a Sermon, contrary to the Statute, they must be complained of within Forty Days, unless a just Cause were given why it could not be so soon: Admitting also the Parties Indicted, to all such Challenges as they might have in any other Case of Felony. This Act has clearly a Relation to the Conspiracies mentioned the former Year, both against the Arch-bishop, and some of the King's Servants.

Act against Conspiracies.

Another Act passed, continuing some former Acts for revising the Canon-Law, and for drawing up such a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws, as should have Authority in *England*. This *Cranmer* pressed often with great Vehemence; and to shew the Necessity of it, drew out a short Extract of some Passages in the Canon-Law, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) to shew how indecent a Thing it was, to let a Volume, in which such Laws were, be studied or considered any longer in *England*. Therefore he was earnest to have such a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws made, as might regulate the Spiritual Courts. But it was found more for the Greatness of the Prerogative, and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep that undetermined; so he could never obtain his Desire during this King's Reign.

Coll. Numb. 27.

Another Act passed in this Parliament, for the Remission of a Loan of Money which the King had raised. This is almost copied out of an Act to the same Effect, that passed in the Twenty First Year of the King's Reign; with this Addition, That by this Act, those who had got Payment, either in whole, or in part, of the Sums so lent the King, were to repay it back to the Exchequer. All Business being finished, and a general Pardon passed, with the ordinary Exceptions of some Crimes, among which Heresie is one, the Parliament was Prorogued on the 29th of *March*, to the 4th of *November*.

1544.

The Wars against Scotland successful.

The King had now a War both with *France* and *Scotland* upon him. And therefore to prepare for it, he both enhanced the Value of Money, and embas'd it; for which, he that writes his Vindication, gives this for the Reason; That the Coin being generally embas'd all over *Europe*, he was forced to do it, lest otherwise all the Money should have gone out of the Kingdom. He resolv'd to begin the War with *Scotland*, and sent an Army by Sea thither, under the Command of the Earl of *Hartford*, (afterwards Duke of *Somerset*), who landing at *Grantham*, a little above *Leith*, burnt and spoiled, *Leith* and *Edinburgh*; in which they found more Riches than they thought could possibly have been there; and they went through the Country, burning and spoiling it everywhere, till they came to *Berwick*. But they did too much, if they intended to gain the Hearts of that People, and too little, if they intended to subdue them. For as they besieged not the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which would have cost them more time and trouble; so they did not fortifie *Leith*, nor leave a Garrison in it, which was such an inexcusable Omission, that it seems their Counsels were very weak and ill laid. For *Leith* being fortified, and a Fleet kept going between it and *Berwick* or *Tinmouth*, the Trade of the Kingdom must have been quite stopt, *Edinburgh* ruined, the Intercourse between *France* and them cut off, and the whole Kingdom forced to submit to the King. But the Spoils this Army made, had no other Effect, but to enrage the Kingdom, and unite them so entirely to the *French* Interests; that when the Earl of *Lennox* was sent down by the King, to the Western Parts of *Scotland*, where his Power lay, he could get none to follow him. And the Governor of *Dunbritton* Castle, though his own Lieutenant, would not deliver that Castle to him, when he understood he was to put it in the King of *England*'s Hands, but drove him out; others say, he fled away of himself, else he had been taken Prisoner.

The King was now to cross the Seas; but, before he went, he studied to settle the Matters of Religion, so that both Parties might have some Content. *Audley* the Chancellor dying, he made the Lord *Wriothesly*, that had been Secretary, and was of the Popish Party, Lord Chancellor; but made Sir *William Petre*, that was *Cranmer*'s great Friend, Secretary of State. He also committed the Government of the Kingdom in his Absence, to the Queen, to whom he joyned the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*. And if there was need of any Force to be raised, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford* his Lieutenant; under whose Government the Reformers need not fear any thing. But he did another Act, that did wonderfully please that whole Party, which was, the Translating of the Prayers, for the Processions, and Litanies, into the *English* Tongue. This was sent to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* on the 11th of *June*, with an Order, That it should be used over all his Province, as the Reader will find in the Collection. This was not only very acceptable to that Party, because of the thing it self; but it gave them hope, that the King was again opening his Ears to Motions for Reformation, to which they had been shut now about six Years: And therefore they looked that more things of that Nature would quickly follow. And as these Prayers were now set out in *English*, so they doubted not, but there being the same Reason to put all the other Offices in the Vulgar Tongue, they would prevail for that too.

Collect.  
Numb. 28.

Things

Things being thus settled at Home, the King having sent his Forces over before him, crossed the Seas with much Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He Landed at *Calais* the 14th of *July*. The Emperor pressed his marching strait to *Paris*. But he thought it of more Importance to take *Bulloign*, and after Two Months Siege, it was surrendered to him; into which he made his Entry with great Triumph on the 18th of *September*. But the Emperor having thus engaged those Two Crowns in a War; and designing, while they should fight it out, to make himself Master of *Germany*, concluded a Treaty with the *French King* the very next Day, being the 19th of *September*; which is set down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. On the 30th of *September*, the King returned into *England*; in *October* following, *Bulloign* was very near lost by a Surprise, but the Garrison put themselves in order, and beat back the *French*. Several Inroads were made into *Scotland*, but not with the same Success, that the former Expedition had. For the *Scots*, animated with Supplies sent from *France*, and inflamed with a Desire of Revenge, resumed their wonted Courage, and beat back the *English* with considerable Loss.

Next Year the *French King*, resolving to recover *Bulloign*, and to take *Calais*, that so he might drive the *English* out of *France*, intended first to make himself Master of the Sea. And he set out a great Fleet of an Hundred and Fifty greater Ships, and Sixty lesser ones, besides many Gallies brought from the *Streights*. The King set out about an Hundred Ships. On both Sides, these were only Merchant Ships that were hired for this War. But after the *French Fleet* had looked on *England*, and attempted to Land with ill Success, both in the Isle of *Wight*, and in *Suffex*, and had engaged in a Sea-fight for some Hours; they returned back without any considerable Action: Nor did they any thing at Land. But the King's Fleet went to *Normandy*, where they made a Descent, and burnt the Country. So that this Year was likewise Glorious to the King. The Emperor had now done what he long designed; and therefore being courted by both Crowns, he undertook a Mediation; that under the Colour of Mediating a Peace, he might the more effectually keep up the War.

The Princes of *Germany* saw what Mischief was designed against them. The Council of *Trent* was now opened, and was condemning their Doctrine. A League was also concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, for procuring Obedience to their Canons and Decrees: and an Army was raised. The Emperor was also setting on Foot old Quarrels with some of the Princes: A firm Peace was concluded with the *Turk*. So that if the Crowns of *England* and *France* were not brought to an Agreement, they were undone. They sent Ambassadors to both Courts to mediate a Peace. With them *Cranmer* joined his Endeavours, but he had not a *Cromwell* in the Court, to manage the King's Temper, who was so provoked with the ill Treatment he had received from *France*, that he would not come to an Agreement; nor would he restore *Bulloign*, without which the *French* would hear of no Peace. *Cranmer* had at this Time almost prevailed with the King to make some further Steps in a Reformation. But *Gardiner*, who was then Ambassador in the Emperor's Court, being advertised of it, wrote to the King; That the Emperor would certainly joyn with *France* against him, if he made any further Innovation in Religion.

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This diverted the King from it; and in *August* this Year, the only great Friend that *Cranmer* had in the Court, died, *Charles Duke of Suffolk*, who had long continued in the Height of Favour, which was always kept up, not only by an Agreement of Humours between the King and him, but by the constant Success which followed him in all his Exploits. He was a Favourer of the Reformation, as far as could consist with his Interest at Court, which he never endangered upon any Account.

Church Preferments given to Reformers.

Now *Cranmer* was left alone, without Friend or Support. Yet he had gained one great Preferment in the Church, to a Man of his own Mind. The Arch-Bishoprick of *York* falling void by *Lee's* Death, *Robert Holgate*, that was Bishop of *Landaff*, was promoted to that See in *January*; *Kitchin* being made Bishop of *Landaff*, who turned with every Change that was made under the Three succeeding Princes. The Arch-Bishop of *York* set about the Reforming of Things in his Province, which had lain in great Confusion all his Predecessors Time: So on the third of *March* he took out a Licence from the King for making a Metropolitanical Visitation. *Bell*, that was Bishop of *Worcester* had resigned his Bishoprick the former Year, (the reason of which is not set down.) The Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Heath*, was Translated to that See; and *Henry Holbeach*, that favoured the Reformation, was made Bishop of *Rocheſter*. And upon the Translation of *Sampson*, from *Chicheſter* to *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Day*, that was a Moderate Man, and inclinable to Reformation, was made Bishop of that See. So that now *Cranmer* had a greater Party, among the Bishops, than at any Time before.

But though there were no great Transactions about Religion in *England*, this Year, there were very remarkable Things done in *Scotland*, though of a different Nature, which were the burning of *Wisbart*, and some Months after that, the killing of Cardinal *Beaton*; the Account of both which, will not (I hope) be Ingrateful to the Reader.

*Wisbart's* Sufferings in *Scotland*.

Mr. *George Wisbart* was descended of a Noble Family; he went to finish his Studies in the University of *Cambridge*, where he was so well instructed in the Principles of true Religion, that returning to *Scotland*, Anno 1544. He Preached over the Country, against the Corruptions which did then so generally prevail. He stayed most at *Dundee*, which was the chief Town in these Parts. But the Cardinal offended at this, sent a threatening Message to the Magistrates; upon which one of them, as *Wisbart* ended one of his Sermons, was so obsequious as to forbid him to Preach any more among them, or give them any further Trouble: To whom he answered, 'That God knew he had no Design to trouble them, but for them to reject the Messengers of God, was not the way to escape Trouble; when he was gone, God would send Messengers of another sort among them. He had to the Hazard of his Life, Preached the Word of Salvation to them, and they had now rejected him; but if it was long well with them, he was not led by the Spirit of Truth; and if unlooked for Trouble fell on them, he bade them remember this was the Cause of it, and turn to God by Repentance. From thence he went to the Western Parts, where he was also much followed. But the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, giving order, that he should not be admitted to Preach in Churches, he Preached often in the Fields; and

*Spotswood*.

and when in some Places his Followers would have forced the Churches, he checkt them, and said, It was the Word of Peace that he Preached, and therefore no Blood should be shed about it. But after he had stayered a Month there, he heard that there was a great Plague in *Dundee*, which broke out the fourth Day after he had left it: Upon which, he presently returned thither and Preached oft to them, standing over one of the Gates, having taken care that the Infected Persons should stand without, and those that were clean within the Gate. He continued among them, and took care to supply the Poor, and to visit the Sick, and do all the Offices of a faithful Pastor in that Extremity. Once as he ended his Sermon, a Priest coming to have killed him, was taken with the Weapon in his Hand, but when the People were rushing furiously on him, *Wishart* got him in his Arms, and saved him from their Rage, for he said he had done no Harm, only they saw what they might look for. He became a little after this more than ordinary serious and apprehensive of his End: He was seen sometimes to rise in the Night, and spend the greatest Part of it in Prayer; and he often warned his Hearers, that his Sufferings were at Hand, but that few should suffer after him, and that the Light of true Religion should be spread over the whole Land. He went to a great many Places, where his Sermons were well received, and came last to *Lothian*, where he found a greater neglect of the Gospel, than in other Parts, for which he threatned them, *That Strangers should chase them from their Dwellings and possess them.* He was Lodged in a Gentleman of Qualities House, *Cockburn*, of *Ormeiston*, when in the Night the House was beset by some Horsemen, who were sent by the Cardinals Means to take him. The Earl of *Bothwel* that had the chief Jurisdiction in the County, was with them, who promising that no Hurt should be done him, he caused the Gate to be opened, saying, *The Blessed Will of God be done.* When he presented himself to the Earl of *Bothwel*, he desired to be proceeded with according to Law, for he said, He feared less to die openly, than to be Murdered in Secret: The Earl promised upon his Honour, That no Harm should be done him, and for some Time seemed resolved, to have made his Words good, but the Queen Mother and Cardinal in the end prevailed with him, to put *Wishart* in their Hands, and they sent him to *St. Andrews*, where it was agreed to make a Sacrifice of him. Upon this the Cardinal called a Meeting of the Bishops to *St. Andrews*, against the 27th of *February*, to destroy him with the more Ceremony, but the Arch Bishop of *Glasgow* moved, that there should be a Warrant procured from the Lord Governor for their Proceedings. To this the Cardinal contented, thinking the Governor was then so linked to their Interests, that he would deny them nothing; but the Governour bearing in his Heart a secret Love to Religion, and being plainly dealt with by a Noble Gentleman of his Name *Hamilton*, of *Preston*, who laid before him the just and terrible Judgments of God, he might look for, if he suffered poor Innocents to be so Murdered at the Appetite of the Clergy, sent the Cardinal Word not to proceed till he himself came, and that he would not consent to his Death till the Cause was well examined; and that if the Cardinal proceeded against him, his Blood should be required at his Hands. But the Cardinal resolved to go on at his Peril, for he apprehended, if he delayed it, there might be either a legal or a violent Rescue made; so

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he ordered a Mock-Citation of *Wishart* to appear; who being brought the next Day to the Abbey-Church, the Process was opened with a Sermon, in which the Preacher delivered a great deal of good Doctrine, concerning the Scriptures being the only Touchstone by which Heresie was to be tryed. After Sermon, the Prisoner was brought to the Bar: He first fell down on his Knees, and after a short Prayer, he stood up and gave a long Account of his Sermons; That he had preached nothing but what was contained in the Ten Commandments, the Apostles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer; but was interrupted with reproachful Words, and required to answer plainly to the Articles objected to him. Upon which he appealed to an indifferent Judge: He desired to be tryed by the Word of God, and before my Lord Governour, whose Prisoner he was: But the Indictment being read, he confessing and offering to justifie most of the Articles objected against him, was judged an obstinate Heretick, and condemned to be burnt. All the next Night he spent in Prayer: In the Morning, Two Friars came to Confess him, but he said, he would have nothing to do with them; yet if he could, he would gladly speak with the learned Man that preached the Day before. So he being sent to him, after much Conference, he asked him, if he would receive the Sacrament? *Wishart* answered, He would most gladly do it, if he might have it as Christ had instituted it, under both Kinds; but the Cardinal would not suffer the Sacrament to be given him. And so Breakfast being brought, he discoursed to those that were present, of the Death of Christ, and the Ends of the Sacrament, and then having blessed and consecrated the Elements, he took the Sacrament himself, and gave it to those that were with him. That being done, he would taste no other Thing, but retired to his Devotion. Two Hours after the Executioners came, and put on him a Coat of black Linen, full of Bags of Powder, and carried him out to the Place of Execution, which was before the Cardinal's Castle. He spake a little to the People, desiring them not to be offended at the good Word of God, for the Sufferings that followed it; it was the true Gospel of Christ that he had preached, and for which with a most glad Heart and Mind he now offered up his Life. The Cardinal was set in State in a great Window of his Castle, looking on this sad Spectacle. When *Wishart* was tyed to the Stake, he cryed aloud, *O Saviour of the World have Mercy upon me! Father of Heaven I recommend my Spirit into thy holy Hands.* So the Executioners kindled the Fire; but one perceiving, after some time, that he was yet alive, encouraged him to call still on God: To whom he answered, 'The Flame hath scorched my Body, yet hath it not daunted my Spirit; but he who from yonder high Place (looking up to the Cardinal) beholdeth us with such Pride, shall within few Days lie in the same, as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself. The Executioner drawing the Cord that was about his Neck straiter, stopt his Breath so, that he could speak no more, and his Body was soon consumed by the Fire. Thus died this eminent Servant and Witness of Christ, on whose Sufferings I have enlarged the more, because they proved so fatal to the Interests of the Popish Clergy; for not any one Thing hastened forward the Reformation more than this did; and since he had both his Education and Ordination in *England*, a full Account of him seems no impertinent Digression.

The Clergy rejoiced much at his Death, and thought (according to the constant Maxim of all Persecutors) that they should live more at ease, now when *Wishart* was out of the way. They magnified the Cardinal for proceeding so vigorously, without, or rather against the Governour's Orders: But the People did universally look on him as a Martyr, and believed an extraordinary Measure of God's Spirit had rested on him, since besides great Innocency and Purity of Life, his Predictions came so oft to pass, that he was believed a Prophet as well as a Saint: And the Reformation was now so much opened by his Preaching, and that was so confirmed by his Death, that the Nation was generally possessed with the Love of it. The Nobility were mightily offended with the Cardinal, and said *Wishart's* Death was no less than Murder, since the Clergy, without a Warrant from the Secular Power, could dispose of no Man's Life: So it came universally to be said, that he now deserved to die by the Law; yet since he was too great for a Legal Tryal, the Kingdom being under the feeble Government of a Regency, it was fit private Persons should undertake it; and it was given out, that the killing an Usurper, was always esteemed a commendable Action; and so in that State of Things they thought secret Practices might be justified. This agreeing so much with the Temper of some in that Nation, who had too much of the Heat and Forwardness of their Country, a few Gentlemen of Quality, who had been ill-used by the Cardinal, conspired his Death. He was become generally hateful to the whole Nation; and the Marriage of his Bastard-Daughter to the Earl of *Crawford's* eldest Son, enraged the Nobility the more against him; and his Carriage towards them all was insolent and provoking. These offended Gentlemen came to *St. Andrew's* the 29th of *May*, and the next Morning they, and their Attendants, being but Twelve in all, first attempted the Gate of his Castle, which they found open, and made it sure: And though there were no fewer than an Hundred reckoned to be within the Castle, yet they knowing the Passages of the House, went with very little Noise to the Servants Chambers, and turned them almost all out of Doors; and having thus made the Castle sure, they sent to the Cardinal's Door: He, who till then was fast asleep, suspecting nothing, perceived at last by their Rudeness, that they were not his Friends, and made his Door fast against them. So they went for Fire to set to it; upon which he treated with them, and upon Assurance of Life he opened the Door: But they rushing in, did most cruelly and treacherously Murder him. A Tumult was raised in the Town, and many of his Friends came to rescue him; but the Conspirators carryed the dead Body, and exposed it to their View, in the same Window out of which he had not long before looked on when *Wishart* was burnt, which had been universally censured as a most indecent Thing in a Church-man, to delight in such a Spectacle. But those who condemned this Action, yet acknowledged God's Justice in so exemplary a Punishment, and reflecting on *Wishart's* last Words, were the more confirmed in the Opinion they had of his Sanctity. This Fact was differently censured; some justified it, and said, it was only the killing of a mighty Robber; others that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the Manner of it, as Treacherous and Inhumane. And though some of the Preachers did afterwards fly to that Castle as a Sanctuary, yet none of them were either Actors or Consenters to it: It is true, they

1515. did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them justified it. The exemplary and signal Ends of almost all the Conspirators, scarce any of them dying a natural Death, made all People the more inclined to condemn it. The Day after the Cardinal was killed, about 140 came into the Castle, and prepared for a Siege. The House was well furnished in all Things necessary, and it lying so near the Sea, they expected Help from King *Henry*, to whom they sent a Messenger for his Assistance, and declared for him. So a Siege following, they were so well supplied from *England*, that after Five Months the Governour was glad to treat with them, apprehending much the footing the *English* might have, if those within, being driven to Extremities, should receive a Garrison from King *Henry*: They had the Governour also more at their Mercy; for as the Cardinal had taken his eldest Son into his House, under the Pretence of educating him, but really as his Father's Hostage, designing likewise to infuse in him a violent Hatred of the new Preachers; so the Conspirators finding him in the Castle, kept him still to help them to better Terms. A Treaty being agreed on, they demanded their Pardon for what they had done, together with an Absolution to be procured from *Rome*, for the killing of the Cardinal; and that the Castle, and the Governour's Son, should remain in their Hands till the Absolution was brought over. Some of the Peachers apprehending the Clergy might revenge the Cardinal's Death on them, were forced to fly into the Castle; but one of them, *John Rough*, (who was afterwards burnt in *England*, in Queen *Mary's* Time) being so offended at the Licentiousness of the Soldiers that were in the Castle, who were a Reproach to that which they pretended to favour, left them, and went away in one of the Ships that brought Provisions out of *England*. When the Absolution came from *Rome*, they excepted to it, for some Words in it, that called the killing of the Cardinal *Crimen irremissibile*, an unpardonable Crime; by which they said the Absolution gave them no Security, since it was null, if the Fact could not be pardoned. The Truth was, they were encouraged from *England*, so they refused to stand to the Capitulation, and rejected the Absolution. But some Ships and Soldiers being sent from *France*, the Castle was besieged at Land, and shut up also by Sea, and which was worst of all, a Plague broke out within it, of which many died. Upon this no Help coming suddenly from *England*, they were forced to deliver up the Place on no better Terms, than that their Lives should be spared; but they were to be banished *Scotland*, and never to return to it. The Castle was demolished according to the Canon-Law, that appoints all Places where any Cardinal is killed to be razed. This was not compleated this Year, and not till Two Years after, only I thought it best to joyn the whole Matter together, and set it down all at once.

A Parliament sits.

Chapters and Chantries given to the King.

In *November* following a new Parliament was held; where, toward the Expence of the King's Wars, the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* granted a Continuation of the former Subsidy of Six Shillings in the Pound, to be payed in Two Years. But for the Temporality, a Subsidy was demanded from them of another Kind: There were in the Kingdom several Colleges, Chappels, Chantries, Hospitals, and Fraternities, consisting of Secular Priests, who enjoyed Pensions for saying Mass for the Souls of those who had endowed them. Now the Belief of Purgatory being left indifferent, by the Doctrine  
set



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set out by the Bishops, and the Trade of redeeming souls being condemned; it was thought needless to keep up so many Endowments to no Purpose. Those Priests were also generally ill-affected to the King's Proceedings, since their Trade was so much lessened by them. Therefore many of them had been dealt with to make Resignation: And four and Twenty of them had surrendered to the King. It was found also, that many of the Founders of these Houses had taken them into their own Hands, and that the Master, Wardens, and Governours of them, had made Agreements for them, and given Leafes of them: Therefore now a Subsidy being demanded, all these were given to the King by Act of Parliament; which also confirmed the Deeds that any had made to the King: Empowering him, in any time of his Life, to issue out Commissions for seizing on these Foundations, and taking them into his own Possession: Which, being so seized on, should belong to the King and his Successors for ever. They also granted another Subsidy for the War. When all their Business was done, the King came to the House and made a long Speech, of which I cannot sufficiently wonder that no Entry is made in the Journals of the House of Lords: Yet it is not to be doubted but he made it, for it was published by *Hall* soon after.

When the Speaker of the House of Commons had presented the Bills, with a Speech full of Respect and Compliment, as is usual upon these Occasions; The King answered, ' Thanking them for the Subsidy, and ' the Bill about the Colleges and Chanteries; and assured them, that ' he should take care both for supplying the Ministers, for encouraging ' Learning, and relieving the Poor; and they should quickly perceive ' that in these Things their Expectations should be answered. beyond ' what they either wished or desired. And after he had expressed his ' Affection to them, and the Assurance he had of their Duty and Fi- ' delity to him, he advised them to amend one Thing; which was, ' that instead of Charity and Concord, Discord and Division ruled ' every where. He cited *St. Paul's* Words, *That Charity was gentle,* ' *and not envious, nor proud.* But when one called another Heretick, ' and the other called him Papist and Pharisee, were these the Signs ' of Charity? The Fault of this he charged chiefly on the Fathers and ' Teachers of the Spirituality, who preached one against another, with- ' out Charity or Discretion; some being too stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, others too busie and curious in their new *Sumpsimus*; and few ' preached the Word of God truly and sincerely. And how could the ' poor People live in Concord, when they sowed Debate among them? ' Therefore he exhorted them to set forth God's Word, by true Preach- ' ing, and giving a good Example; or else he, as God's Vicar and ' high Minister, would see these Enormities corrected; which if he ' did not do, he was an unprofitable Servant, and an untrue Officer. ' He next reproved them of the Temporality, who railed at their Bishops ' and Priests; whereas if they had any thing to lay to their Charge, ' they ought to declare it to the King, or his Council, and not take ' upon them to judge such high Points. For though they had the ' Scriptures given them in their Mother-Tongue, yet that was only to ' inform their own Consciences, and instruct their Children and Fa- ' milies; but not to dispute, nor from thence to rail against Priests ' and Preachers, as some vain Persons did. He was sorry, that such a ' Jewel as the Word of God was so ill used; that Rithms and Songs

The King's  
Speech to  
the Houses.

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‘ were taken out of it ; but much more sorry that Men followed it so  
 ‘ little ; for Charity was never fainter, a godly Life never less appeared,  
 ‘ and God was never less revered and worshipped. Therefore he  
 ‘ exhorted them to live as Brethren in Charity together, to love, dread,  
 ‘ and serve God ; and then the Love and Union between Him and them  
 ‘ should never be dissolved. And so exhorting them to look to the  
 Execution of the Laws which themselves had desired, he gave his  
 Royal Assent to the Bills, and dismissed the Parliament.

The King gave at this time a Commission to the Bishops of *West-*  
*minster, Worcester and Chichester*, and the Chancellor of the Court of  
 Augmentation, Sir *Edward North*, containing, ‘ That whereas the  
 ‘ King had founded many Cathedrals, in which he had given large  
 ‘ Allowances, both to be distributed to the Poor, and to be laid out  
 ‘ for the mending of High-ways : To *Canterbury* 100 Pounds for the  
 ‘ Poor, and 40 Pounds for the High-ways : To *Rochester* 20 Pounds  
 ‘ for the Poor, and 20 Pounds for the High-ways : To *Westminster*  
 ‘ 100 Pounds for the Poor, and 40 Pounds for the High-ways : To  
 ‘ *Winchester* 100 Marks for the Poor, and 50 for the High-ways : To  
 ‘ *Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, Burton upon Trent, Thornton, Peterborough*  
 ‘ and *Ely*, 20 Pounds a-piece for the Poor, and as much for the High-  
 ‘ ways : To *Worcester* 40 Pounds for the Poor, and 40 Pounds for the  
 ‘ High ways : To *Duresm* 100 Marks for the Poor, and 40 Pounds for  
 ‘ the High-ways : And to *Carlisle* 15 Pounds for the Poor, and as much  
 ‘ for the High-ways : In all about 550 Pounds a Year to the Poor, and  
 ‘ about 400 Pounds a Year for the High-ways : They were to enquire  
 ‘ how this Money was distributed ; and, if they saw Cause, they  
 ‘ might order it to be applied to any other Use which they should judge  
 ‘ more charitable and convenient. But what followed upon this, does  
 not appear by the Records.

The King  
 confirms the  
 Rights of the  
 Universities.

After the Parliament was dissolved, the Universities made their Ap-  
 plications to the King, that they might not be included within the  
 general Words in the Act of Dissolution of Colleges and Fraterni-  
 ties. And Dr. *Cox*, Tutor to the Prince, wrote to Secretary *Paget*, ‘ To  
 ‘ represent to the King the great want of Schools, Preachers, and  
 ‘ Houses for Orphans ; that Beggery would drive the Clergy to Flat-  
 ‘ tery, Superstition, and the old Idolatry : There were ravenous  
 ‘ Wolves about the King, that would devour Universities, Cathedrals,  
 ‘ and Chantries, and a thousand times as much. Posterity would  
 ‘ wonder at such Things : Therefore he desired the Universities might  
 ‘ be secured from their Spoils. But the King did quickly free them  
 from these Fears.

Now I enter into the last Year of this King’s Reign. The War in  
*France* was managed with doubtful Success ; yet the Losses were greater  
 on the *English* side. And the Forces being commanded by the Earl  
 of *Surrey*, who was brave, but unsuccessful, he was not only blamed  
 but recalled, and the Earl of *Hertford* sent to Command in his Room.  
 But he being a Man of an high Spirit, and disdainning the Earl of *Hert-*  
*ford*, who was now preferred before him, let fall some Words of high  
 Resentment, and bitter Contempt, which not long after wrought his  
 Ruine. The King was now alone in the War, which was very charge-  
 able to him ; and observing the Progress that the Council of *Trent* was  
 making, where Cardinal *Poole* being one of the Legates, he had reason  
 to look for some severe Decree to be made against himself ; since none  
 of

of the Hereticks of *Germany* were so much hated by the Court of *Rome*, as he was : Therefore he listned to the Counsels of Peace. And tho' he was not old, yet he felt such Decays in his Strength, that being extremely corpulent, he had no reason to think he could live very long : Therefore, that he might not leave his young Son involved in a War of such Consequence, Peace was concluded in *June* ; which was much to the King's Honour, though the taking and keeping of *Bulloign*, (which by this Peace the King was to keep for eight Years,) cost him above 1300000 Pounds.

Upon the Peace, the *French* Admiral *Annebault* came over to *England*. And now again a Resolution of going on with a Reformation was set on foot ; for it was agreed between the King and the Admiral, That in both Kingdoms, the Mass should be changed into a Communion ; and *Cranmer* was ordered to draw a Form of it. They also resolved to press the Emperor to do the like in his Dominions, otherwise to make War upon him. But how this Project failed, does not appear. The Animosities which the former War had raised between the two Kings, were converted into a firm Friendship ; which grew so strong on *France's* part, that he never was seen glad at any thing, after he had the News of the King's Death.

But now one of the King's angry Fits took him at the Reformers, so that there was a new Prosecution of them, *Nicholas Shaxton*, that was Bishop of *Salisbury*, had been long a Prisoner ; but this Year, he had said in his Imprisonment, in the Counter in *Bread-street*, That *Christ's* natural Body was not in the Sacrament, but that it was a Sign and Memorial of his Body that was crucified for us. Upon this he was Indicted, and condemned to be burnt. But the King sent the Bishops of *London*, and *Worcester*, to deal with him to recant ; which on the 9th of *July* he did, acknowledging, ' That that Year he had fallen in his old Age ' in the Heresie of the Sacramentaries. But that he was now convinced of that Error, by their Endeavours whom the King had sent to him. And therefore he thanked the King for delivering him, ' both from Temporal and Eternal Fire ; and subscribed a Paper of ' Articles, which will be found in the Collection. Upon this, he had his Pardon and Discharge sent him the 13th of *July*, and soon after preached the Sermon at the burning of *Anne Askew* ; and wrote a Book in Defence of the Articles he had subscribed. What became of him all *Edward* the 6th's time, I cannot tell : But I find, he was a cruel Prosecutor and Burner of Protestants in *Queen Mary's* Days. Yet it seems those to whom he went over, did not consider him much, for they never raised him higher than to be Suffragan to the Bishop of *Ely*. Others were also Indicted upon the same Statute, who got off by Recantation, and were pardoned. But *Anne Askew's* Trial had a more bloody Conclusion.

She was nobly descended, and educated beyond what was ordinary in that Age to those of her Sex. But she was unfortunately married to one *Kyme*, who being a violent Papist, drove her out of his House, when he found she favoured the Reformation. So she came to *London*, where Information being given of some Words, that she had spoken against the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, she was put in Prison ; upon which great Applications were made by many of her Friends, to have her let out upon Bail. The Bishop of *London* examined her, and after much Pains, she was brought to set her hand to a Recantation, by which she ac-

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Peace with  
France.A new De-  
sign for Re-  
formation.Shaxton's A-  
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Numb. 28.The Trou-  
bles of *Anne*  
*Askew*.

1546. knowledg'd, ' That the Natural Body of Christ was present in the Sacrament, after the Consecration; whether the Priest were a good or an ill Man; and that, whether it was presently consumed, or reserved in the *Pix*, it was the true Body of Christ. Yet she added to Her Subscription, That she believed all Things according the Catholick Faith, and not otherwise. With this the Bishop was not satisfied; but after much ado, and many importunate Addresses, she was Bailed in the end of *March* this Year. But not long after that, she was again apprehended, and examined before the King's Council then at *Greenwich*, where she seemed very indifferent what they did with her. She answered them in general Words, upon which they could fix nothing, and made some sharp Repartees upon the Bishop of *Winchester*. Some liked the Wit and Freedom of her Discourse, but others thought she was too forward. From thence she was sent to *Newgate*, where she wrote some Devotions, and Letters, that shew her to have been a Woman of most extraordinary Parts. She wrote to the King, ' That as to the *Lord's Supper*, she believed as much as Christ had said in it, and as much, as the Catholick Church from him did Teach. Upon *Shaxton's* Recantation they sent him to her to prevail with her. But she instead of yielding to him, charged his Inconstancy Home upon him. She had been oft at Court, and was much favoured by many great Ladies there; and it was believed the Queen had shewed Kindness to her. So the Lord Chancellor examined her of what Favour or Encouragement she had from any in the Court, particularly from the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, the Countess of *Hertford*, and some other Ladies. But he could draw nothing from her, save that one in Livery had brought her some Money, which he said came from two Ladies in the Court. But they resolved to extort further Confessions from her. And therefore carried her to the *Tower*, they caused her to be laid on the Rack, and gave her a Taste of it. Yet she confessed nothing. That she was rackt is very certain, for I find it in an Original Journal of the Transactions in the *Tower*, written by *Anthony Anthony*: But *Fox* adds a Passage that seems scarce credible, the Thing is so extraordinary, and so unlike the Character of the Lord Chancellor, who though he was fiercely zealous for the old Superstition, yet was otherwise a great Person; it is, That he commanded the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to stretch her more; but he refused to do it, and being further prest, told him plainly he would not do it. The other threatned him, but to no Purpose; so the Lord Chancellor throwing off his Gown, drew the Rack so severely, that he almost tore her Body asunder; yet could draw nothing from her, for she endured it with unusual Patience and Courage. When the King heard this, he blamed the Lord Chancellor for his Cruelty, and excused the Lieutenant of the *Tower*. *Fox* does not vouch any Warrant for this, so that though I have set it down, yet I give no entire Credit to it: If it was true, it shews the strange Influence of that Religion, and that it corrupts the Noblest Natures; yet the poor Gentlewoman's being Rackt, wrought no Pity in the King towards her, for he left her to be proceeded against according to the Sentence: She was carried to the Stake in *Smithfield* a little after that in a Chair, not being able to stand through the Torments of the Rack. There were brought with her at the same Time, one *Nicolas Belenian* a Priest, *John Adams* a Taylor, and *John Lassels*, one of the King's Servants, (it is likely he was the same Person that had discovered Queen *Katherine Howard's* Incontinency, for which, all the Popish

She endures  
the Rack.

And is burnt  
with some o-  
thers.

Popish Party, to be sure, bore him no good Will.) They were all convicted upon the Statute of the Six Articles, for denying the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. When they were brought thither, *Shaxton*, to compleat his Apostasie, made a Sermon of the Sacrament, and inveighed against their Errors. That being ended, they were tied to the Stake; and then the Lord Chancellor sent and offered them their Pardon, which was ready passed under the Seal, if they would recant. But they loved not their Lives so well, as to redeem them by the Loss of a good Conscience; and therefore encouraging one another to suffer patiently for the Testimony of the Truth: So they endured to the last, and were made Sacrifices by Fire unto God. There were also two in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, burnt on the same Account a little before this.

1546.

But that Party at Court having incensed the King much against those Hereticks, resolved to drive it further; and to work the Ruine, both of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. and of the Queen: Concluding, that if these Attempts were successful, they should carry every thing else. They therefore renewed their Complaints of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and told the King, That though there were evident Proofs ready to be brought against him, yet because of his Greatness, and the King's Carriage upon the former Complaints, none durst appear against him. But if he were once put in the *Tower*, that Men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear Evidences of his being a Heretick. So the King consented, That he should be the next Day called before the Council, and sent to the *Tower*, if they saw Cause for it. And now they concluded him ruined. But in the Night, the King sent Sir *Anthony Denny* to *Lambeth*, to bring the Arch-Bishop to speak with him. And when he came, the King told him what Informations had been brought against him, and how far he had yielded to them, that he should be sent to the *Tower* next Day: And therefore desired to hear from himself what he had to say upon it. *Cranmer* thanked him, that he had not left him in the Dark, to be surprized in a Matter that concerned him so nearly. He acknowledged the Equity of the King's Proceedings; and all that he desired, was, That he might be brought to make his Answer: And that since he was to be Questioned for some of his Opinions, Judges might be assigned who understood those Matters. The King heard this with Astonishment, wondering to see a Man so little concerned in his own Preservation. ' But pleasantly told him, he was ' a Fool that looked to his own Safety so little. For did he think that ' if he were once put in Prison, abundance of false Witnesses would ' not be suborned to ruine him. Therefore, since he did not take care ' of himself, he would look to it. And so he ordered him to appear next Day before the Council, upon their Summons; and when Things were objected to him, to say, That since he was a Privy-Councillor, he desired they would use him, as they would look to be used in the like Case: And therefore to move that his Accusers might be brought Face to Face, and Things be a little better considered before he was sent to the *Tower*. And if they refused to grant that, then he was to appeal Personally to the King, (who intended to be absent that Day,) and in token of it, should shew them the King's Seal-Ring, which he wore on his Finger, and was well known to them all. So

A new Design against *Cranmer*.

The King's great care of him.

the

1546. the King, giving him his Ring, sent him privately Home again. Next Morning a Messenger of the Council came early, and summoned him to appear that Day before the Council. So he went over, but was long kept waiting in the Lobby, before he was called in. At this unusual sight many were astonished. But Doctor *Buts*, the King's Physician, that loved *Cranmer*, and presumed more on a Diseased King than others durst do, went and told the King what a strange Thing he had seen: 'The Primate of all *England* waiting at the Council-door, among the Footmen and Servants. So the King sent them Word, That he should be presently brought in; which being done, they said, That there were many Informations against him, that all the Heresies that were in *England* came from him and his Chaplains. To which he answered as the King had directed him. But they insisting on what was before projected, he said, He was sorry to be thus used, by those with whom he had sate so long at that Board, so that he must appeal from them to the King: And with that took out the King's Ring, and shewed it. This put them in a wonderful Confusion, but they all rose up and went to the King, who checkt them severely for using the Arch-Bishop so unhandfomely. He said, He thought he had a wiser Council, than now he found they were. He protested by the Faith he owed to God, laying his Hand on his Breast, That if a Prince could be obliged by his Subject, he was by the Arch-Bishop, and that he took him to be the most faithful Subject he had, and the Person to whom he was most beholding. The Duke of *Norfolk* made a trifling Excuse, and said, They meant no Harm to the Arch-Bishop, but only to vindicate his Innocency by such a Tryal, which would have freed him from the Aspersions that were cast on him. But the King answered, He would not suffer Men that were so dear to him, to be handled in that Fashion. He knew the Factions that were among them, and the Malice that some of them bore to others, which he would either extinguish or punish very speedily. So he commanded them all to be Reconciled to *Cranmer*; which was done with the outward Ceremony of taking him by the Hand; and was most real on his part, though the other Party did not so easily lay down the Hatred they bore him. This I place at this Time, though *Parker*, who related it, names no Year nor Time in which it was done; but he leads us very near it, by saying, it was after the Duke of *Suffolk's* Death; and this being the only time after that, in which the King was in an ill Humour against the Reformers, I conclude it fell out at this time.

*Antiq Brit  
in vita Cran.*

Another  
Design a-  
gainst the  
Queen.

That Party finding it was in vain to push at *Cranmer* any more, did never again endeavour it. Yet one Design failing, they set on another against the Queen. She was a great Favourer of the Reformers, and had frequently Sermons in her Privy-Chamber by some of those Preachers; which were not secretly carried, but became generally known: When it came to the King's Ears, he took no notice of it. And the Queen carried her self, in all other Things, not only with an exact Conduct, but with that wonderful Care about the King's Person, which became a Wife that was raised by him to so great an Honour, that he was much taken with her: So that none durst adventure on making any Complaints against her. Yet the King's Distempers encreasing, and his peevishness growing with them, he became more unequal; and whereas she had frequently used to talk to him of Religion,

ligion, and defended the Opinion of the Reformers, in which he would sometimes pleasantly maintain the Argument; now, becoming more impatient, he took it ill at her Hands. And she had sometime in the heat of Discourse gone very far. So one Night, after she had left him, the King being displeas'd, vented it to the Bishop of *Winchester* that stood by: And he craftily and maliciously struck in with the King's Anger, and said all that he could devise against the Queen, to drive his Resentments higher; and took in the Lord Chancellor into the Design to assist him. They filled the King's Head with many Stories of his Queen, and some of her Ladies; and said, They had favour'd *Anne Askew*, and had Heretical Books amongst them; and he persuaded the King, that they were Traytors as well as Hereticks. The Matter went so far, that Articles were drawn against her, which the King signed; for without that, it was not safe for any to Impeach the Queen. But the Lord Chancellor putting up that Paper carelessly, it dropt from him: And being taken up by one of the Queen's Party, was carried to her. Whether the King had really designed her Ruine, or not, is differently represented by the Writers who lived near that time. But she seeing his Hand to such a Paper, had reason to conclude her self lost. Yet by Advice of one of her Friends, she went to see the King, who received her kindly, and set on a Discourse about Religion. But she answered, that Women, by their first Creation, were made subject to Men; and they being made after the Image of God, as the Women were after their Image, ought to instruct their Wives, who were to learn of them; and she much more, was to be taught by his Majesty, who was a Prince of such excellent Learning and Wisdom. *Not so by St. Mary*, said the King, *you are become a Doctor able to Instruct us, and not to be Instructed by us.* To which she answered, That it seem'd he had much mistaken the freedom she had taken to argue with him, since she did it partly to engage him in Discourse, and so put over the time, and make him forget his Pain; and partly to receive Instructions from him, by which she had profited much. *And is it even so?* said the King, *then we are Friends again.* So he embraced her with great Affection, and sent her away with very tender Assurances of his constant Love to her. But the next Day had been appointed for carrying her, and some of her Ladies, to the *Tower*. The Day being fair, the King went to take a little Air in the Garden, and sent for her to bear him Company. As they were together, the Lord Chancellor came in, having about Forty of the Guard with him, to have arrested the Queen. But the King stept aside to him, and after a little Discourse, he was heard to call him *Knave*, *Fool* and *Beast*, and he bade him get him out of his Sight. The innocent Queen, who understood not that her Danger was so near, studied to mitigate the King's Displeasure, and interceded for the Lord Chancellor. But the King told her, she had no reason to plead for him.

So this Design miscarried, which as it absolutely disheartened the Papists, so it did totally alienate the King from them; and in particular from the Bishop of *Winchester*, whose Sight he could never after this endure. But he made an humble Submission to the King, which though it preserv'd him from further Punishment, yet could not restore him to the King's Favour. But the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his

Son the Earl of *Surry*, fell under a deeper Misfortune. The Duke

The Causes  
of the Duke  
of Norfolk's  
of Disgrace.

1546.

of *Norfolk* had been long Lord Treasurer of *England*. He had done great Services to the Crown on many signal Occasions, and Success had always accompanied him. His Son, the Earl of *Surrey*, was also a brave and noble Person, Witty and Learned to an high Degree, but did not command Armies with such Success. He was much provoked at the Earl of *Hertford's* being sent over to *France* in his room, and upon that had said, *That within a little while they should smart for it*; with some other Expressions that favoured of Revenge, and a Dislike of the King, and a Hatred of the Councillors. The Duke of *Norfolk* had endeavoured to ally himself to the Earl of *Hertford*, and to his Brother Sir *Thomas Seimour*, perceiving how much they were in the King's Favour, and how great an Interest they were like to have under the succeeding Prince. And therefore would have engaged his Son, being then a Widower, to marry that Earl's Daughter: And pressed his Daughter, the Dutcheß of *Richmond*, Widow to the King's Natural Son, to marry Sir *Thomas Seimour*. But though the Earl of *Surrey* advised his Sister to the Marriage projected for her, yet he would not content to that designed for himself, nor did the Proposition about his Sister take Effect. The *Seimours*, could not but see the Enmity the Earl of *Surrey* bore them, and they might well be jealous of the Greatness of that Family; which was not only too big for a Subject of it self, but was raised so high by the Dependance of the whole Popish Party, both at home and abroad, that they were like to be very dangerous Competitors for the chief Government of Affairs, if the King were once out of the way; whose Disease was now growing so fast upon him, that he could not live many Weeks. Nor is it unlikely that they perswaded the King, That if the Earl of *Surrey* should marry the Lady *Mary*, it might embroil his Son's Government, and perhaps ruine him. And it was suggested, That he had some such high Project in his Thoughts, both by his continuing unmarried, and by his using the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor, which of late he had given in his Coat, without a Diminution. But to compleat the Duke of *Norfolk's* Ruine, his Dutcheß who had complained of his using her ill, and had been separated from him about four Years, turned Informer against him. His Son and Daughter were also in ill Terms together. So the Sister Informed all that she could against her Brother. And one Mrs. *Holland*, for whom the Duke was believed to have an unlawful Affection, discovered all she knew; but all amounted to no more, than some passionate Expressions of the Son, and some Complaints of the Father, who thought he was not beloved by the King, and his Councillors, and that he was ill used, in not being trusted with the Secret of Affairs. And all Persons being encouraged to bring Informations against them, Sir *Richard Southwell* charged the Earl of *Surrey* in some Points that were of a higher Nature; which the Earl denied, and desired to be admitted, according to the Martial Law, to fight in his Shirt with *Southwell*. But that not being granted, he and his Father were committed to the *Tower*. That which was most insisted on, was, their giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor which were only to be given by the Kings of *England*. This the Earl of *Surrey* justified; and said, They gave their Arms, according to the Opinion of the King's Heralds. But all Excuses availed nothing, for his Father and he were designed to be destroyed, upon Reasons of State; for which, some Colours were to be found out.



The Earl of *Surrey* being but a Commoner, was brought to his Tryal at *Guildhall*; and put upon an Inquest of Commoners consisting of Nine Knights and Three Esquires, by whom he was found guilty of Treason, and had Sentence of Death passed upon him, which was executed on the 19th of *January* at *Tower-Hill*. It was generally condemned, as an Act of high Injustice and Severity, which loaded the *Seimours* with a popular *Odium* that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a Man of great Parts and high Courage, with many other Noble Qualities.

1547.

The Earl of  
*Surrey* Executed.

But the King, who never hated nor ruined any Body by halves, resolved to compleat the Misfortunes of that Family, by the Attainder of the Father. And as all his Eminent Services were now forgotten, so the Submissions he made, could not allay a Displeasure, that was only to be satisfied with his Life and Fortune. He wrote to the King, protesting his Innocency: ' That he had never a Thought to his Prejudice, and could not imagine what could be laid to his Charge: He had spent his whole Life in his Service, and did not know that ever he had offended any Person; or that any were displeased with him, except for prosecuting the Breakers of the Act about the Sacrament of the Altar. But in that, and in every thing else, as he had been always obedient to the King's Laws, so he was resolved still to obey any Laws he should make. He desired he might be examined with his Accusers Face to Face, before the King, or at least before his Council; and if it did not appear that he was wrongfully accused, let him be punished as he deserved. In Conclusion, he begged the King would have pity on him, and restore him to his Favour; taking all his Lands or Goods from him, or as much of them, as he pleased. Yet all this had no Effect on the King. So he was desired to make a more formal Submission; which he did on the 12th of *January* under his hand, Ten Privy Councillors being Witnesses. In it he confessed, ' *First*, His discovering the Secrets of the King's Council. ' *Secondly*, His concealing his Son's Treason, in using to give the Arms of *St. Edward* the Confessor, which did only belong to the King, and to which his Son had no Right. ' *Thirdly*, That he had ever since his Father's Death, born in the first Quarter of his Arms, the Arms of *England*; with a Difference of the Labels of Silver, that are the proper Arms of the Prince; which was done in Prejudice of the King and the Prince; and gave Occasion for disturbing or interrupting the Succession to the Crown of the Realm. This he acknowledged was High-Treason, he confessed he deserved to be attainted of High-Treason; and humbly begged the King's Mercy and Compassion. He yielded to all this, hoping by such a Submission and Compliance to have overcome the King's Displeasure. But his Expectations failed him.

The Duke's  
Submission  
to the King.

A Parliament was called, the Reason whereof was pretended to be the Coronation of the Prince of *Wales*. But it was thought the true Cause of calling it, was, to attain the Duke of *Norfolk*; for which they had not colour enough, to do it in a Tryal by his Peers. Therefore an Attainder by Act of Parliament was thought the better way. So it was moved, that the King intending to Crown his Son, Prince of *Wales*, desired they would go on with all possible Haste in the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*; that so these Places which he held by Patent, might be disposed of by the King to such as he thought

The Parli-  
ament meets.

1547.

The Duke  
of Norfolk At-  
tainted.

fit, who should Assist at the Coronation. And upon this slight Pre-  
 tence, since a better could not be found; the Bill of Attainder was  
 read the first Time on the 18th of *January*: And on the 19th and 20th  
 it was read the second and third Time; and so passed in the House  
 of Lords, and was sent down to the Commons, who on the 24th  
 sent it up also passed. On the 27th the Lords were ordered to be in  
 their Robes, that the Royal Assent might be given to it; which the  
 Lord Chancellor, with some others joined in Commission, did give by  
 virtue of the King's Letters Patents. And it had been executed the  
 next Morning, if the King's Death had not prevented it. Upon what  
 Grounds this Attainder was founded, I can only give this Account  
 from the 34th Act of the first Parliament of *Queen Mary*; in which  
 this Act is declared null and void, by the Common Law of the  
 Land; for I cannot find the Act it self upon Record. In the Act of  
 Repeal it is said, ' That there was no special Matter in the Act of  
 ' Attainder, but only general Words of Treasons and Conspiracies;  
 ' and that out of their Care of the Preservation of the King and the  
 ' Prince, they passed it. But the Act of Repeal says also, That the  
 ' only Thing with which he was charged, was, For bearing of Arms,  
 ' which he and his Ancestors had born, both within and without the  
 ' Kingdom; both in the King's Presence, and in the Sight of his Pro-  
 ' genitors, which they might Lawfully bear and give, as by good and  
 ' substantial Matter of Record it did appear. It is also added, That  
 ' the King died after the Date of the Commission; That the King only  
 ' empowered them to give his Assent, but did not give it himself:  
 ' And that it did not appear by any Record, that they gave it. That  
 ' the King did not Sign the Commission with his own Hand, his Stamp  
 ' being only set to it, and that not to the upper, but the nether part of  
 ' it, contrary to the King's Custom. All these Particulars, though  
 cleared afterwards, I mention now, because they give Light to this  
 Matter.

His  
prevented by  
the King's.

As soon as the Act was passed, a Warrant was sent to the Lieu-  
 tenant of the *Tower*, to cut off his Head the next Morning; but the  
 King dying in the Night, the Lieutenant could do nothing on that  
 Warrant. And it seems it was not thought adviseable, to begin the  
 New King's Reign with such an Odious Execution. And thus the Duke  
 of *Norfolk* escaped very narrowly. Both Parties descanted on this dif-  
 ferently. The Consciencious Papists said, It was God's just Judgment  
 on him, who had in all Things followed the King's Pleasure, often-  
 times against his own Conscience; That he should smart under that  
 Power, which himself had helped so considerably to make it be raised  
 so high. The Protestants could not but observe an Hand of God, in  
 measuring out such a hard Measure to him, that was so heavy on all  
 those poor People that were questioned for Heresie. But *Cranmer's* Car-  
 riage in this Matter was suitable to the other Parts of his Life, for he  
 withdrew to *Croyden*, and would not so much as be present in Parlia-  
 ment, when so unjust an Act was passed, and his Absence at this Time  
 was the more considerable, since the King was so dangerously ill, that  
 it must be concluded it could be no slight Cause that made him with-  
 draw at such a Time. But the Duke of *Norfolk* had been his constant  
 Enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the publick Coun-  
 cils, when so strange an Act was passing. But at the same Time the Bishop  
 of *Winchester* was officiously hanging on in the Court; and though he

P. 21.

was

was forbid to come to Council, yet always when the Councillors went into the King's Bed Chamber, he went with them to the Door, to make the World believe he was one of the Number, and staying at the Door till the rest came out, he returned with them. But he was absolutely lost in the King's Opinion.

There is but one other Step of Foreign Business in this Reign, which was an Embassy sent over by the Duke of *Saxony*, to let the King know of the League between the Pope and the Emperor, for the Extirpation of Heresie; and that the Emperor was making War on him, and the other Princes, in pursuance of that League. Therefore he desired the King's Assistance. But at the same Time, the Emperor did by his Agents every where disown, that the War was made upon a Religious Account; and said it was only to maintain the Rights of the Empire, which those Princes had affronted. So the King answered, that as soon as it did appear to him, that Religion was the Cause of the War, he would assist them. But that which made this so involved, was, That though at *Rome* the Pope declared it was a Holy War, and ordered Prayers and Processions to be made, for Success; yet the Emperor in all his Declarations took no notice of Religion: He had also divided the Protestant Party, so that some of them joined with him, and others were Neutrals. And when in *Germany* it self this Matter was so little understood, it was easy to abuse Strangers by giving them a wrong Account of it.

1547.

The Emperor's Designs against the Protestants.

The King was overgrown with Corpulency and Fatness, so that he became more and more unwieldy. He could not go up or down Stairs, but as he was raised up, or let down by an Engine. And an old sore in his Leg became very uneasy to him; so that all the Humours in his Body sinking down into his Leg, he was much pained, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his inexorable Severity to the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son, may be in a great Measure imputed. His Servants durst scarce speak to him, to put him in Mind of his approaching End. And an Act of Parliament, which was made for the Security of the King's Life, had some Words in it against the Foretelling of his Death, which made every one afraid to speak to him of it; lest he in his angry and imperious Humours should have Ordered them to be Indicted upon that Statute. But he felt Nature declining a-pace, and so made the Will, he had left behind him at his last going into *France*, be written over again, with this only Difference, That *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, whom he had appointed one of the Executors of his Will, that of the Councillor to his Son, till he came of Age, was now left out: Of which when Sir *Anthony Brown* put the King in Mind, apprehending it was only an Omission, he answered, That he knew *Gardiner's* Temper well enough, and though he could Govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it; and that he would give them much trouble. And when *Brown* at another Time repeated the Motion to the King, he told him, If he spake more of that, he would strike him out of his Will too. The Will was said to be Signed the 30th of *December*. It is Printed at large by *Fuller*, and the most material Parts of it by *Heylin*. So I need say little of it, only the most signal Clause in it, was, That he excluded the Line of *Scotland* out of the Succession, and preferred the two Daughters of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon* to them. And this leads me to discover several Things concerning this

The King's Sicknels.

1547.

Col. Numb. 30.  
His latter  
Will a For-  
gery.

Will, which have been hitherto unknown. I draw them from a Letter written to Sir *William Cecil*, then Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, ( afterwards Lord *Burleigh*, ) by *William Maitland*, of *Lethingtoun*, Secretary of State to the Queen of *Scotland*. This *Maitland* was accounted a Man of the greatest Parts of any in his Nation at that Time; though his Treachery in turning over to the Party that was against the Queen, very much blemished his other Qualities; but he expiated his Fault by a real Repentance, which appeared in his returning to his Duty, and losing all afterwards in her Quarrel. His Letter will be found in the *Collection*. The Substance and Design of it is, to clear the Right his Mistress had to the Crown of *England*, in case the Queen should die without Heirs of her Body. Therein after he had answered other Objections, he comes to this of the Will. To it he says, ' That according to the Act of Parliament, the King's Will was to be Signed with his own Hand; but ' this Will was only Signed by the Stamp. Then the King never Ordered the Stamp to be put to it: He had been oft desired to Sign it, but had always put it off; but when they saw his Death approaching, one *William Clark*, Servant to *Thomas Hennage*, put the Stamp to it, and some Gentlemen that were waiting without, were called in to Sign it as Witnesses. For this he appeal'd to the Deposition of the Lord *Paget*, and desired the Marquess of *Winchester*, and *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Doctor *Butts*, and some others, might be examined; and that their Depositions might be entred into the Chancery. He also appealed to the Original Will, by which it would appear, That it was not Signed, but only Stamped; and that not being according to the Act of Parliament, which in such extraordinary Things must be strictly taken, the Will was of no force. Thus it appears, what vulgar Errors pass upon the World. And though for Seventy five Years, the *Scottish* Race has enjoyed the Crown of *England*, and after so long a Possession it is very superfluous to clear a Title which is universally acknowledged; yet the Reader will not be ill pleased to see how ill-grounded that Pretence was, which some managed very seditiously during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, for excluding that Line.

But if this Will was not signed by the King, other Grants were certainly made by him on his Death-Bed; one was to the City of *London*, of 500 Marks a Year for endowing an Hospital, which was called *Christ's Hospital*; and he ordered the Church of the *Franciscans*, a little within *Newgate*, to be opened, which he gave to the Hospital. This was done the 3d. of *January*. Another was of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, one of the Noblest Foundations in *Christendom*. He continued in a Decay till the 27th of the Month; and then many Signs of his approaching End appearing, few would adventure on so unwelcome a Thing as to put him in mind of his Change then imminent; but Sir *Anthony Denny* had the Honesty and Courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for Death, and remember his former Life, and to call on God for Mercy through Jesus Christ. Upon which the King expressed his Grief for the Sins of his past Life, yet he said he trusted in the Mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then *Denny* asked him if any Churchman should be sent for; and he said, If any, it should be Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*; and after he had rested a little, finding

finding his Spirits decay a-pace, he ordered him to be sent for to *Croydon*, where he was then. But before he could come, the King was speechless. So *Cranmer* desired him to give some Sign of his dying in the Faith of Christ, upon which he squeezed his Hand, and soon after died, after he had Reigned Thirty seven Years, and Nine Months, in the Six and fiftieth Year of his Age. His Death was kept up Three Days, for the Journals of the Houe of Lords shew, that they continued reading Bills, and going on in Business till the 31st. and no sooner did the Lord Chancellor signify to them that the King was dead, and that the Parliament was thereby dissolved. It is certain the Parliament had no being after the King's Breath was out; so their sitting till the 31st shews, That the King's Death was not generally known all those three Days. The Reasons of concealing it so long might either be, that they were considering what to do with the Duke of *Norfolk*, or that the *Seymours* were laying their Matters, so as to be secure in the Government before they published the King's Death. I shall not adventure on adding any further Character of him, to that which is done with so much Wit and Judgment by the Lord *Herbert*, but shall refer the Reader wholly to him; only adding an Account of the blackest part of it, the Attainers that passed the last 13 Years of his Life; which are comprehended within this Book, of which I have cast over the Relation to the Conclusion of it.

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In the latter Part of his Reign, there were many Things that seem great Severities, especially as they are represented by the Writers of the *Roman* Party, whose Relations are not a little strengthened by the faint Excuses and the mistaken Accounts, that most of the Protestant Historians have made. The King was naturally impetuous, and could not bear Provocation; the Times were very ticklish; his Subjects were generally addicted to the old Superstition, especially in the Northern Parts; the Monks and Friars were both numerous and wealthy; the Pope was his implacable Enemy, the Emperor was a formidable Prince, and being then Master of all the *Netherlands*, had many Advantages for the War he designed against *England*. Cardinal *Pool* his Kinsman was going over all the Courts of *Christendom*, to perswade a League against *England*, as being a Thing of greater Necessity and Merit than a War against the *Turk*. This being without the least Aggravation, the State of Affairs at that Time, it must be confessed he was sore put to it. A Superstition that was so blind and headstrong, and Enemies that were both so powerful, so spiteful, and so industrious, made Rigour necessary; nor is any General of an Army more concerned to deal severely with Spies and Intelligencers, than he was to proceed against all the Pope's Adherents, or such as kept a Correspondence with *Pool*. He had observed in History, that upon much less Provocation than himself had given, not only several Emperors and Foreign Princes had been dispossessed of their Dominions; but two of his own Ancestors, *Henry* the Second, and King *John*, had been driven to great Extrémities, and forced to unusual and most indecent Submissions by the Means of the Popes and their Clergy.

The Pope's Power over the Clergy was so absolute, and their Dependance and Obedience to him was so implicate; and the Popish Clergy had so great an Interest in the superstitious Multitude, whose Consciences they governed, that nothing but a stronger Passion could either tame the Clergy, or quiet the People. If there had been the least

hope

1547. hope of Impunity, the last Part of his Reign would have been one continued Rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuse Effusion of Blood, it seemed necessary to execute Laws severely in some particular Instances.

There is one Calumny that runs in a Thread through all the Historians of the Popish Side, which not a few of our own have ignorantly taken up, That many were put to Death for not swearing the King's Supremacy. It is an impudent Falshood; for not so much as one Person suffered on that Account; nor was there any Law for any such Oath, before the Parliament in the 28th. Year of the King's Reign, when the unsufferable Bull of Pope *Paul* the 3d engaged him to look a little more to his own Safety. Then indeed in the Oath for maintaining the Succession of the Crown, the Subjects were required under the Pains of Treason, to swear that the King was Supream Head of the Church of *England*; but that was not mentioned in the former Oath that was made in the 25th, and enacted in the 26th Year of his Reign. It cannot but be confessed, that to enact under Pain of Death that none should deny the King's Titles, and to proceed upon that against Offenders, is a very different Thing from forcing them to swear the King to be the Supream Head of the Church.

Some Carthusians executed for denying the King's Supremacy.

The first Instance of these Capital Proceedings was in *Easter-Term*, in the beginning of the 27th Year of his Reign. Three Priors and a Monk, of the *Carthusian* Order, were then indicted of Treason, for saying, *That the King was not Supream Head under Christ of the Church of England.* These were, *John Houghton* Prior of the *Charter-House* near *London*, *Augustin Webster* Prior of *Axholme*, *Robert Laurence* Prior of *Bevoll*, and *Richard Reynolds* a Monk of *Sion*: This last was esteemed a learned Man, for that Time and that Order. They were tried in *Westminster-Hall* by a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*: They pleaded Not Guilty; but the Jury found them Guilty, and Judgment was given that they should suffer as Traytors. The Record mentions no other Particulars; but the Writers of the Popish Side make a splendid recital of the Courage and Constancy they expressed both in their Tryal, and at their Death. It was no difficult Thing for Men so used to the Legend, and the making of fine Stories for Saints and Martyrs of their Orders, to dress up their Narratives with much Pomp. But as their pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment, shews no extraordinary Resolution; so the Account that is given by them of one *Hall*, a Secular Priest, that died with them, is so false, that there is good Reason to suspect all. He is said to have suffered on the same Account; but the Record of his Attainder gives a very different Relation of it.

And *Hall*, a Priest, for conspiring against the King.

He, and *Robert Feron*, were indicted at the same time, for having said many spiteful and treasonable Things; as, ' That the King was a Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; that they hoped he should die such a Death as King *John*, and *Richard* the 3d died; that they looked when those in *Ireland* and *Wales* should invade *England*; and they were assured, that Three Parts of Four in *England* would be against the King: They also said, That they should never live merrily till the King and the Rulers were plucked by the Pates, and brought to the Pot; and that it would never be well with the Church till that was done. *Hall* had not only said this, but had also written it to *Feron* the 10th of *March* that Year. When they were brought to the Bar, they at first pleaded Not Guilty; but full Proof being

being brought, they themselves confessed the Indictment, before the Jury went aside, and put themselves on the King's Mercy: Upon which, this being an imagining and contriving both War against the King, and the King's Death, Judgment was given as in Cases of Treason: But no mention being made of *Feron's* Death, it seems he had his Pardon. *Hall* suffered with the Four *Carthusians* who were hanged in their Habits.

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They proceeded no further in *Easter Term*: But in *Trinity-Term* there was another Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, by which *Humphrey Middlemore*, *William Exmew*, and *Sebastian Nudigate*, three Monks of the *Charter-House*, near *London*, were indicted of Treason, for having said on the 25th of *May*, 'That they neither could nor would consent to be obedient to the King's Highness, as true, lawful, and obedient Subjects; to take him to be Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England*. They all pleaded *Not Guilty*, but were found Guilty by the Jury; and Judgment was given. When they were condemned, they desired that they might receive the Body of Christ before their Death. But (as Judge *Spelman* writ) the Court would not grant it, since that was never done in such Cases but by Order from the King. Two Days after that, they were Executed. Two other Monks of that same Order, *John Rochester*, and *James Wolver*, suffered on the same Account at *York* in *May* this Year. Ten other *Carthusian* Monks were shut up within their Cells; where Nine of them dyed, the Tenth was hanged in the beginning of *August*. Concerning those Persons, I find this said in some Original Letters, That they had brought over into *England*, and vented in it, some Books that were written beyond Sea against the King's Marriage, and his other Proceedings; which being found in their House, they were pressed to peruse the Books that were written for the King, but obstinately refus'd to do it; they had also been involved in the Business of the Maid of *Kent*, for which, though all the Complices in it, except those who suffered for it, were pardoned by Act of Parliament, yet such as had been concerned in it were still under Jealousy: And it is no wonder that upon new Provocations they met with the uttermost Rigour of the Law.

Three other Monks executed.

These Tryals made way for two others that were more Signal; of the Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More*. The first of these had been a Prisoner above a Year, and was very severely used: He complained, in his Letters to *Cromwell*, that he had neither Cloaths, nor Fire, being then about Fourscore. This was understood at *Rome*; and upon it, Pope *Clement*, by an officious Kindness to him, or rather in Spite to King *Henry*, declared him a Cardinal, and sent him a Red Hat. When the King knew this, he sent to Examine him about it; but he protested he had used no Endeavours to procure it, and valued it so little, that if the Hat were lying at his Feet, he would not take it up. It never came nearer him than *Picardy*; yet this did precipitate his Ruine. But if he had kept his Opinion of the King's Supremacy to himself, they could not have proceeded further. He would not do that, but did upon several Occasions speak against it; so he was brought to his Tryal on the 17th of *June*. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and some other Lords, together with the Judges, sat upon him by a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*. He pleaded *Not Guilty*; but being found Guilty, Judgment was passed on

Fisher's Tryal and Death.

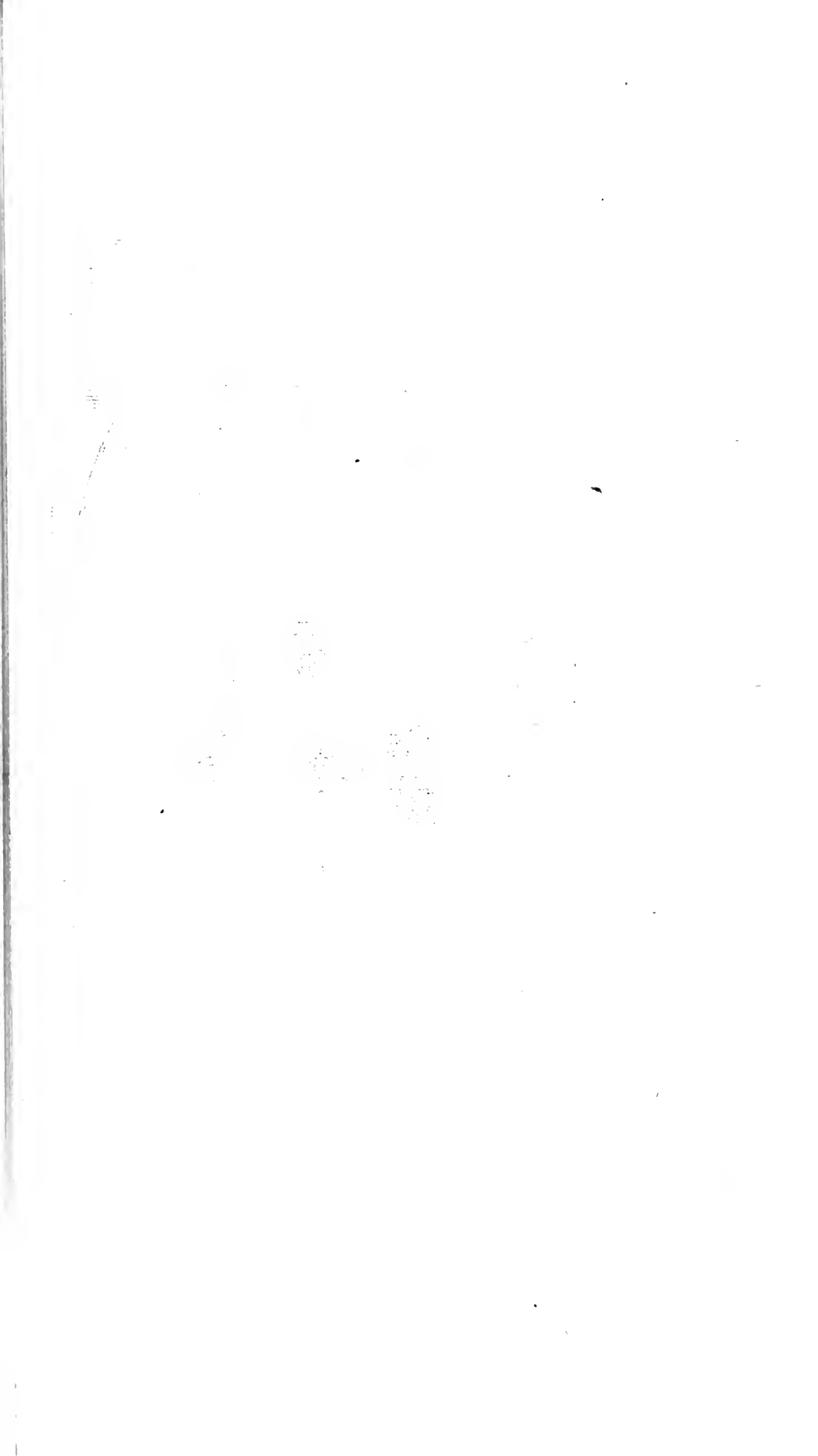
him

1547. him to die as a Traytor ; but he was, by a Warrant from the King, beheaded. Upon the 22d of *June*, being the Day of his Execution, he dressed himself with more than ordinary Care ; and when his Man took notice of it, he told him he was to be that Day a Bridegroom. As he was led to the Place of Execution, being stopt in the way by the Croud, he opened his New Testament, and prayed to this Purpose ; That as that Book had been his Companion and chief Comfort in his Imprisonment, so then some Place might turn up to him, that might comfort him in his last Passage : This being said, he opened the Book at a venture, in which these Words of *St. John's Gospel* turned up : *This is Life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* So he shut the Book with much Satisfaction, and all the way was repeating and meditating on them. When he came to the Scaffold, he pronounced the *Te Deum*, and after some other Devotions his Head was cut off.

His Character. Thus died *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, in the 80th Year of his Age. He was a learned and devout Man, but much addicted to the Superstitions in which he had been bred up : And that led him to great Severities against all that opposed them. He had been for many Years Confessor to the King's Grand-Mother, the Countess of *Richmond* ; and it was believed that he perswaded her to those Noble Designs for the Advancement of Learning, of Founding Two Colleges in *Cambridge*, *St. John's*, and *Christ's College*, and Divinity Professors in both Universities. And in acknowledgment of this, he was chosen Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*. *Henry* the 7th gave him the Bishoprick of *Rochester*, which he, following the Rule of the Primitive Church, would never change for a better ; he used to say, his Church was his Wife, and he would never part with her, because she was poor. He continued in great Favour with the King, till the Business of the Divorce was set on foot ; and then he adhered so firmly to the Queen's Cause, and the Pope's Supremacy, that he was carried by that headlong into great Errors, as appears by the Business of the Maid of *Kent*. Many thought the King ought to have proceeded against him rather upon that, which was a Point of State, than upon the Supremacy, which was Matter of Conscience. But the King was resolved to let all his Subjects see, there was no Mercy to be expected by any that denied his being Supream Head of the Church ; and therefore made him and *More* Two Examples for terrifying the rest. This being much censured beyond Sea, *Gardiner*, that was never wanting in the most servile Compliances, wrote a Vindication of the King's Proceedings. The Lord *Herbert* had it in his Hands, and tells it was written in elegant *Latin*, but that he thought it too long, and others judged it was too vehement, to be inserted in his History.

*More's Tryal and Death.* On the first of *July*, Sir *Thomas More* was brought to his Tryal. The special Matter in his Indictment, is, That on the 7th of *May* preceding, before *Cromwell*, *Bedyl*, and some others that were pressing him concerning the King's Supremacy, he said he would not meddle with any such Matter ; and was fully resolved to serve God, and think upon his Passion, and his own Passage out of this World. He had also sent divers Messages by one *George Gold* to *Fisher*, to encourage him in his Obstinacy ; and said, The Act of Parliament is like a Sword with Two Edges, for if a Man answer one way, it will confound







H. H. sculpsit

R. White sculpsit

Natus 1482  
Angliae Cancellarius  
1529

Capite truncatus  
Anno 1535  
Julij 6<sup>to</sup>



Printed for Ric. Chiswell, at the Rose, and Crowne, in St Pauls Churchyard.

his Soul, and if he answer another way, it will confound his Body. He had said the same Thing on the Third of *June*, in the hearing of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and others; and that he would not be the Occasion of: he shortening his own Life. And when *Rich*, the King's Solicitor, came to deal with him further about it, but protested that he came not with any Authority to examine him: They discoursed the Matter fully; *Rich* pressed him, 'That since the Parliament had Enacted, That the King was Supream Head, the Subjects ought to agree to it; and, said *Rich*, what if the Parliament should declare me King, would you not acknowledge me? I would, said *More*, *Quia* (as it is in the Indictment) *Rex per Parliamentum fieri potest, & per Parliamentum deprivari*; but *More* turned the Argument on *Rich*, and said, what if the Parliament made an Act that God was not God; *Rich* acknowledged it could not bind: But, replied to *More*. that since he would acknowledge him King, if he were made so by Act of Parliament, why would he not acknowledge the King Supream Head, since it was Enacted by Parliament? To that *More* answered, 'That the Parliament had Power to make a King; and the People were bound to acknowledge him, whom they made; but for the Supremacy, though the Parliament had enacted it, yet those in foreign Parts had never assented to it. This was carried by *Rich* to the King; and all these Particulars were laid together, and judged to amount to a denial of the Supremacy. Judge *Spelman* writ, That *More* being on his Tryal, pleaded strongly against the Statute that made it Treason to deny the Supremacy, and argued that the King could not be Supream Head of the Church: When he was brought to the Bar, he pleaded Not Guilty; but being found Guilty, Judgment was given against him as a Traytor. He received it with that equal Temper of Mind, which he had shewed in both Conditions of Life, and then set himself wholly to prepare for Death; he expressed great Contempt of the World, and that he was weary of Life, and longed for Death; which was so little terrible to him, that his ordinary facetiousness remained with him even on the Scaffold. It was censured by many, as light and indecent; but others said, that way having been so natural to him on all other Occasions, it was not at all affected; but shewed that Death did no way discompose him, and could not so much as put him out of his ordinary Humour. Yet his rallying every Thing on the Scaffold, was thought to have more of the Stoick than the Christian in it. After some time spent in secret Devotions, he was beheaded on the 6th of *July*.

Thus did Sir *Thomas More* end his Days, in the 53d Year of his Age. He was a Man of rare Vertues, and excellent Parts: In his Youth he had freer Thoughts of Things, as appears by his *Utopia*, and his Letters to *Erasmus*; but afterwards he became superstitiously devoted to the Interests and Passions of the Popish Clergy: And as he served them when he was in Authority, even to assist them in all their Cruelties; so he employed his Pen in the same Cause, both in writing against all the new Opinions in general, and in particular against *Tindal*, *Frith*, and *Barnes*, as also an unknown Writer, who seemed of neither Party, but reprov'd the Corruptions of the Clergy, and condemn'd their cruel Proceedings. *More* was no Divine at all, and it is plain to any that reads his Writing, that he knew nothing of Antiquity, beyond the Quotations he found in the Canon-Law, and in the Master of the Sentences;

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His Character.

1547. ces: (only he had read some of *St. Austin's* Treatises,) for upon all Points of Controversie, he quotes only what he found in these Collections; nor was he at all conversant in the Critical Learning upon the Scriptures; but his peculiar Excellency in Writing, was, that he had a natural easie Expression, and presented all the Opinions of Popery with their fair Side to the Reader, disguising or concealing the black side of them with great Art; and was no less dextrous in exposing all the ill Consequences that could follow on the Doctrine of the Reformers; and had upon all Occasions great Store of pleasant Tales, which he applied wittily to his Purpose. And in this consists the great Strength of his Writings, which were designed rather for the Rabble, than for Learned Men. But for Justice, Contempt of Money, Humility, and a true Generosity of Mind, he was an Example to the Age in which he lived.

But there is one thing unjustly added to the Praise of these two great Men, or rather feigned, on design to lessen the King's Honour; that *Fisher* and he penned the Book which the King wrote against *Luther*. This *Sanders* first published, and *Bellarmin* and others since have taken it up upon his Authority. Strangers may be pardoned such Errors, but they are inexcusable in an *English* Man. For in *More's* printed Works there is a Letter written by him out of the *Tower* to *Cromwell*, in which he gives an Account of his Behaviour concerning the King's Divorce and Supremacy; among other Particulars one is, 'That when the King shewed him his Book against *Luther*, in which he had asserted the Pope's Primacy to be of Divine Right, *More* desired him to leave it out; since as there had been many Contests between Popes and other Princes, so there might fall in some between the Pope and the King; therefore he thought it was not fit for the King to publish any thing, which might be afterwards made use of against himself; and advised him either to leave out that Point, or to touch it very tenderly; but the King would not follow his Counsel, being perhaps so fond of what he had writ, that he would rather run himself upon a great Inconvenience, than leave out any thing that he fancied so well written.' This shews that *More* knew that Book was written by the King's own Pen; and either *Sanders* never read this, or maliciously concealed it, lest it should discover his foul Dealing.

These Executions so terrified all People, that there were no further Provocations given; and all Persons either took the Oaths, or did so dextrously conceal their Opinions, that till the Rebellions of *Lincolnshire*, and the North, broke out, none suffered after this upon a publick Account. But when these were quieted, then the King resolved to make the chief Authors and Leaders of those Commotions publick Examples to the rest. The Duke of *Norfolk* proceeded against many of them by Martial Law, there were also Tryals at Common Law, of a great many more that were taken Prisoners, and sent up to *London*. The Lords *Darcy* and *Huffie* were tried by their Peers, the Marquess of *Exeter* sitting Steward. And a Commission of Oyer and Terminer being issued out for the Tryal of the rest, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Lady, Sir *Francis Pigot*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and *Ask*, that had been their Captain; with the Abbats of *Walley*, *Jerveux*, *Bridlington*, *Lenton*, *Woburn* and *Kingstead*, and *Mackrall* the Monk that first raised the *Lincolnshire* Rebellion, with

Attainders after the Rebellion was quieted.

Sixteen more were Indicted of High Treason, for the late Rebellions. And after all the Steps of the Rebellion were reckoned up, it is added in the Indictment, that they had met together on the 17th of *January*, and consulted how to renew it, and prosecute it further, being encouraged by the new Risings that were then in the North, by which they had forfeited all the Favour, to which they could have pretended, by virtue of the Indemnity that was granted in the end of *December*, and of the Pardons which they had taken out. They were all found Guilty, and had Judgment as in Cases of Treason; divers of them were carried down into *Lincolnshire*, and *Torkshire*, and executed in the Places where their Treasons were committed; but most of them suffered at *London*, and among others the Lady *Bulmer*, (whom others call Sir *John Bulmer's Harlot*) was burnt for it in *Smithfield*.

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Hall.

The only Censure that passed on this, was, that Advantages were taken on too slight Grounds to break the King's Indemnity and Pardon; since it does not appear, that after their Pardon they did any thing more than meet and consult. But the Kingdom was so shaken with that Rebellion, that if it had not been for the great Conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the King had by all Appearance lost his Crown. And it will not seem strange that a King, (especially so tempered as this was,) had a Mind to strike Terror into the rest of his Subjects, by some signal Examples, and to put out of the Way the chief Leaders of that Design: Nor was it to be wondered at, that the Abbats and other Clergy-men who had been so active in that Commotion, were severely handled. It was by their Means that the Discontents were chiefly fomented; they had taken all the Oaths that were enjoined them, and yet continued to be still practising against the State; which, as it was highly contrary to the peaceable Doctrines of the Christian Religion, so it was in a special manner contrary to the Rules which they professed, that obliged them to forsake the World, and to follow a Religious and Spiritual Course of Life.

Censures  
pass upon it.

The next Example of Justice was a Year after this, of one *Forrest* an *Observant* Friar; he had been, as *Sanders* said, Confessor to Queen *Katherine*, but it seems departed from her Interests; for he insinuated himself so into the King, that he recovered his good Opinion. Being an ignorant and lewd Man, he was accounted by the better sort of that House, to which he belonged in *Greenwich*, a Reproach to their Order, (concerning this, I have seen a large Account in an Original Letter written by a Brother of the same House.) Having regained the King's good Opinion, he put all those who had favoured the Divorce under great Fears, for he proceeded cruelly against them. And one *Rainscroft*, being suspected to have given secret Intelligence of what was done among them, was shut up, and so hardly used, that he died in their Hands, which was (as that Letter relates) done by Friar *Forrest's* Means. This Friar was found to have denied the King's Supremacy; for though he himself had sworn it, yet he had intuled it into many in Confession, that the King was not the Supreme Head of the Church. Being questioned for these Practices, which were so contrary to the Oath that he had taken, he answered, that he took that Oath with his outward Man, but his inward Man had never consented to it. Being brought to his Trial, and accused of several Heretical Opinions that he held, he submitted him-

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Forrest's E-  
quivocation  
and Heresie.

Hall.

1538. self to the Church. Upon this he had more Freedom allowed him in the Prison; but some coming to him diverted him from the Submission he had offered; so that when the Paper of Abjuration was brought him, he refused to set his Hand to it: Upon which he was judged an Obstinate Heretick. The Records of these Proceedings are lost, but the Books of that Time say, That he denied the Gospel; it is like it was upon that Pretence, that without the Determination of the Church it had no Authority, upon which, several Writers of the Roman Communion have said undecent and scandalous Things of the Holy Scriptures. He was brought to *Smithfield*, where were present the Lords of the Council, to offer him his Pardon, if he would abjure. *Latimer* made a Sermon against his Errors, and studied to persuade him to recant; but he continued in his former Opinions, so he was put to Death in a most severe manner. He was hanged in a Chain about his middle, and the great Image that was brought out of *Wales*, was broken to Pieces, and served for Fuel to burn him. He shewed great Unquietness of Mind, and ended his Life in an ungodly Manner, as *Hall* says, who adds this Character of him, ‘ That he had ‘ little Knowledge of God and his sincere Truth, and less Trust in ‘ him at his ending.

The Proceedings against Cardinal Pool's Friends.

In Winter that Year a Correspondence was discovered with Cardinal *Pool*, who was bare-faced in his Treasonable Designs against the King. His Brother Sir *Geofrey Pool* discovered the whole Plot. For which the Marquess of *Exeter*, (that was the King's Cousin-German by his Mother, who was *Edward* the 4th's Daughter,) the Lord *Montacute*, the Cardinal's Brother, Sir *Geofrey Pool*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, were sent to the *Tower* in the beginning of *November*. They were accused for having maintained a Correspondence with the Cardinal, and for expressing an Hatred of the King, with a Dislike of his Proceedings, and a Readiness to rise upon any good Opportunity that might offer it self.

The special matter brought against the Lord *Montacute*, and the Marquess of *Exeter*, who were tried by their Peers on the 2d and 3d of *December*, in the 30th Year of this Reign, is, ‘ That whereas Cardinal *Pool*, and others, had cast off their Allegiance to the King, ‘ and gone and submitted themselves to the Pope, the King's mortal Enemy, the Lord *Montacute* did on the 24th of *July*, in the 28th Year of ‘ the King's Reign, a few Months before the Rebellion broke out, say, ‘ That he liked well the Proceedings of his Brother the Cardinal, but ‘ did not like the Proceedings of the Realm; and said, I trust to see a ‘ Change of this World; I trust to have a fair Day upon those Knaves ‘ that rule about the King; and I trust to see a merry World one Day. Words to the same Purpose were also charged on the Marquess; the Lord *Montacute* further said, ‘ I would I were over the Sea with my ‘ Brother, for this World will one Day come to Stripes; it must needs ‘ so come to pass, and I fear we shall lack nothing so much as honest ‘ Men: He also said, He had dreamed that the King was dead, and ‘ though he was not yet dead, he would die suddenly; one Day his ‘ Leg will kill him, and then we shall have jolly stirring; saying also, ‘ That he had never loved him from his Childhood, and that Cardinal *Wolfey* would have been an honest Man, if he had had an honest Master. And the King having said to the Lords he would leave ‘ them one Day, having some Apprehensions he might shortly die, that ‘ Lord

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‘ Lord said, If he will serve us so, we shall be happily rid; a Time  
 ‘ will come, I fear we shall not tarry the Time, we shall do well e-  
 ‘ nough. He had also said, He was sorry the Lord *Abergavenny* was  
 ‘ dead, for he could have made Ten Thousand Men; and for his Part  
 ‘ he would go and live in the West, where the Marquess of *Exeter* was  
 ‘ strong; and had also said upon the breaking of the Northern Rebel-  
 ‘ lion, that the Lord *Darcy* played the Fool, for he went to pluck away  
 ‘ the Council, but he should have begun with the Head first, but I be-  
 ‘ shrew him for leaving off so soon. These were the Words charged  
 on those Lords, as clear Discoveries of their Treasonable Designs;  
 and that they knew of the Rebellion that brake out, and only intended  
 to have kept it off to a fitter Opportunity; they were also accused of  
 Correspondence with Cardinal *Pool*, that was the King’s declared En-  
 my. Upon these Points the Lords pleaded *Not Guilty*; but were found  
 Guilty by their Peers, and so Judgment was given.

On the 4th of *December* were Indicted Sir *Geofrey Pool*, for holding  
 Correspondence with his Brother the Cardinal, and saying, That he  
 approved of his Proceedings, but not of the King’s; Sir *Edward Nev-  
 vill*, Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, for saying, The King was a  
 Beast, and worse than a Beast; *George Crofts*, Chancellor of the Ca-  
 thedral of *Chichester*, for saying, *The King was not, but the Pope was,  
 Supream Head of the Church*; and *John Collins*, for saying, *The King  
 would hang in Hell one Day for the plucking down of Abbeys*: All those,  
 Sir *Edward Nevill* only excepted, pleaded *Guilty*, and so they were  
 condemned; but Sir *Geofrey Pool* was the only Person of the Number  
 that was not Executed, for he had discovered the matter. At the  
 same Time also, Cardinal *Pool*, *Michael Throgmorton* Gentleman, *John  
 Hilliard* and *Thomas Goldwell* Clerks, and *William Peyto* a Franciscan  
 of the Observance, were Attainted in Absence; because they had cast  
 off their Duty to the King, and had subjected themselves to the Bi-  
 shop of *Rome*, *Pool* being made Cardinal by him; and for writing  
 Treasonable Letters, and sending them into *England*. On the 4th of  
*February* following, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, that was both Master of the  
 Horse, and Knight of the Garter, was Arraigned for being an adhe-  
 rent to the Marquiss of *Exeter*, and having spoke of his Attainder  
 as unjust and cruel, he was also Attainted and Executed upon the 3d of  
*March*. When he was brought to the Scaffold, he openly acknow-  
 ledged the Errors and Superstitions in which he had formerly lived; and  
 blessed God for his Imprisonment, ‘ for he then began to relish the Life  
 ‘ and Sweetness of God’s Holy Word, which was brought him by his  
 ‘ Keeper, one *Phillips*, who followed the Reformation, and had for-  
 ‘ merly suffered for it.

After these Executions, followed the Parliament in the Year 1539,  
 in which not only these Attainders that were already passed were  
 confirmed, but new ones of a strange and unheard of Nature were  
 Enacted. It is a blemish never to be washed off, and which cannot  
 be enough condemned, and was a Breach of the most Sacred and un-  
 alterable Rules of Justice, which is capable of no Excuse; it was the  
 Attainting of some Persons, whom they held in Custody, without  
 bringing them to a Tryal. Concerning which, I shall add what the  
 great Lord Chief Justice *Cook* writes, ‘ Although I question not the  
 ‘ Power of the Parliament, for without Question the Attainder stands  
 ‘ of Force in Law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding, Au-

1539.  
 Some Attain-  
 dors without  
 hearing the  
 Parties.

33. Instit. 37.

1539.

‘ *ferat Oblivio, si potest, si non utrumque silentium tegat.* For the more  
 ‘ high and absolute the Jurisdiction of the Court is, the more just and  
 ‘ honourable it ought to be in the Proceedings, and to give Exam-  
 ‘ ple of Justice to Inferior Courts. The chief of these were the  
 Marchioness of *Exeter* and the Countess of *Sarum*. The special Mat-  
 ter charged on the former, is, her confederating her self to Sir *Nicola-  
 las Carew* in his Treasons; to which is added, ‘ That she had com-  
 ‘ mitted divers other abominable Treasons. The latter is said to have  
 ‘ confederated her self with her Son the Cardinal, with other aggra-  
 ‘ vating Words. It does not appear by the Journal, that any Wit-  
 nesses were examined; only that Day that the Bills were read the  
 third Time in the House of Lords, *Cromwell* shewed them a Coat of  
 white Silk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Countess  
 of *Sarum*’s Cloths, in which the Arms of *England* were wrought on  
 the one Side, and the Standard that was carried before the Rebels was  
 on the other Side. This was brought as an Evidence that she approv-  
 ed of the Rebellion. Three *Irish* Priests were also Attainted for car-  
 rying Letters out of *Ireland*, to the Pope and Cardinal *Poole*, as also  
 Sir *Adrian Fortescue*, for endeavouring to raise Rebellion, *Thomas Ding-  
 ley*, a Knight of *St. John of Jerusalem*, and *Robert Granceter* Merchant,  
 for going to several Foreign Princes, and persuading them to make  
 War upon the King, and assist the Lords *Darcy* and *Huffie* in the Re-  
 bellion they had raised. Two Gentlemen, a Dominican Friar, and a  
 Yeoman, were by the same Act Attainted, for saying, That *that veno-  
 mous Serpent, the Bishop of Rome, was Supream Head of the Church of  
 England.* Another Gentleman, two Priests, and a Yeoman, are Attaint-  
 ed for Treason in general, no particular Crime being specified. Thus  
 Sixteen Persons were in this manner Attainted, and if there was any Ex-  
 amination of Witnesses for convicting them, it was either in the Star-  
 Chamber, or before the Privy-Council; for there is no mention of any  
 Evidence that was brought in the Journals: There was also much  
 haste made in the passing this Bill; it being brought in the 10th of *May*,  
 was read that Day for the first and second Time, and the 11th of *May*  
 for the third Time. The Commons kept it five Days before they sent  
 it back, and added some more to those that were in the Bill at first;  
 but how many were named in the Bill Originally, and how many were  
 afterwards added, cannot be known. *Fortescue* and *Dingley* suffered  
 the 10th of *July*. As for the Countess of *Sarum*, the Lord *Herbert*  
 saw in a Record, that Bulls from the Pope were found in her House,  
 ‘ that she kept Correspondence with her Son, and that she forbid  
 ‘ her Tenants to have the New Testament in *English*, or any other  
 ‘ of the Books that had been published by the King’s Authority. She  
 was then about Seventy Years of Age, but shewed by the Answers she  
 made, that she had a vigorous and Masculine Mind: She was kept two  
 Years Prisoner in the *Tower*, after the Act had passed, the King by  
 that Reprieve designing to oblige her Son to a better Behaviour; but up-  
 on a fresh Provocation by a new Rebellion in the North, she was be-  
 headed, and in her, the Name and Line of *Plantagenet* determined.  
 The Marchioness of *Exeter* died a Natural Death. In *November* this  
 Year were the Abbots of *Reading*, *Glassenbury* and *Colchester* Attainted  
 of Treason, of which mention was made formerly.



In the Parliament that fate in the Year 1540, they went on to follow that strange Precedent, which they had made the former Year. By the 56th Act *Giles Heron* was Attainted of Treason, no special Matter being mentioned.

1547.

By the 57th Act, *Richard Fetherstoun*, *Thomas Abell*, and *Edward Powel*, Priests, and *William Horn*, a Yeoman, were Attainted for denying the King's Supremacy, and adhering to the Bishop of *Rome*: by the same Act, the Wife of one *Tirrell*, Esq; was Attainted, for refusing the Duty of Allegiance, and denying Prince *Edward* to be Prince and Heir of the Crown; and one *Laurence Cook*, of *Doncaster*, was also Attainted for contriving the King's Death.

By the 58th Act, *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplip*, and *Edward Brindeholm* Clerks, and *Clement Philpot* Gentleman, were Attainted, for adhering to the Bishop of *Rome*, for corresponding with Cardinal *Pool*, and endeavouring to surprize the Town of *Callais*: By the same Act, *Barnes*, *Gerrard* and *Jerome* were Attainted, of whose Sufferings an Account has been already given.

By the 59th Act, *William Bird* a Priest, and Chaplain to the Lord *Hungerford*, was attainted, for having said to one that was going to assist the King against the Rebels in the North, ' I am sorry thou goest, ' see'st thou not how the King plucketh down Images and Abbeys every ' Day: And if the King go thither himself, he will never come Home ' again, nor any of them all which go with him, and in truth it were ' pity he should ever come Home again. And at another Time, upon ' ones saying, O good Lord, I ween all the World will be Hereticks in ' a little Time: *Bird* said, Doe'st thou marvel at that? I tell thee it is ' no marvel, for the great Master of all is an Heretick, and such a ' one as there is not his Like in the World.

By the same Act the Lord *Hungerford* was likewise attainted. The Crimes specified are, that he knowing *Bird* to be a Traitor, did entertain him in his House as his Chaplain; that he ordered another of his Chaplains, *Sir Hugh Wood*, and one *Dr. Maudlin* to use Conjuring, that they might know how long the King should live, and whether he should be victorious over his Enemies or not; and that these three Years last past he had frequently committed the detestable Sin of Sodomy with several of his Servants: All these were attainted by that Parliament. The Lord *Hungerford* was Executed the same Day with *Cromwell*; he died in such Disorder, that some thought he was Frenetick, for he called often to the Executioner to dispatch him, and said he was weary of Life, and longed to be dead, which seemed strange in a Man that had so little Cause to hope in his Death. For *Powel*, *Fetherstoun*, and *Abell*, they suffered the same Day with *Barnes* and his Friends, as hath been already shewn.

This Year *Sampson* Bishop of *Chichester*, and one Doctor *Wilson* were put in the *Tower*, upon Suspicion of Correspondence with the Pope. But upon their Submission they had their Pardon and Liberty. In the Year 1541, Five Priests, and Ten secular Persons, some of them being Gentlemen of Quality, were raising a new Rebellion in *Torkshire*; which was suppressed in Time, and the Promoters of it being apprehended, were Attainted and Executed, and this occasioned the Death of the Countess of *Sarum*, after the Execution of the Sentence had been delayed almost two Years.

1549. The last Instance of the King's Severity was in the Year 1543. in which one *Gardiner* that was the Bishop of *Winchester's* Kinsman and Secretary, and Three other Priests, were tryed, for denying the King's Supremacy, and soon after executed. But what special Matter was laid to their Charge, cannot be known, for the Record of their Attainder is lost.

The Conclusion.

These were the Proceedings of this King against those that adhered to the Interests of *Rome*: In which, though there is great ground for just Censure, for as the Laws were rigorous, so the Execution of them was raised to the highest that the Law could admit; yet there is nothing in them to justifie all the Clamours which that Party have raised against King *Henry*, and by which they pursue his Memory to this Day; and are far short, both in Number and Degrees, of the Cruelties of Queen *Mary's* Reign, which yet they endeavour all that is possible to extenuate or deny.

To Conclude, we have now gone through the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th, who is rather to be reckoned among the *Great* than the *Good* Princes. He exercised so much Severity on Men of both Persuasions, that the Writers of both Sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much Care to set forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices: I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the *ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the *worst*.

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*The End of the Third Book, and of the First Part.*

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A D-

## A D D E N D A.

*After some of the Sheets of this History were wrought off, I met with Manuscripts of great Authority, out of which I have collected several Particulars, that give a clear light to the Proceedings in these Times; which, since they came too late to my Knowledge to be put in their proper Places, I shall here add them with References to the Places to which they belong.*

*Ad Page 193. Line 34.*

**T**Here it is said, That the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Father to Queen *Anne Boleyn*, was one of the Peers that judged her.

In this I too implicitly followed Doctor *Heylin*; he seeming to write with more than ordinary Care for the Vindication of that Queen; and with such Assurance, as if he had seen the Records concerning her, so that I took this upon Trust from him. The Reason of it was, that in the search I made of Attainders, I did not find the Record of her Tryal; so I concluded, That either it was destroyed by Order during her Daughter's Reign, or was accidentally lost since that Time: And thus having no Record to direct me, I too easily followed the Printed Books in that Particular. But after that Part of this History was wrought off, I by chance met with it in another Place where it was mislaid; and there I discovered the Error I had committed. The Earl of *Wiltshire* was not one of her Judges; those by whom she was tryed, were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquiss of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Suffex* and *Huntington*, and the Lords *Audley*, *Delaware*, *Mountague*; *Morly*, *Dacres*, *Cobham*, *Maltravers*, *Powis*, *Mounteagle*, *Clinton*, *Sands*, *Windsor*, *Wentworth*, *Burgh*, and *Mordant*: In all Twenty Six, and not Twenty Eight as I reckoned them upon a Vulgar Error. The Record mentions one Particular concerning the Earl of *Northumberland*; that he was taken with a sudden Fit of Sickness, and was forced to leave the Court before the Lord *Rochford* was tryed. This might have been only Casual: But since he was once in Love with the Queen, and had designed to marry her, (see Page 44) it is no wonder if so sad a Change in her Condition, did raise an unusual Disorder in him.

When I had discovered the Mistake I had made, as I resolved to publish this free Confession of it; so I set my self, not without some Indignation to examine upon what Authority Doctor *Heylin* had led me into it. I could find no Author that went before him in it, but *Sanders*; the chief Design of whose Writing was, to defame Queen *Elizabeth*,

*Elizabeth*, and to blast her Title to the Crown. To that end it was no ill Piece of his Skill, to persuade the World of her Mother's Lewdness, to say, that her own Father was convinced of it, and condemned her for it. And Doctor *Heylin* took this; as he has done many other Things, too easily upon *Sanders's* Testimony.

*Ad Page 208. Line 16.*

Collect.  
Addenda.  
Numb. 1.

The Articles of Religion, of which an Abstract is there set down, are indeed published by *Fuller*; but he saw not the Original, with all the Subscriptions to it, which I have had in my Hands; and therefore I have put it in the Collection with three other Papers, which were soon after offered to the King by *Cranmer*.

Collect.  
Addenda  
Numb. 2.

The one is in the Form of Fifteen Queries, concerning some Abuses by which the People had been deceived; as namely, by these Doctrines, that without Contrition Sinners may be reconciled to God: That it is in the Power of the Priest, to pardon or not pardon Sin at his pleasure; and that God's Pardon cannot be attained without Pricitly Absolution. Also he complained that the People trusted to outward Ceremonies; And their Curates, for their own Gain, encouraged them in it. It was observed, that the Opinion of Clergy-mens being exempted from the Secular Judge was ill-grounded; that Bishops did ordain without due Care and Tryal; that the dignified Clergy misapply'd their Revenues, did not follow their first Institution, and did not reside upon their Benefices.

Collect.  
Addenda  
Numb. 3.

And, in fine, he moves that the Four Sacraments, which had been left undetermined by the former Articles, might be examined: The outward Signs and Actions, the Promises made upon them, and the Efficacy that was in them being well considered.

The second Paper consists of Two Resolutions, made concerning Confirmation by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, (by which I perceive the way of examining Matters, by giving out of Questions to Bishops and Divines, was sooner practised, than when I first took notice of it, Page 286.) There are several other Papers concerning Confirmation, but these are only subscribed; and the rest do generally follow these Two Prelates, who were then the Heads of Two different Parties. The Arch-bishop went on this ground, That all Things were to be tryed by the Scripture; but *Stokesly*, and almost the whole Clergy, were for receiving the Tradition of the Church, as not much inferior to the Scriptures, which he asserts in his Subscription.

Collect.  
Addenda  
Numb. 4.

The third Paper was offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to persuade him to proceed to a further Reformation; that Things might be long and well considered before they were determined; that nothing might be declared a Part of God's Faith, without good Proofs from Scripture; the departing from which Rule had been the Occasion of all the Errors that had been in the Church: That now Men would not be led as they had been, but would examine Matters; that many Things were now acknowledged to be Truths, such as the unlawfulness of the Pope's usurped Power, for which many had formerly suffered Death. Whereupon he desires that some Points might be examined by Scripture; as, whether there is a Purgatory; whether departed Souls ought

ought to be invocated; whether Tradition ought to be believed; whether there be any Satisfaction besides the Satisfaction of Christ; whether Free-will may dispose it self to Grace; and whether Images ought to be kissed, or used to any other End, but as Representations of a Piece of History? In all these he desired the King would suspend his Judgment; and in particular, that he would not determine against the Lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, but would for some time silence both Parties. He also proposed that this Point might, by Order from the King, be examined in the Universities before indifferent Judges: That all the Arguments against it might be given to the Defendants Twelve Days before the publick Disputation; and he offered, that if those who should defend the Lawfulness of Priests Marriage, were in the Opinion of indifferent Judges overcome, they should willingly suffer Death for it; but if otherwise, all they desired was, That in that Point the King might leave them in the Liberty to which the Word of God left them.

*Ad Page 249. Line 18.*

I have seen a much fuller Paper concerning Orders and Ecclesiastical Functions, (which the Reader will find in the Collection) signed by *Cromwell*, the Two Arch-bishops, and Eleven Bishops, and Twenty Divines and Canonists, declaring, That the Power of the Keys, and other Church-Functions, is formally distinct from the Power of the Sword. That this Power is not absolute, but to be limited by the Rules that are in the Scripture; and is ordained only for the Edification and Good of the Church: That this Power ought to be still preserved, since it was given by Christ as the mean of reconciling Sinners to God. Orders were also declared a Sacrament, since they consisted of an outward Action instituted by Christ, and an inward Grace conferred with them: But that all Inferiour Orders, *Janitors, Lectors, &c.* were brought into the Church to beautifie and adorn it, and were taken from the Temple of the *Jews*: And that in the New Testament there is no mention made but of Deacons or Ministers, and Priests or Bishops: Nor is there belonging to Orders any other Ceremony mentioned in the Scripture, but Prayer and Imposition of Hands. This was signed either in the Year 1537, or 1538, since it is subscribed both by *John Hilsey*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Edward Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*, for the one was consecrated in 1537, and the other dyed in *May 1538*.

Collect.  
Addenda  
Numb. 5.

On this Paper I will add two Remarks; the one is, That after this I do never find the Inferiour Degrees under a Deacon mentioned in this Church; so it seems at this time they were laid aside. They were first set up in the Church about the end of the Second, or the beginning of the Third Century, in the middle of which we find both *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *St. Cyprian* mentioning them as Orders that were then established; and it seems they were designed as previous Steps to the Sacred Functions, that none might be Ordained to these, but such as had been long before separated from a Secular State of Life, and had given good Proofs of themselves in these lower Degrees. But it turned in the Church of *Rome* to be only a Matter of Form; and many took the first Tonsure, that they might be exempted from the Secular Power, and be qualified for *Commendams*, and some other worldly Advantages,

to which these lower Orders were sufficient, by those Rules which the Canonists had brought in.

Another Thing is, that both in this Writing, and in the necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, Bishops and Priests are spoken of as one and the same Office. In the ancient Church they knew none of those Subtilties which were found out in the latter Ages. It was then thought enough that a Bishop was to be dedicated to his Function by a new Imposition of Hands; and that several Offices could not be performed without Bishops; such as Ordination, Confirmation, &c. but they did not refine in these Matters, so much as to enquire whether Bishops and Priests differed in Order and Office, or only in Degree. But after the Schoolmen fell to examine Matters of Divinity with logical and unintelligible Niceties, and the Canonists began to Comment upon the Rules of the ancient Church, they studied to make Bishops and Priests seem very near one another, so that the Difference was but small. They did it with different Designs. The Schoolmen having set up the grand Mystery of Transubstantiation, where to exalt the priestly Office as much as was possible: For the turning the Host into God was so great an Action, that they reckoned there could be no Office higher than that which qualified a Man to so mighty a Performance: Therefore as they changed the Form of Ordination from what it was anciently believed to consist in, to a delivering of the Sacred Vessels, and held that a Priest had his Orders by that Rite, and not by the Imposition of Hands; so they raised their Order or Office so high, as to make it equal with the Order of a Bishop: But as they designed to extol the Order of Priesthood, so the Canonists had as great a Mind to depress the Episcopal Order. They generally wrote for Preferment, and the Way to it was to exalt the Papacy. Nothing could do that so effectually as to bring down the Power of Bishops. This only could justify the Exemptions of the Monks and Friars, the Popes setting up Legantine Courts, and receiving at first Appeals, and then Original Causes before them; together with many other Encroachments on their Jurisdiction: All which were unlawful, if the Bishops had by Divine Right Jurisdiction in their Diocesses: Therefore it was necessary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the Power they held, was rather as Delegates of the Apostolick See, than by a Commission from Christ or his Apostles: So that they looked on the declaring Episcopal Authority to be of Divine Right, as a Blow that would be fatal to the Court of *Rome*; and therefore they did after this at *Trent* use all possible Endeavours to hinder any such Decision. It having been then the common Style of that Age to reckon Bishops and Priests as the same Office, it is no wonder if at this time the Clergy of this Church, the greatest Part of them being still leavened with the old Superstition, and the rest of them not having enough of spare-time to examine lesser Matters, retained still the former Phrases in this Particular.

On this I have insisted the more, that it may appear how little they have considered Things, who are so far carried with their Zeal against the established Government of this Church, as to make much use of some Passages of the School-men and Canonists, that deny them to be distinct Offices: for these are the very Dregs of Popery, the one raising the Priests higher for the sake of Transubstantiation, the other pulling the Bishops lower for the sake of the Pope's Supremacy, and  
by

by such means bringing them almost to an equality. So partial are some Men to their particular conceits, that they make use of the most mischievous Topicks when they can serve their Turn, not considering how much further these Arguments will run if they ever admit them.

*Ad Pag. 255. Lin. 28.*

The Princes of *Germany* did always press the King to enter into a Religious League with them: the first League that was made in the year 1536. was conceived in general Terms, against the Pope as the Common Enemy, and for setting up true Religion according to the Gospel: But they did afterwards send over Ambassadors to treat about particulars; and they having presented a Memorial of these, there were Conferences appointed between them and some Bishops and Divines of this Church. I find no Divines were sent over hither but *Frederick Miconius* Minister of *Gotha*, by whom *Melancthon*, who could not be spared out of *Germany*, sent several Letters to the King; the fullest and longest of them will be found in the Collection. It is all to this purpose, to persuade the King to go on vigorously in the Reforming of Abuses, according to the Word of God. The King sent over the particulars which they proposed in order to a perfect agreement, to *Gardiner* who was then at *Paris*: Upon which he sent back his Opinion touching them all; the Original of which, under his own hand I have seen, but it relates so much to the other Paper that was sent him, which I never saw, that without it his meaning can hardly be understood, and therefore I have not put it in the Collection. The main thing in it, at which it chiefly drives, is to press the King to finish first a Civil League with them, and to leave those particulars concerning Religion to be afterwards treated of. The King followed his Advice so far as to write to the *German* Princes to that effect. But when the King declared his Resolution to have the six Articles established, all that favoured the Reformation were much alarm'd at it, and pressed their Friends in *Germany* to interpose with the King for preventing it. I have seen an Original Letter of *Hains* Dean of *Exeter*, in which he laments the sad Effects that would follow on that Act, which was then preparing; that all the Corruptions in the Church rose from the establishing some Points without clear Proofs from Scripture: He wished the *Germans* would consider of it, for if the King and Parliament should make such a Law, this was a President for the Emperor to make the like in the Diet of the Empire. Neither were the *German* Ambassadors backward in doing their Friends in *England* all the Service they could: for after they had held several Conferences with these that were appointed by the King to treat with them; they finding they could not prevail with them, wrote a long and learned Letter to the King, against the taking away the Chalice in the Sacrament, and against private Masses and the Celibate of the Clergy, with some other Abuses which the Reader will find in the Collection, it as is Copied from the Original which I have seen. To this I have added the Answer which the King wrote to it: He employed *Tonstall* Bishop of *Duresm* to draw it, for I have seen a rude draught of a great part of it written with his hand. By both these compared together, every indifferent Reader will clearly see the force and simplicity of the Arguments on the one hand, and the art and shuffling that was used on the other side. As soon as the Act was past, notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, they in an Audience before the King, represented the great concern their Masters would have, when

Collect.  
Addenda  
Numb. 6.

Collect.  
Addenda  
Numb. 7.

Collect.  
Addenda  
Numb. 3.

the King on whom they had rely'd so much, as the Defender of the Faith, should proceed with the severity expressed in that Act, against those that agreed with them in Doctrine, and pressed the King earnestly to put a stop to the Execution of it. The King promised he would see to it, and that though he judged the Act necessary to restrain the Insolence of some of his Subjects; yet it should not be Executed but upon great Provocation: He also propos'd the renewing a Civil League with them, without mentioning matters of Religion. To this the Princes made answer, that the League as it was at first project'd, was chiefly upon a design of Religion, and therefore without a common consent of all that were in their League, they could not alter it: they lamented this passing of the late Act, but writ their thanks to the King for stopping the Execution of it, and warn'd him that some of his Bishops, who set him on to these Courses, were in their Hearts still for all the old Abuses, and for the Pope's Supremacy, and were pressing on the King to be severe against his best Subjects, that they might thereby bring on a Design which they could not hope to effect any other way: They advis'd the King to beware of such Counsels. They also propos'd that there might be a Conference agreed on between such Divines as the King would name, and such as they should depute, to meet either in *Gueldres, Hamburg, Bremen*, or any other Place that should be appointed by the King, to examine the Lawfulness of private Masses, of denying the Chalice, and the prohibiting the Marriage of the Clergy. On these things they continued treating till the Divorce of *Anne of Cleve*, and *Cromwell's* fall, after which I find little Correspondence between the King and them.

*Ad Pag. 256. Lin. 4.*

Collect.  
Addenda  
Numb. 9.

When I mentioned the King's Letters, directing the Bishops how to proceed in a Reformation, I had not seen them, but I have since seen an Original of them subscrib'd by the King's Hand. In these he challenged the Clergy as guilty of great Indiscretions: that the late Rebellion had been occasioned by them; therefore he required the Bishops to take care, that the Articles formerly published should be exactly obeyed; and to go over their Dioceses in Person, and preach Obedience to the Laws, and the good ends of those Ceremonies that were then retained, that the People might neither despise them, nor put too much trust in them: and to silence all Disputes and Contentions concerning things indifferent; and to signify to the King's Council, if there were any Priests in their Dioceses that were Married, and yet did discharge any Part of the Priestly Office. All which, will be better understood by the Letter it self, that I have put into the Collection.

*Ad Pag. 258. Lin. 8.*

I do there acknowledge that I knew not what Arguments were used against the Necessity of Auricular Confession: But I have made, since that time, a considerable Discovery in this particular, from an Original Letter written all with the King's own Hand to *Tonstall*; by which it appears, there had been Conferences in the House and that the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, the Bishop of *Winchester* and *Duresm* had pleaded much for it, as necessary by a Divine Institution, and that both the King and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had maintained, that though it was good and profitable, yet it was not necessary by any Precept of the Gospel: and that tho' the Bishops brought several Texts out of Scripture and ancient Do-

ctors.



ctors, yet these were so clearly answered by the King, and the Arch-Bishop, that the whole House was satisfied with it: Yet *Tonstall* drew up in a writing all the Reasons he had made use of in that Debate, and brought them to the King, which will be found in the Collection, with the Annotations and Reflections which the King wrote on the Margent, with his hand, taken from the Original; together with the King's Letter written in answer to them: By this it will appear that the King did set himself much to study Points of Divinity, and examined matters with a scrupulous exactness. The issue of the debate was, that though the Popish Party endeavoured to have got Auricular Confession declared to be Comman-  
 ded by Christ, as a Part of the Sacrament of Penance; yet the King over-ruled that, so it was enacted, That Auricular Confession *was necessary and expedient to be retained in the Church of God.* These debates were in the House of Lords, which appears not only by the King's Letter, that speaks of the *House*, but by the Act of Parliament, in the Preamble of which it is said, That the King had come himself to the Parliament, and had opened several Points of high Learning to them.

Collect. Ad-  
denda Numb.  
10.

Collect. Ad-  
denda Numb.  
11.

*Ad Pag. 262. Lin. 23.*

There I mention the King's diligence in drawing an Act of Parliament with his own hand; but since that was Printed, I have seen many other Acts and Papers, if not Originally Penned by the King, yet so much altered by his Corrections, that in some sort they may be esteemed his draughts. There are two draughts of the Act of the six Articles, both corrected in many places by the King, and in some of these the Correction is three Lines long. There is another Act concerning Precontracts of Marriage, likewise Corrected very much by his Pen. Many draughts of Proclamations, particularly these about the use of the Bible in *English* are yet extant interlined and altered with his Pen. There is a large Paper written by *Tonstal*, of arguments for Purgatory, with Copious Animad-  
 versions on it, likewise written by the King; which shew that then he did not believe there was a Purgatory. I have also seen the draught of that part of the Necessary Erudition for a Christian Man, which explains the Creed, full of Corrections with the King's own Pen; as also the Queries concerning the Sacraments mentioned Page 289. with large Annotations written with his hand on the Margent; likewise an Extract all written with his own hand of Passages out of the Fathers against the  
 Marriage of the Clergy: and to conclude, there is a Paper with which the Collection ends, containing the true Notion of the Catholick Church, which has large Emendations added with the King's hand, those I have set by themselves on the Margent of the Paper.

Collect. Ad-  
denda Numb.  
12.

A  
T A B L E  
O F T H E  
C O N T E N T S  
O F T H E  
H I S T O R Y.

B O O K I.

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A



A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
RECORDS

AND

Original Papers;

With other

INSTRUMENTS

Referred to in the

Former History.



I. *The Record of Card. Adrian's Oath of Fidelity to Henry VII. for the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells.*

**H**enicus Rex, &c. Reverend. in Christo Patri Domino Sylvestro Treat.  
 Episcop. Wigorn. venerabili viro Domino Roberto Sherbourn Rolls.  
 Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London. decano, nostris in Romana curia  
 oratoribus, ac Magistro Hugoni Yowng Sacræ Theologiæ Pro-  
 fessori, salutem. Cum omnes & singuli Archiepiscopi & Episcopi hujus  
 nostri Inclyti Regni, quorum omnium nominationes, & promotiones, ad  
 ipsas supremas dignitates, nobis attinent ex regali & peculiari quadam  
 Prærogativa, jureq; municipali, ac inveterata consuetudine, hætenus in  
 hoc nostro Regno inconcussa & inviolabiliter observata, teneantur & astrin-  
 gantur, statim & immediate post impetratas Bullas Apostolicas, super eo-  
 rundem promotione ad ipsam nostram nominationem, coram nobis & in  
 præsentia nostra, si in hoc Regno nostro fuerunt, vel coram Commissariis  
 nostris, ad hoc sufficienter & legitime deputatis, si alibi moram traxerunt,  
 non solum palam, publice & expresse, totaliter cedere, & in manus no-  
 stras renunciare omnibus, & quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis, & sententiis in  
 ipsis Bullis Apostolicis contentis, & descriptis, quæ sunt, vel quovis modo  
 in futurum esse poterunt, præjudicialia, sive damnosa, nobis, hæredibusq;  
 de corpore nostro legitime procreatis Angliæ regibus, Coronæ aut Regno  
 nostro, juribus vel consuetudinibus aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni nostri,  
 & quoad hoc totaliter seipso submittere & ponere in nostra bona venia  
 & gratia; sed etiam juramentum fidelitatis & homagii ad Sancta Dei E-  
 vangelia, per eosdem respective corporaliter tacta, nobis facere & præstare:  
 Cumq; nos ob præclara merita eximiaq; virtutes quibus Reverendissimum  
 in Christo Patrem, Dominum Adrianum tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presby-  
 terum Cardinalem abunde refertum conspiciamus, obq; diuturnum & fidele  
 obsequium per ipsum Cardinalem nobis factum & impensum, eundem ad  
 Ecclesias Bathon. & Wellen. invicem unitas nominavimus & promovimus,  
 qui idcirco & ob id quod in curia Romana continue moram trahit, non  
 potest commode hujusmodi renunciationem & juramentum coram nobis  
 personaliter facere & præstare: Hinc est quod nos de fidelitatibus vestris  
 & provida circumspectione, ad plenum confidentes, dedimus, & concess-  
 imus, ac per præsentem damus & concedimus, vobis, tribus aut duobus  
 vestram, quorum præfatum Episcopum Wigorn. unicum esse volumus,  
 plenam potestatem & auctoritatem, vice & nomine nostris, hujusmodi re-  
 nunciationem in manus vestras, & juramentum ad Sancta Dei Evangelia  
 corporaliter tacta, juxta formam & verum tenorem, de verbo in verbum  
 inferius descriptum, ab eodem Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali recipien-  
 di, exigendi, & cum effectu præstari videndi; ipsumq; Cardinalem, ut  
 hujusmodi renunciationem & juramentum per ipsum sic ut permittaris fi-  
 endum & præstandum, manu & subscriptione suis signet, & muniat, re-  
 quirendi, & ut ita fiat cum effectu videndi literas quoq; & instrumenta pub-  
 lica super hujusmodi renunciatione, & juramento fieri petendi, & notarium  
 sive notarios publicos, unum vel plures, ut ipsa instrumenta conficiant:  
 Necnon testes qui tunc præsentis erunt, ut veritati testimonium perhibeant  
 rogandi & requirendi, ipsaq; juramentum vel instrumenta taliter fienda,  
 verum ordinem rei gerendæ, & renunciationis ac juramenti tenores in se

continens vel continentia, nobis destinandi & transmittendi; Et generaliter omnia & singula faciendi, gerendi, & exercendi, quæ in prædictis & quolibet prædictorum necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac quæ rei qualitas exigit & requirit, & quæ nosipsi facere & exercere possemus si præsens & personaliter interessemus, etiam si talia forent quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale. Tenor Renunciationis sequitur & est talis: Ego Adrianus miseratione divina tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presbyt. Cardinalis Episcopus Bathon. & Wellen. coram vobis Reverendò Patre Episcopo Wigorn. Domino Roberto Shurborno decano Sancti Pauli London. & Hugone Yowng in Theologia Professore, Commissariis ad hoc à serenissimo atq; excellentissimo Principe Domino Henrico Dei Gratia Rege Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Domino Hiberniæ, ejus nominis septimo, Domino meo supremo, sufficienter & legitime deputatis, expresse renuncio, & in his scriptis manu & sigillo meis in præsentia notariorum & testium subscriptorum munitis, totaliter cedo omnibus & quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis & sententiis, in bullis Apostolicis mihi factis de prædict. Episcopat. Bathon. & Wellen. contentis & descriptis, quæ sunt vel quovis modo in futurum esse poterint præjudicialia sive damnosa præfato serenissimo Regi, Domino meo supremo, & hæredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis Angl. Regibus, Coronæ aut Regno, sive Majestatis Juribus vel consuetudinibus, aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni: & quoad hoc me integraliter submitto & pono in gratia suæ Celsitudinis, humillime supplicans suam Majestatem, dignetur mihi concedere temporalia dicti Episcopatus Bathon. & Wellen. quæ recognosco tenere à sua Majestate tanquam à Domino meo supremo. Tenor Juramenti sequitur & est talis: Et ego idem Adrianus Cardinalis prædictus Juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod ab hac die & in antea, vita mea naturali durante, ero fidelis & verus ligens, ac fidelitatem in ligencia mea pure & sincere servabo, fideleq; & verum obsequium secundum optimum posse meum faciam & impendam serenissimo Principi Henrico ejus nominis septimo, Dei Gratia Angl. & Fran. Regi ac Domino Hiber. Domino meo supremo, & hæredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis Angl. Regibus, contra quascunq; personas cujuscunq; status, gradus, præeminentiæ aut conditionis extiterint: nec quicquam faciam aut attemptabo fieri, ne aut attemptari consentiam, quod in damnum, incommodum, aut præjudicium, ipsius serenissimi Regis aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, jurium, libertatum, Prærogativarum, privilegiarum & consuetudinum sui incliti Regni, quovis modo cedere poterit; sed omne id quod jam scio, vel imposterum cognoscam inhonorabile, damnosum aut præjudiciale suæ Serenitati, aut Regno suo, seu contrarium honori aut Serenitati suæ Majestatis, aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, non solum impediam ad extremum potentiæ meæ, sed etiam cum omni possibili diligentia id ostendam & significabo, ostendive aut significari faciam eidem serenissimo Regi, omni favore, metu, promisso aut Jurejurando cuicunq; persone aut quibuscunq; personis cujuscunq; status, gradus, ordinis, præeminentiæ conditionis sive extiterunt, quod antehac per me factum aut interpositum seu imposterum fiendum aut interponendum, penitus sublato & non obstantibus. Honorem insuper suæ Majestati ad extremum potentiæ meæ servabo, Parliamentis quoq; & aliis Consiliis suæ Celsitudinis cum in ejus Regno fuero diligenter attendam; Consilium quod sua Serenitas per se seu literas aut nuncium suum mihi manifestabit, nemini pandam, nisi iis quibus ipse jusserit: & si consilium meum super aliquo facto Majestas sua postulaverit, fideliter sibi consulam, & quod magis suæ Serenitati videbitur expedire, & conducere juxta opinionem & scire meum, dicam & aperiam,

atque

atque id si sua Serenitas mandaverit pro posse meo diligenter faciam. Causas insuper & negotia omnia suae Serenitatis mihi commissa, seu imposterum committenda, in Curia Romana prosequenda, pertractanda & sollicitanda, fideliter, accurate & diligenter, cum omnimoda dexteritate prosequar, pertractabo & sollicitabo: Bullasq; & alias literas Apostolicas validas & efficaces, in debita juris forma, super eisdem causis & negotiis impetrare & obtinere absq; fraude, dolo aut sinistra quavis machinatione quantum in me erit, cum omni effectu enitar, operam dabo & conabor: ac easdem taliter expeditas, cum ea quam res exposulat diligentia, suae Serenitati transmittam, aut per alios transmitti, tradi & liberari curabo, & faciam Servitia quoq; & homagia pro temporalibus dicti Episcopatus, quae recognosco tenere à sua Celsitudine tanquam à Domino meo supremo, fideliter faciam & implebo. Ita me Deus adjuvet & haec Sancta Dei Evangelia. In cuius, &c. T. R. apud Westm. 13 die Octob.

Per ipsum Regem.

## II. Pope Julius's Letter to Archbishop Warham for giving K. Henry the 8th the Golden Rose.

*Julius Secundus Papa venerabili Fratri Gulielmo Archiepiscop.  
Cantuarien.*

**V**enerabilis Frater, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Clarissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Henricum Angliae Regem Illustrissimum, quem peculiari charitate complectimur, aliquo insigni Apostolico munere in hoc Regni sui primordio, decorandum putantes, mittimus nunc ad eum Rosam Auream, Sancto Chrismate delibutam, & odorifero Musco aspersam, nostrisq; manibus de more Romanorum Pontificum benedictam, quam ei à tua Fraternalitate inter Missarum solemnias per te celebranda, cum ceremoniis in notula alligata contentis, dari volumus nostra & Apostolica benedictione. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris 5 April. 1510. Pontificatus nostri Anno septimo.

Sigismundus.

*The Note of the Ceremonies of delivering the Rose, referred to in the Letter, was not thought worthy to be put in the Register.*

## III. A Writ for Summoning Convocations.

**R**EX, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi totius Angliae Primati & Apostolicae sedis Legato, salutem. Quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, Nos, defensionem & securitatem Ecclesiae Anglicanae, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, & defensionem Regni nostri & subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, vobis in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemini rogandi mandamus, quatenus praemissis debito intuitu attentis & ponderatis, universos & singulos Episcopos vestrae Provinciae, ac Decanos & Priores Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores & alios Electivos, Exemptos & non exemptos, necnon Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula & Collegia, totumq; Clerum, cujusbet Dioeceseos ejusdem Provinciae, ad conveniendum coram vobis in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda, modo debito convocari faciatis ad tractandum,

consen-

consentiendum, & concludendum super præmissis, & aliis quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc & ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc, sicut Nos & statum Regni nostri, & honorem & utilitatem Ecclesiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso, &c. apud Westmin. 6. Feb. Anno Regni 14.

*Warham in his Writ of executing this Summons, prefixes the 20th of April for the day of their meeting.*

#### IV. *A Writ for a Convocation summoned by Warham on an Ecclesiastical Account.*

Registr.  
Fitz-Wil.  
liams.

**W**illielmus permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, venerabili confratri nostro Domino Ricardo Dei Gratia London. Episcopo, salutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cum nuper Ecclesia Anglicana, quæ majorum nostrorum temporibus, multis ac magnis libertatibus & inamunitatibus gaudere solebat, quorundam iniquorum hominum malitiis, & nequitiis fortiter fuerit inquietata & perturbata, qui omnia quæ à majoribus nostris sancte & pie, ob tranquillitatem dictæ Ecclesiæ fuerunt ordinata ac sancita, vel prava & sinistra interpretatione prope subvertentes, vel Personas Ecclesiasticas male tractantes, ac eas contemptui habentes, dictam Ecclesiam pene prostraverunt ac pedibus conculcarunt: Ne igitur dicta Ecclesia Anglicana ad calamitatem insignem seu ruinam ac jacturam, & quod absit, desolationem perveniat, quas diu eadem Ecclesia Anglicana per diversas personas, ut præfertur præ oculis suis Deum non habentes, nec censuras Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ timentes, sustinuit & sustinebat, prout de verisimili Reformatione non habita in futurum sustinere debeat: Nos prout tenemur, congruum remedium in hac parte providere cupientes, & ob id ipsum Prælatos & Clerum nostræ Cantuar. Provinciæ convocare volentes; Fraternalitati vestræ igitur committimus & mandamus, quatenus omnes & singulos dictæ nostræ Cant. Ecclesiæ Suffraganeos infra nostram Provinciam constitutos & absentium Episcoporum si qui fuerunt Vicarios in Spiritualibus generales, ac Diocesium vacantium Custodes Spiritualitatis, & Officiales citetis seu citari faciatis, peremptorie, & per eos Decanos & Priores Ecclesiarum Cath. ac singula Capitula eorundem, Archidiaconos, Abbates & Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, & alios Ecclesiarum Prælatos exemptos, & non exemptos, Clerumq; cujlibet Dioceos Provinciæ nostræ antedictæ, citari peremptorie & præmoneri volumus & mandamus, Quod iidem Episcopi Suffraganei, nostri Vicarii Generales, Decani & Custodes sive Officiales, Abbates, Priores, Archidiaconi & cæteri Ecclesiarum Prælati, exempti & non exempti, personaliter, & quodlibet Capitulum Ecclesiarum Cath. per unum de Capitulo graduatum, vel magis idoneum, dictiq; singuli Abbates, sive Priores Conventus sub se habentes, nullo obtante impedimento legitimo, per unam Religiosam personam de Conventu graduatum si quæ sit, ceu alias per unam magis idoneam de eodem Conventu, Clerusq; cujlibet Dioc. Provinciæ antedictæ per duos procuratores graduatos ejusdem Dioc. seu alias si non fuerunt, per duos sufficientiores & habiliores Dioc. in eorum Beneficiis realiter residentes, compareant coram nobis aut nostris in hac parte locum tenentibus, vel Commissariis, si nos tunc (quod absit) impediri contigerit in Ecclesia Cathed. Sancti Pauli London. die Sabbat. viz. 26. mensis Januarii, &c. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Lambeth primo die mensis Novembris, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nono, & nostræ Translat. Anno Sexto.

V. The

V. *The Preamble of the Act of Subsidy granted by the Clergy.*

**Q**UUM Illustrissimus & Potentissimus Dominus noster Rex Angliæ & An. Dom. Franciæ, Defensor Fidei & Dominus Hibern. semper extitit constan- 1523. Re-  
tissimus Ecclesiæ Protector & Patronus optime meritus, atq; superiori- gift. *Cuib-*  
bus annis, in diebus sælicis recordationis Julii ejus nominis Papæ secundi, *berti Torr-*  
grave Schisma in Ecclesia Romana exortum pacavit & extinxit; & postea *stall. Folio*  
ipsam Ecclesiam Romanam contra vim & potentiam Gallorum, qui 40.  
tunc Italiam & Urbem Romanam in servitutem redigere moliebantur va-  
lidissimo exercitu & bello longe omnium sumptuosissimo sæliciter defen-  
dit, & securam reddidit: Ac præterea postremis his diebus Lutheranas Hæ-  
refes, in Ecclesiæ Sacramenta Ecclesiæq; statum furiose debacchantes doctis-  
simo & numquam satis laudato libello contudit & superavit, vicissim tam  
gladio quam calamo hostes Ecclesiæ strenuissime profligans, quibus me-  
ritis suam clarissimam famam immortalis gloriæ pariter consecravit, tales  
laudes & gratias sua incomparabili bonitate ab Ecclesia promeruit, quales  
nunquam satis dignas quisquam mortalium referre poterit, sed Deus effatim  
persolveret præmia digna. Quumq; idem Rex noster & Protector illustris-  
simus à Rege Gallorum per Mare & per Terras, incolas hujus Regni con-  
tra percussum sædus, promissam fidem, & suum ipsius salvum conductum  
assidue infestante, & Scotos contra Regnum hoc instigante ac suis stipen-  
diis conducente, atq; Ducem Albanæ in perniciem principis Scotorum  
nostri Regis ex forore Nepotis impellente, aliasq; injurias multas & gra-  
ves contra Regiam Majestatem suosq; amicos & subditos quotidie mul-  
tiplicante, provocatur, irritatur atq; urgetur ut bellum suscipiat, suumq;  
Regnum tam contra Gallos quam contra Scotos, ut decet invictissimum  
Principem, potenter defendat; non enim ultra pacem colere vel pacem  
longius expectare convenit, postquam Rex Gallorum summum Pontifi-  
cem bene moventem, & quæ pacis sunt suadentem, audire recusat, exerci-  
tum instruens & bellum apparans, fortassis in multos annos duraturum:  
dignissimum est ob præfata tam præclara facinora, ut sicut Rex noster il-  
lustrissimus plus cæteris Regibus antecessoribus suis pro Ecclesiæ defension-  
e, utilitate & honore insudavit, & plus expensarum sustinuit; ita ad susti-  
nenda bellorum onera imminencia, pro Ecclesiæ & totius Regni hujus  
defensione, per Ecclesiam tali subsidio adjuvetur quale anterioribus  
Regibus nunquam antehac concessum est, nec fortassis posterioribus Re-  
gibus unquam simile, nisi ob talia benefacta vel extremam bellorum ne-  
cessitatem postea concedetur. Quocirca ut Regia Majestas ad fovendam  
& protegendam Ecclesiam, & Clerum Angliæ, magis indies animetur,  
& ut jura, libertates & privilegia Ecclesiæ concessa benigne Ecclesiæ ser-  
vet, & ab aliis servari faciat, & nè præfata benefacta in ingratos contu-  
lisse videatur:

**N**OS Prælati & Clerus Cant. Provinciæ in hac Sacra Synodo Provin-  
ciali five Prælatorum & Cleri ejusdem Convocatione, in Ecclesia  
Cathed. Divi Pauli London. vicesimo die mensis Aprilis Anno Dom. mille-  
simo quingentesimo vicesimo tertio inchoata, ac usq; ad in decimum  
quartum diem mensis Augusti proxime extunc sequentis de diebus in  
dies continuata, congregati, Illustrissimo Domino Regi perpetuo & po-  
tentissimo Fidei & Ecclesiæ Defensori, subsidium dare & concedere De-  
crevimus, quam nostram Benevolentiam ut gratam & acceptam habeat  
humillime deprecamur, protestantes expresse, quod per præsentem con-  
cessionem, quam tanquam novam & ante insolitam pro nostra singulari

& personali in Regiam Majestatem observantia sine exemplo donamus, omnino nolumus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ aut successoribus nostris in aliquo præjudicium generari, nec casum hunc singularem ad sequen. trahi: Quod si præsentem Concessionem pro exemplo & (ut vocant) pro Præsidente ad similes unquam Concessionem exigendas accipiendam fore præsentiremus, certe in eam omnino consentire recusavimus; quandoquidem subsidium sub modis, formis, conditionibus, exceptionibus ac provisionibus, & protestatione super & infrascriptis, & non aliter, neq; alio modo, Damus & Concedimus, viz. Subsidium se extendens ad Medietatem sive mediam partem valoris omnium fructuum, reddituum, & proventuum, possessionum, unius anni, omnium & singulorum Episcopatum, Ecclesiarum Cathed. & Collegiatarum, Dignitatum, Hospitalium Monast. Abbatiarum, Prioratum aliarumque domorum Religiosarum, necnon quorumcunq; beneficiorum & Possessionum Ecclesiasticarum, &c.

VI. *Bishop Tonsal's Licence to Sir Thomas More for reading Heretical Books.*

Regist.  
Tonsal. Fol.  
138.

**C**uthbertus permissione Divina London. Episcopus Clarissimo & Egregio viro Domino Thomæ More fratri & amico Charissimo Salutem in Domino & benedict. Quia nuper, postquam Ecclesia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infestata est, juncti sunt nonnulli iniquitatis Filii, qui veterem & damnatam hæresim Wycliffianam & Lutherianam, etiam hæresis Wycliffianæ alumni transferendis in nostratam vernaculam linguam corruptissimis quibuscunq; eorum opusculis, atq; illis ipsis magna copia impressis, in hanc nostram Regionem inducere conantur; quam sane pestilentissimis dogmatibus Catholicæ fidei veritati repugnantibus maculare atq; inficere magnis conatibus moliuntur. Magnopere igitur verendum est ne Catholica veritas in totum periclitetur, nisi boni & eruditi viri malignitati tam prædictorum hominum strenue occurrant; id quod nulla ratione melius & aptius fieri poterit, quam si in lingua Catholica veritas in totum expugnans hæc insana dogmata simul etiam ipsissima prodeat in lucem. Quo fiet ut Sacrarum Literarum imperiti homines in manus sumentes novos istos Hæreticos Libros, atq; una etiam Catholicos ipsos refellentes, vel ipsi per se verum discernere, vel ab aliis quorum perspicacius est judicium recte admoneri & doceri possint. Et quia tu, Frater Charissime, in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina, Demosthenein quendam præstare potes, & Catholicæ veritatis assertor acerrimus in omni congressu esse soles, melius subcissivas horas, si quas tuis occupationibus suffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in nostrate lingua aliqua edas quæ simplicibus & ideotis hominibus subdolan hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios Ecclesiæ supplantatores reddant eos instructiores: habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclarissimum, illustrissimi Domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi, qui Sacramenta Ecclesiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea subvertentem asserere aggressus, immortale nomen Defensoris Ecclesiæ in omne ævum promeruit. Et ne Andabatarum more cum ejusmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipse quod oppugnes, mitto ad te insanas in nostrate lingua istorum nænias, atq; una etiam nonnullos Lutheri Libros ex quibus hæc opinionum monstra prodierunt. Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas quibus latibulis tortuosi serpentes sese condant, quibusq; anfractibus elabi deprehensi studeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti est hostium Consilia explorata habere, & quid sentiant quoque tendant penitus nosse: nam si convellere pares quæ isti se non sensitse dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute,



virtute, tam sanctum opus aggredere, quo & Dei Ecclesiæ proſis, & tibi immortalē nomen atq; æternam in Cœlis gloriam pares: quod ut facias atque Dei Ecclesiā tuo patrocinio munias, magnopere in Domino obsecramus, atque ad illum finem ejusmodi libros & retinendi & legendi facultatem atque licentiam impertimur & concedimus. Dat. 7. die Martii, Anno 1527. & nostræ Conf. sexto.

## Ad Librum Secundum.

### I. *The Bull for the King's Marriage with Queen Katherine.*

**J**ULIUS Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Henrico clarissimi in Christo Filio Henrici Angliæ Regis illustriss. Nato, & dilectæ in Christo Filie Catharinæ Clarissimi in Christo Filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis, ac Carissimæ in Christo Filie nostræ Elizabeth. Reginae Hispaniarum & Siciliae Catholicorum natæ, illustribus, salutem & apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Autoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata, id in Domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus, Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitie nexibus & foederibus inter carissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Ferdinandum, & carissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Elizabeth. Hispaniarum & Siciliae Catholicos, ac præfatum Angliæ Reges & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti contraxissetis, illudq; carnali Copula forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non suscepta decessit; Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, ad hoc ut hujusmodi vinculum Pacis & Amicitie inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere, supplicari nobis fecistis, ut vobis in præmissis de opportuna Dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur: Nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, Pacis & Concordie amoenitatem vigere intensis desiderii affectamus, vosque & quemlibet vestrum à quibuscunque Excommunicationis, Suspensionis & Interdicti. aliisque Ecclesiasticis Sententiis, Censuris, Pœnis, à jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad effectum præſentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, & absolutos fore censentes hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente, ac Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis cæterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo postquam Contractum fuerit, etiamsi jam forsan hætenus de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac illud Carnali Copula consummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, Auctoritate Apostolica tenore præſentium de specialis dono Gratie Dispensamus; ac vos & quemlibet vestrorum si contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis Sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem Auctoritate Absolvimus, Prolem ex hujusmodi Matrimonio, sive contracto, sive contrahendo, susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Provisio quod

tu (Filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam salutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Absolutionis, Dispensationis & Voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire; si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumperit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tertio, septimo Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri Anno primo.

## II. *The King's Protestation against the Marriage.*

Cotton Libr.  
Vitell. B.12.

**I**N Dei Nomine, Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Christo Patre & Domino Domino Richardo Dei & Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopo Wintoniensi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ & Comes Cestriæ, dico, allego, & in his Scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens, & intra annos pubertatis notorie existens, cum Serenissima Domina Katharina Hispaniarum Regis Filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus, quamvis obstante ipsa minore ætate mea de se jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullius efficaciam aut vigoris extiterit; quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate jam superveniente, Contractus ipse per tacitum Consensum, mutuum cohabitationem, munerum aut intersignium dationem seu receptionem, vel alium quemcunque modum jure declaratum, forsan existimare seu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati existens, & annos pubertatis attingens, Protestor, quod non intendo eundem prætensum contractum per quæcunque per me dicta seu dicenda, facta aut facienda, in aliquo approbare, validare, seu ratum habere, sed nunc in præsentem, non vi, dolo, nec prece indutus, sed sponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujusmodi Contractum reclamo, & eidem dissentio, voloque & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu Matrimoniali prætenso, melioribus modo & forma, quibus de jure melius, validius, aut efficacius poterò & possim, penitus resiliire, & eidem expresse dissentire, prout in præsentem contra eundem reclamo, & eidem dissentio. Protestorq; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut gestum per me, aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque, quodocunque aut qualemcunque, imposterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum Matrimoniale, aut in dictam Dominam Catharinam tanquam Sponsam aut Uxorem meam consentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obtestor.

Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

**L**Ecta fuit & facta suprascripta Protestatio, per præfatum Serenissimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Christo Patre & Domino Domino Richardo permissione Divina Winton. Episcopo, Judicialiter pro tribunali sedent. Et me Notarium infra scriptum ad tunc præsentem in ejus Actorum Scribam in hac parte assumentem, & Testium infrascriptorum præsentem, Anno Dom. 1505. Indictione octava, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Julii, Divina Providentia eo nomine Papæ secundi Anno secundo, Mensis vero Junii

nii die 27 ; quo die Dominus Serenissimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, & tunc ibidem afferebat, in quadam bassa Camera infra Palatium Regium Richmondiæ, in parte occidentali ejusdem Palatii situat. Super quibus omnibus & singulis, præfatus Serenissimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Instrumentum conficere, & testes infra nominatos testimonium perhibere requisivit instanter & rogavit. In quorum omnium & singulorum fidem & testimonium, præfatus Serenissimus Princeps supra, & testes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requisiti, sua nomina propriis manibus infra scripserunt. Ita est ut supra, quod ego Joannes Raed manu & signo meo manuali Attestor.

Giles Daubney, C. Somerset.  
 Thomas Rowthale.  
 Nicholas West.  
 Henry Marny.

III. *Cardinal Wolsey's first Letter to Sir Gregory Cassali, about the Divorce. Taken from the Original.*

**D**omine Gregori, Post meam cordatissimam Commendationem, post Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 9. ultimum vestrum à me discessum ex compendio ad vos scripsi, ut ob nonnullas maximi momenti causas procurare differretis quod de Regiæ Majestatis negotio in quibusdam nobis traditis Commissionibus continebatur, quoad rursus vobis significarem quid ea in re fieri vellemus. Ubi vero ad Regiam Majestatem rediissem, variis crebrisq; cum ea habitis sermonibus, adeo abunde ac distincte illi apperui quam ex animo ac diligenter, & quam sincere & ex fide, diu noctuque exoptetis eidem Regiæ Majestati inservire; neque ullum unquam laborem, periculum aut molestiam vos velle recusare, ut omni studio ac viribus id fideliter præstare possitis quod illi gratum aut acceptum quoquo modo esse posse cognoveritis, omnemq; industriam vos esse adhibituros quo vestræ fidei curæque commissa optatum finem consequantur; quem vestrum animum propensissima voluntate sic sub mea fide Regiæ Majestati insinuavi, ut meam hanc relationem atque sponsonem pectori suo constantissime adfixerit, certissimaque fiducia concepit, omnino futurum ut nostræ tunc expectationi quacunque in re & occasione respondeatis: Ex quo fit ut vestræ operæ, curæ atque prudentiæ ea nunc tractanda & procuranda committat, quibus nihil magis cordi habeat, nihil ardentius exoptet, aut majoris sit momenti vel gravioris successus, nec ullum habet Consiliarium, utcunque intimum, cui graviora possit committere. Quum itaque, me intercedente & procurante, nunc vos Regia Majestas præ cæteris ad hoc fidei adsciverit & elegerit, ut in re tam gravi fidelissima vestra opera ac ministerio utatur, fidemque illi meam de vobis jam ei adstrinxerim, nihil ambigens quin postquam ejus animam ac voluntatem cognoveritis, fueritisque abunde instructi quam maximi hæc quæ nunc expono sunt momenti, utpote quæ potissimum concernunt Regiæ conscientiæ exonerationem, animæque suæ salutem, vitæ conservationem & incolumitatem, Regii Stemmatis continuationem, publicumque commodum & quietem subditorum omnium, eorum pariter qui sub ejus imperio nunc vivunt vel qui postea unquam in hoc suo Regno vivent; quumque perspiciam sedulum vestrum Ministerium hoc in negotio impendendum omnino redundaturum esse in præcipuam vestram exaltationem & utilitatem, postquam infelices istos

istos jam passos successus occasionem se obrulisse videtis, qua vestra familia hujusmodi operam huic Serenissimo Principi navare possit, quod statum omnem vestrum in longe meliorem quam antea sit haud dubie restitutus & adaucturus, certissimum compertissimumque habeo, quod ob has tam urgentes causas & tam graves successuros effectus, adeo toto pectore vires omnes vestras industria ac studio tantæ conficiendæ rei addiceris, ut omnia queatis ad optatum exitum perducere; atque ita promissum fideinque meam præstabis, tam optimum Regiæ Majestatis institutum juvabis, ejus desiderio & expectationi omni ex parte satisfacies, & præter bene peractæ rei honorem & laudem comparandam, mercedem quoque reportabis tanti Principis liberalitate dignam, quæ certissime cedet in perpetuum vestrum totiusque vestræ familiæ commodum & incrementum: Et quum jam mihi persuadeam futurum omnino ut officiis actionibusque vestris sitis promissis sponsonibusque meis omnino satisfacturi, ad id pluribus verbis neutiquam adhortabor, proinde ad rem nunc ipsam venio. Ante hoc tempus vobis aperui, quemadmodum Regia Majestas, partim assiduo suo & eruditione, partim relatu ac judicio multorum Theologorum, & in omni Doctrinæ genere Doctorum virorum asseveratione, existimans conscientiam suam non esse sufficienter exoneratam, quod in conjugio existeret cum Regina, Deumque primo & ante omnia ac animæ suæ quietem & salutem respiciens, mox vero suæ Successionis securitatem, perpendensque accurate quam gravia hinc mala provenirent, aperte sentit quam maxime futurum sit Deo molestum, inhonorificum sibi, & ingratum apud homines, suisque subditis periculofum, ex hoc non sufficienti conjugio, si deprehendatur dicta Majestas sciens ac volens in eo perstare, & vivere præter modum debitum, juxtaque ritum & legitima Ecclesiæ Statuta: quibus igitur ex causis longo jam tempore, intimo suæ conscientiæ remorsu, summiq; Dei rationem habens, existinat animam suam læsam & offensam, adeo quod, quum in suis conatibus actionibusque quibuscunque Deum potissimum sibi semper proponat, ingenti cum molestia cordisque perturbatione in hoc Matrimonio degit; super qua rematurum sanumque judicium consuluit clarissimorum celeberrimorumq; Doctorum aliorumque complurium in omni eruditionis genere excellentiorum virorum ac Prælatorum, partim Theologorum, partim jurisperitorum, tum in suo Regno, tum alibi existentium, ut aperte vereque cognosceret, an Dispensatio antea concessa pro se & Regina, ex eo quod Regina Fratris sui uterini Uxor antea extiterit, valida & sufficiens foret, necne; demumque à variis multisq; ex his Doctoribus asseritur, quod Papa non potest dispensare in primo gradu affinitatis, tanquam ex jure Divino, moraliter, naturaliterque prohibito, ac si potest, omnes affirmant & consentiunt quod hoc non potest, nisi ex urgentissimis & arduis causis, quales non subsuerunt; Bulla præterea Dispensationis fundatur & concessa est sub quibusdam rationibus falso suggestis & enarratis, in ea namque asseritur, quod hæc Regia Majestas Matrimonium hoc cum Regina percipiebat, pro bono pacis inter Henricum septimum Ferdinandum & Elizabetham, quum revera nulla tunc dissentio aut belli suspicio esset inter dictos Principes, vel Regiam Majestatem prædictam, quæ in teneris adhuc annis, nec in discretione aut judicio constitutis agebat; nunquam deinde assensit, aut quicquam cognovit de hujusmodi bullæ Impetratione, nec unquam hoc Matrimonium optavit, aut aliquid de eo accipit ante bullæ Impetrationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atq; Prælati judicatur hujusmodi Dispensationem non adeo validam & idoneam esse ac efficacem, ut prædictum Matrimonium manifeste justum legitimumque sit; sed potius quod multa possunt objici, magnis probabilibusque fundata & corroborata rationibus, in non leve periculum

culum Regiæ prolis, totiusque Regni ac subditorum gravem perturbationem. Ad hæc postquam Regia Majestas, qui Walliæ Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum attigisset, contractus Revocatio subsecuta est, Rege Patre expresse nolente quod hujusmodi Matrimonium ullo pacto fortiretur effectum. His causis Rex hic Serenissimus, tanquam bonus & Catholicus Princeps, timens ne ob tam diuturnam cum Regina continuationem, indignatus & iratus Deus citius ex humanis evocaverit Masculam è Regina susceptam prolem, graviusque à Deo supplicium expavescit, si in Matrimonio hoc non legitimo perseveraverit; ex hac ideo occasione, intimis præcordiis hunc Conscientiæ scrupulum concepit, in animo nihilominus habens, pro animi conscientiæque suæ quiete & salute, prolisque securitate, ad Sanctam Domini nostri sedemque Apostolicam confugere, tantæ rei remedium impetraturus confidens, quod ob complura sua erga eam merita & officia tum calamo ingenique viribus, tum armis præstita, subsidia in Ecclesiæ calamitatibus prompte ministrata, Sanctissimus Dominus noster non gravabitur sua benignitate, autoritate ac facultate, intimum hunc Regiæ Majestatis cordi inhærentem dolorem amovere, eumque modum ac rationem inire qua Regia Majestas prædicta Uxorem aliam ducere, & Deo volente, masculam prolem in suæ successionis securitatem queat ex ea suscipere, & tam certam quietem in suo Regno constituere: Quumque ejus Sanctitas ab his nunc captiva detineatur, qui pro virili sua forsitan conabuntur impedire, turbareque hoc Regiæ Majestatis Desiderium & Statutum, ipsa præterea cogitur vias omnes excogitare, quibus dicta Sanctitas de hac re dexterius & commedius instrui, & facilius adduci queat ad ea concedenda, quorum medio & vigore Regiæ Majestatis animus & desiderium queat optatum fortiri effectum: Proinde ipsa Regia Majestas de fide, industria, dexteritate prudentiaque vestra plenissime confidens, vult ut statim his literis acceptis, rebus aliis omnibus quibuscunque ab eo vel à quovis alio vobis commissis omnino posthabitis, vias modosque omnes possibiles excogitetis quibus potestis secretissime, mutato habitu & tanquam alicujus Minister, vel tanquam Commissionem habens à Duce Ferrariæ pro nonnullis inter Pontificem & eum componendis controversiis, vel alia qua licuerit securiori via, ad Pontificis præsentiam & colloquium accedendi, omnibus arbitris semotis, si fieri possit, pro vestris obeundis mandatis; quorum obtinendorum gratia, si ita expedire judicaveritis, eam mercedem ac pecuniarum summam promittetis ac tradetis, his qui revera volent atque poterunt hoc negotium ad effectum pertrahere, quam summam, & ejus limitationem, judicio, prudentiæque vestræ integram Regia Majestas remittit; etiam si his danda foret qui Pontificem asservant, vel cuicumque alio qui vos tuto ad secretum cum sua Sanctitate Sermonem adducere, in locumque tutum reducere posset: Cujus rei gratia, aliisque ad hunc finem consequendum sustinendis oneribus necessariis, pecuniæ ad summam decem mille ducatorum, per Mensarios Venetias transmittentur, qui illic in promptu aderunt, persolvendæ & consignandæ Prothonotario Fratri vestro, Regio illic existenti Oratori; per eumque de tempore in tempus ad vos transmitti ea summa poterit quam huic obtinendo negotio conducere posse existimaveritis, nihilque ambigo quin dictam pecuniam fideliter collocetis, ex Regiæ Majestatis utilitate, expectatione atque sententiâ. Atque ubi ad Sanctum Dominum nostrum accesseritis, post filiales & cordatissimas Regiæ Majestatis measque devotas & humillimas commendationes, & post exhibitas à Rege Credentiæ literas, in quibus in negotii adjumentum clausula vehemens est propria ejus manu conscripta, ut ex earum exemplo cognoscetis, ejus Sanctitati exponetis quam grave, molestumque Regiæ Majestati

stati & mihi sit audire infælicissimos eventus, calamitatemque miserandam, in qua nunc ejus Sanctitas cum Reverendiss. Cardinalib. versatur, cum gravissimo detrimento irreparabilique sedis Apostolicæ illiusque Patrimonii jactura, ad quæ mala sublevanda & corrigenda nullum in Regia Majestate officium desiderabitur, quod ab ullo erga Sanctam Domini nostri vel sedem Apostolicam observantissimo Principe queat excogitari; in eoq; omne meum ministerium ac studium non minus promptum aderit, quam si ex ea re solum possem mihi cælum comparare; quemadmodum experientia, aliqua in parte, jam docuit, & Deo duce posthac uberius comprobabit: quam rem copiosius optimisq; verbis agetis, præsertim, quum sciatis quanto & quam sincero affectu Regia Majestas ejus Sanctitatem prosequatur, & quanta mea sit in ipsam devotio, in hisque sermonibus insistetis prout loci, temporis, negotiique ratio videbitur judicio vestro postulare.

Secundo, Sanctissimo Domino nostra solita vestra dexteritate aperietis id quod in his ipsis literis ad vos scripsi concernens hujus Matrimonii insufficientiam, ab hisq; rationibus & causis fundamentum capietis, quæ superius enarrantur, integrumq; discursum ejus Sanctitati declarabitis, non omitentes intrinsecum dolorem, conscientiæ scrupulum, Dei rationem, Mæculæ prolis respectum, hujus Regni bonum, & alia omnia ut superius scripta sunt: addentes insuper, nihil vehementius optari à tota Regni Nobilitate, subditisque omnibus nullo discrimine, quam è Regiæ Majestatis corpore Mæculum hæredem à Deo sibi dari, in perpetuam consolationem, gaudium, quietem, ac rotius Regni securitatem, posteritatisque firmissimum columen; prudentiorumq; opinionem esse, quod Deus omnipotens à tanto bono concedendo divinam suam manum subtrahit, ob errorem, culpamque in dicto Matrimonio hæctenus admissam, quæ nisi mature corrigatur, graviora ex hac occasione in hoc Regno mala succedent, quam antea unquam fuerunt audita; etenim si hoc negotium in suspenso & indiscussum relinqueretur, hujusmodi possent quæstiones, controversiæ & contentiones ac factiones post defunctum Regem exoriri, ob Regni hæreditatem, quæ non possent in multorum ævo restingui, ut antea olim ex causa longe leviori accidit, neq; ex re tam ambigua, tam sævæ olim depopulationes, bella, intestinæq; controversiæ exortæ, & ad multum tempus continuatæ sunt, in extremum & ferme ultimum Regni excidium; quæ quum tam gravia sunt, Sanctissimus Dominus noster veluti pater & gubernator Christianitatis prospicere ex officio debet, & quibuscunque modis potest, pro viribus adniti & conari, ut hæc Regna ac dominia quæ nunc supersunt in fide & obedientia Ecclesiæ assidue contineat, inter quæ, Deo sit laus, hoc Regnum haud recensendum est inter minima, sed tanquam illud quod hæctenus juvavit, & posthac pro tuto præsidio semper haberi poterit, adversus ea quæ cedere possent in Ecclesiæ Catholicæ vel Sanctæ fidei detrimentum.

Tertio, Sanctissimo Domino nostro proponetis præsentem Ecclesiæ statum, rogabitisque ut in mentem velit redigere, quo nunc in statu suæ Sanctitatis res cum Christianis Principibus versentur, cumq; privatæ contentiones, quæ illi sunt cum magna eorum Principum parte, addita & ambitione immoderatoq; regum appetitu & ex arbitrio suo, Temporale jus omne atq; Spirituale tractandi, Ecclesiasticamq; Jurisdictionem & Authoritatem invertendi, eo certe animo ut sedis Apostolicæ dignitatem extinguant; his omnibus in unum connexis ac bene consideratis, ejus Sanctitas manifeste cognoscet, Principem nullum, neq; portum, aut refugium tam tutum, cui in omnem eventum queat inharere, sibi relictum esse, quam hæc Regia Majestas est quæ nihil sibi vendicat, nil ambit, quod præjudicio esse possit dictæ Sanctitati, sed ejus, Apostolicæque sedis, semper fuit, est, esseq; de-

crevit

crevit firmissimum scutum, tutissimumq; propugnaculum, ita suas actiones cum cæteris Principibus firmans & connectens, ut semper ex ea occasione in suam hanc optimam sententiam reliquos possit attrahere, adeo quod Regi tam optime in Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum affecto nihil denegari debeat, utcumq; maximum quod possit ab ejus Sanctitate præstari ordinaria vel absoluta sua Authoritate; nam proculdubio, post vias modosq; omnes tentatos, omnino perspicietur omnia alia amicitiae officia, si huic quod petitur comparentur, esse perquam exigua, & hoc amicum officium hujusmodi futurum, ex quo reliqua queant incrementum capere, sine eo futura alioquin parvi ac nullius fere momenti.

Tertio, probe notandum est, quod res nunc aperta & petita, à Regiaq; Majestate tantopere optata, ex tam magno conscientiae scrupulo, cordisq; remorsu oritur, ut unicuiq; debita sit, quantumcunq; minori quam Regia Majestas sit de Sanctissimo Domino nostro merito. Quocirca judicat, & pro re comperta sibi persuadet, quod si ulla meritorum vel officiorum ratio habeatur, nunc ipsius Sanctitas huic suo desiderio & petitioni benignissime liberrimeque adjuvet, nullo prorsus dubio, difficultate, contradictione aut mora injecta. Negotiumque hujusmodi est, ut cognita Dispensationis insufficientia, quamvis id non requisivisset Rex, ultro proponi offerrique debuisset ab eadem Sanctitate tanquam à Patre Spirituali, in ejus salutis & conscientiae beneficium.

In gratiam igitur & contemplationem præmissorum omnium instantissime vehementissimeque à Sanctissimo Domino nostro requiretis & contendetis, ut dubio, metuque omni seposito, respicere velit ad causæ statum, & ad ea quæ subsequutura videantur, rationemq; habere infinitorum commodorum, quæ ex hac re suæ Sanctitati Apostolicæq; sedi inde provenient rem hanc statim, absq; temporis tractu, & causæ circumstantia, nemini eam aperiens, libere concedere & indulgere, nulliq; communicata specialem Commissionem ad hunc effectum & finem confectam in forma brevis concedere, & ad me dirigere, Facultatem addens, ut mihi liceat quoscunq; voluero ad me vocare, mihiq; asciscere ad procedendum in hac causa, & inquirendum de dictæ Bullæ ac Dispensationis sufficientia, juxta formam ac tenorem expressum in quodam libello hujus rei gratia confecto; quem cum his ad vos mitto, sic in debita forma conscriptum & digestum ut non sit futurum opus quo denuo ab ullo alio exscribatur, si forsan periculosum putaretur eam rem cuiq; patefacere, vel in dubium aut dilationem protractum iri negotium, si ulli ex Sanctissimi Domini nostri officariis committeretur rursus conscribendum; sed quod in hujusmodi periculi eventum possit ejus Sanctitas sine ullo discrimine vel alicujus cognitione eam dicto libello signaturam, sigillumq; apponere, ut aperte inde constet, Pontificis meram voluntatem sic esse, illiusque Signaturæ ac Sigilli vigore, legitime & sufficienter possim ego procedere ad inquisitionem de dictæ Dispensationis insufficientia, cognitionem & aliarum causarum & rationum, quæ adduci possunt pro dicti Matrimonii invaliditate.

Item cum his ad vos mitto Dispensationem in debita forma confectam & scriptam in modum Brevis, secreto impetrandam & expediendam eidem Signaturam vel Sigillum apponendo, vel alio quovis modo valido: Et quamvis ex hac re multa pendeant, ob quæ ista requiruntur, & quæ, Deo favente, neutiquam timenda sunt; Attamen Regia Majestas exemplo innitens, & recordationi complurium rerum, quæ olim præteritis temporibus fuerunt injuste asserta, vel adducta, in animo habens causas suas omnes absq; ulla controversia aut difficultate ad perfectum finem perducere, & ne ullo

quovis prætextu, argumento aut colore, postmodum emergente perturbarentur, hoc à Sanctissimo Domino nostro requirit, veluti rem necessariam, qua nullo pacto carere queat; firmiter confidens, quod Sanctitas sua, benigne atq; amanter isti ejus desiderio assentiet, & concedet sine ullo obstaculo dictam Commissionem, juxta formam quam Regia Majestas petit & eodem tempore, atq; hæc omnia ita benigne ac liberaliter expedire, secretiori & validiori quo fieri possit modo, quo optatus finis subsequi possit in eum effectum, laudabileque propositum, de quo superius dictum est; Qua ex occasione Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum in perpetuum sibi adstringet, indissolubiliq; amicitiae vinculo hanc Regiam Majestatem sibi alligabit, quæ nulli labori, periculo, opibus, Regno, subditis, nec ipsi sanguini parcens, ab ejus Sanctitate nunquam divellatur aut eam deseret, sed totis suis viribus constantissime semper illi adhærebit, tum in suæ sanctitatis & Cardinalium liberationem, tum in hostibus persequendis: ad quem finem, magnam jam pecuniarum summam ad Regem Christianissimum misit, pro illo Italiæ exercitu continuando, & præter id in animo statutum habet, quod nisi Cæsar de dicta Sanctitate liberanda consentire, & ad pacem devenire voluerit, bellum gerere adversus has inferiores Cæsaris Regiones & Dominia, quo vehementius urgeat Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberationem, Ecclesiæq; in pristinam suam dignitatem & auctoritatem restitutionem, eaque de se indicia exhibebit ut universo orbi manifestum sit futurum, dictam suam Majestatem esse solidum perfectum amicum, filium obsequentissimum & ejus devotissimum; à qua pectoris sui sententia, nullo thesauro, nullis opibus, nullis Regnis, seu Ditionibus, vel occasione quacumq; unquam adducetur, sed ex filiali sua observantia & in Christianam Religionem zelo, innatoq; erga sedem Apostolicam studio & præcipuo quodam affectu, quem Sanctissimo Domino nostro gerit: in compensationem quoq; gratitudinis, quam tam avidè in hoc suo negotio ab ejus Sanctitate expectat, decretum prorsus habet in constantissimo hoc & indissolubili amicitiae & conjunctionis vinculo sincerissimo perstare, id quod dicta Regia Majestas Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum vehementissime rogat, ut probe velit in omnem partem libere, vicissimq; efficere, ut ex Regiæ petitionis indulgentia palam constet parem benevolentiam & humanitatem à Sanctissimo Domino nostro ex mutuo præstari.

Hæc autem causa ipsius Sanctitati à vobis, ut dictum est, exposita & declarata, neutiquam dubitandum est, quin benevole atq; libenter statim adnuat Regiæ Majestatis expectationi & quod huic assentiet, dictam Commissionem secreto modo ipsa concedens, neminem de ea re, ut dictum est, participem faciens; qui modus servandus est, si videritis hæc effici non posse, nisi cum periculo quin hæc res eis communicetur, qui eam sicut inturbaturi, vel si id præstare fuerit in Sanctissimi Domini nostri arbitrio, tunc ejus Sanctitas non gravetur, per Brevia, vel per Bullas, prout validius & magis sufficiens fore judicaverit, præmissa omnia concedere, ad quod vestram omnem industriam, prudentiam, studium, diligentiamq; adhibebitis: Sic omnia prudenter ac circumspecte agentes, ne in discrimen deveniatur negotium hoc his detegendi, qui illud vel impedire vel retardare forsitan voluerint aut poterint, sed potius quam ad id periculi res deducatur contenti eritis sola dictorum libellorum Signatura, in eam formam confecta, quum ex ea palam constet, Pontificis assensum in id actualiter concurrisse, qui postea recentioribus scriptis, si ita opus fuerit, firmiter confirmari corroborariq; poterit.

Et quoniam incertum est, utrum ante vestrum ad Pontificem accessum, ejus Sanctitas fuerit in suam libertatem restituta, necne, quæ forsitan



san libera non tanti faciet Regiæ Majestatis amicitiam & conjunctionem, vel allegabit, se nec audere nec posse, ex suis cum Cæsare conventionibus ista concedere, nec secreto ullo modo, vel ullo colore, quod ea in re fecisset apud Cæsarem justificare, & potuisset antea in Regiæ Majestatis auxilio pro sua liberatione sperans, dum adhuc detineretur captivus; eo casu Sanctissimo Domino nostro in mentem redigetis, quam parum fidere possit ullis sibi factis à Cæsare promissis, quum nulla in parte redundare possit in commodum aut securitatem, sed solum in extremum excidium ac detrimentum sedis Apostolicæ; & licet ad breve tempus multa videretur Cæsar in ejus Sanctitatis gratiam facturum, compertissimum tamen semper Pontifici esse debet Cæsarianos ea facere, semperq; facturos, quæ Cæsarem possint exaltare, & tendant ad usurpationem, potius & depressionem status Ecclesiastici, quam ad ejus continuationem, vel conservationem; & quotiens adversus Ecclesiam ista tentarentur, Regia Majestas in hac sua petitione passa repulsam, quæ alioquin ejus Sanctitati in omnem eventum firmissime adhæsisset, & alios suos consœderatos in eandem sententiam pertraxisset, quam, ea deficiente, in contrarium facile possent alicui, quo animo futura sit, & quam bene suum affectum & observantiam collocasse existimatura: summæ est prudentiæ omnia considerare.

Haud incognitum præterea est Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum ad Cæsaris instantiam, quum non multam ab ejus Sanctitate gratiam promeritus esset, ei concessisse Dispensationem & Absolutionem à jurejurando ab illo præstito, de ducenda in Conjugem Domina Principissa, nullo ut par fuisset à Regia Majestate habito, seu petito consensu, non obstante quod Cæsar in validissima forma, non solum præstito jurejurando, sed cautione & Ecclesiasticarum censurarum & pœnarum adhibita, quod perfringeretur de dicto Matrimonio perimplendo, ac si Pontifex contentus esse potuit, tantum ei ostendere gratitudinem, quum veluti hostis indies certior tunc poterat haberi, & qui majora parabat quam juste posset optare, suis petitionibus, Regia Majestate inconsulta, neutiquam parcens, quanto propensius ejus Sanctitas adnuere debet ejus Principis voto, cujus fidem & observantiam vere filialem sæpe experta est. Verum tamen si Sanctissimus Dominus noster difficulter visus fuerit posse adduci, ut in meam Personam dictæ Commissioni assentiat, allegans quod non sum indifferens, cui ex suæ Sanctitatis honore hoc negotium committi possit, cum Regiæ Majestati sum subditus & intimus consiliarius, tunc tamdiu persistetis ea in re, quoad vobis visum fuerit conveniens, negotii expeditionem non ideo protrahentes, aut differentes, sed instantes ut hujusmodi Commissio concedatur; affirmabitq; me pro re nulla quantumlibet grandi, nullo favore, aut commodo, quicquam effecturum esse, quod aversetur officio meo, & erga Christum præstitæ professioni, neq; unum à recto, vero, justoq; tramite digressurum; Et quin Cardinalis sim & Apostolicæ sedis de latere Legatus, ejus Sanctitatis honor, integraque conscientia, à me omnino conservaretur, ex hujusmodique concessa Commissione, omni ex parte exoneraretur. Tandem si ad hoc, nullis rationibus Pontifex potuerit adduci, ab ejus Sanctitate requiretis, ut dictam velit Commissionem concedere in personam Domini Staphylei Decani Rotæ, qui & vir indifferens est, & hujusmodi rei ob eruditionem accommodatus, nullo pacto omittentes Dispensationis expeditionem, ut dictum est; & hujus rei gratia Commissionem nunc ad vos mitto, in debita forma confectam & paratam, quæ signetur ad dictum Dominum Staphyleum directa, quam Sanctissimo Domino nostro reddetis, casu quo alia nequeat obtineri, rogabitq; ut cum dicta Dispensatione eam velit concedere. Et quoniam fieri possit quod dum fieret mentio de me

excipiendo, forsitan ejus Sanctitas aliquem alium quam Dominum Staphyleum nominaret, ad quem Commissio hujusmodi dirigeretur, hoc vero in loco tenacissime insistetis, firmiterq; inhærebitis ei rei, nec in alium aliquem virum exterum ullo pacto consentientes, sed solum pro eodem Domino Staphyleo instantes ejus Sanctitatem summis precibus vehementissime rogantes, & rationibus omnibus suadentes, ne alium ullum nominare velit, asserentes quod quum in Instructionibus vestris non contineatur, nec de alio ullo fiat mentio, nisi illo, me recusato, iterum atque iterum ab eadem Sanctitate petetis, ut nomine hujus Auditoris Rotæ hæc fiat & expediatur Commissio, vos nec audere nec posse vobis præscriptos fines transgredi.

De Regii vero desiderii ac petitionis frustratione super dicta Commissionem obtinenda dicetis unum & idem esse, hanc illi denegare, vel alii concedere quam in vestris Instructionibus contineatur, non quod Regia Majestas de aliorum rectitudine aut indifferentia quicquam suspicetur, vel quod judicet eorum aliquem affectibus obnoxium; sed quod pro re certissima credidit, quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster in neminem tam facile condescenderet, quam in dictæ Rotæ Decanum, ob idque de eo in Instructionibus vestris mentionem fecit: sed Commissiones in debita forma cum his nominibus fieri & conscribi jussit, quod si hic credidissemus, Dom. Staphyleum habitum istic iri pro suspecto, affirmare potestis me fuisse omnino missurum consimilem Commissionis formulam, spatio relicto pro aliquo alio inscribendo nomine, aliquamq; aliam super ea re Instructionem me daturum fuisse; & haud dubie, si de nominibus duntaxat fuerit controversia, hæ rationes facile poterunt Pontificem attrahere, ut in me consentiat, vel in Staphyleum. De aliis vero neminem admittetis, nec tamen Pontifici apperietis vos, ne id faciatis habere in mandatis, sed superius enarratas Causas in vestram excusationem allegantes, omnino ut vobis injungitur, ea in re insistetis.

Quod si nullis modis dictam Commissionem & Dispensationem impetrare poteritis, ad idq; nequiverit Pontifex adduci, nisi rem prius alicui ex Cardinalibus vel Officiariis communicaverit, in eo tunc casu, ejus Sanctitati in memoriam reducite, quot & quam gravia mala ex hujus negotii pro palatiore possent provenire, si ex ea occasione aliqua contrarietates vel impedimentum suboriretur, unde Regiæ Majestatis expectatio postmodum frustraretur; Quo igitur, si nullæ injiciantur in hac re tractandæ difficultates, ut Pontifex etiam facillior ad Regium votum concedendum promptiorq; reddatur, alias etiam præter has literas seorsum ad vos scripsi, quas una cum his accipietis, in quibus copiose aggesi, quam multas magni momenti rationes, ob quas sententia judiciumq; meum est, ne ullo pacto Pontifex hanc petitionem Regiæ Majestatis deneget; quas literas, quum in eis argumentum vehemens est, nec ob prolixitatem tædiosum aut molestum quod legatur, modum aliquem ipsius Sanctitati legendi invenietis; spemq; certam habeo, si earum summa, tenor, atq; sententia profunde perpendatur, quam satis id esse poterit ad omnem tollendam difficultatem, quæ possit obversari in dicta Commissionem Dispensationeq; obtinenda, in eis contenta sigillatim exponetis adeo, quod hoc negotium confici queat, Arbitris aut Consiliariis ad id neutiquam accitis si fieri possit: si tamen Pontifex speraverit se posse hæc omnia eos celare qui huic rei forsitan voluerint refragari, & omnino decreverit aliquos Cardinales vel officarios istius causæ participes facere, omnem tunc industriam statim adhibebitis, ut his cogitis, eorum gratiam & favorem in re vobis comparetis, partim eis respectus, & causas omnes in meis literis contentas, etiam in causæ commodum facientes, uberius exponentes, partim vero eam remunerationem illis dan-

res, quæ judicio vestro conveniens habebitur, dummodo optatum res fortiatum effectum. Et ut omnia queatis præstare commodius cum his, meas literas accipietis quas ad Cardinalem *Sanctorum Quatuor* & Collegium Cardinalium scribo, easque reddetis ut expedire censueritis, plane confidens nihil à vobis omisissum iri, ut hac in re eorum gratiam atq; favorem queatis obtinere, in quem eventum ea munera offeretis, quæ convenientia visa fuerint, Regiaque Majestas quicquid ejus nomine promiseritis, id fidelissime, uberrimeq; præstabit, pro quarum rerum expeditione, illis pecuniis uti poteritis per literas Cambii Venetias transmissis, quousq; successerint necessariumq; vos existimaveritis rei impetranda. Et quum ambiguum sit an vobis licuerit hoc tempore ad Pontificis præsentiam accedere, hujusmodi accessus defectus, si aliæ rem ad bonum exitum perducendi rationes non excogitarentur, causa esse posset longioris moræ, & totius rei impedimento; proinde Regia Majestas, ut modos omnes experiatur, nec uni soli inhæreat, hæc eadem in mandatis dedit Domino Secretario, quem non procul ab Urbe esse intelleximus, quemadmodum in his aliisq; meis brevioribus literis continentur, ita quod alter vestrum, vel uterque si fieri possit, ad Pontificis præsentiam accessum habeat, nihil tamen sub spe Domini Secretarii, vestræ vos diligentia aut industria omittetis, nec ille sub spe vestra, in re hac modis omnibus promovenda remissior erit, sed nihil conjunctim aut divisim intentatum relinquetis. Quod si uterq; vestrum ad Pontificem admittatur, alter de altero nescius, id non oberit, sed multum proficiet, etiam si ante alterius adventum negotium hoc alter impetrasset, sed si aliquis vestrum cognoverit causam hanc expeditam esse, omniaq; pro certo impetrata esse, tunc labori & sumptibus Pontificem pro eadem re accedendi parcere poteritis, neq; in eam amplius ingerere, neq; necessarium aut opportunum erit, ut pro ulla alia re in præsentia quam pro hac apud Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum agatis, sed solum nunc procurabitis de Commissionem & Dispensationem juxta formam ad vos missam obtinenda, necnon de profestinatione illa, quam compendio ad vos dedi, in quibus omnibus & singulis apte tractandis Regia Majestas magnam fiduciam in vestra prudentia collocavit, in quibus cum tam magni sint momenti, ex Regiæ Majestatis sententia nunc vobis maxime elaborandum est.

Deniq; quum intelligam Dominum Lautrek nonnihil mirari, quod Regiæ Majestatis istic agentis, nullam suorum mandatorum partem cum eo conferunt, ad eum nunc scribo, & nonnulla Domino Roberto Jernyngham ei exponenda committo, concernentia actiones cum Ferrariæ Duce, & alia quædam eodem Domino Lautrek; significans vos missos esse ad dictas causas juvandas, & Pontificis liberationem promovendam, quemadmodum ex literarum ad Dominum Jernyngham exemplo cognoscetis: expediens itaq; fuerit, ut præ se feratis, vos dictæ rei gratia missos esse, ne forsan Dominus Lautrek in falsam aliquam conjecturam aut suspicionem incideret, quæ communibus rebus nocere posset, & in vestrarum quoq; actionum impedimentum redundare.

Illud deinde reticere nolui, quod si ullo pacto vobis liceat ad Sanctissimi Domini nostri præsentiam accedere, nihil omittatis in favorem & gratiam Reverendi Domini Datarii, de cujus animo nihil dubitamus, comparandam; eiq; asseretis quod quum in nostris omnibus occurrentiis illius opera ac Patrocinio semper usi fuerimus, ipse vero tanta semper fide ac sedulitate omnia effecerit quæ nobis grata & optata esse cognovit, ut nostram omnem operam suis rebus reddiderit promptissimam, & suæ utilitatis & exaltationis cupidissimam. Quocirca hæc Regia Majestas hac in re, qua nullam magis cordi habet, nec gravioris momenti quicquam sibi accidere posse  
judicat,

judicat, ex animi sui sententia consocienda, post Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, in Domino Datario spem omnem collocavit, qui ex hac occasione, si operam suam ad optatum usq; exitum interponere non gravetur, Regiæ Majestatis animum & pectus, sic omni ex parte promerebitur, ut dicta Majestas non solum omnia curatura sit, quæ ex Domini Veronensis comodo & ornamento fuerint, sed eam etiam munificentiam & gratitudinem addet, quæ majorem vel integram partem, à captivitate Redemptionis persolvendæ compensabit; in me vero non aliam fidem & amicitiam experietur, quam ab ullo fratre posset expectare. Et bene valete. Londini ex meis Ædibus. Die quinto Decemb. MDXXVII.

Vester tanquam frater Amantiss.

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

Rome Jan. 1. 1528.

IV. *Two Letters of Secretary Knights to the Cardinal and the King, giving an Account of his Conference with the Pope about his Divorce. Taken from the Originals.*

Cotton Libr.  
Virell. B.10. Please it your Grace to understand, That immediately upon the receipt of your Grace's Letters, severally directed unto Mr. Gregory and me; he and I resorted unto the Pope his Holiness, making congratulation of his Restitution unto Liberty on yours and his behalf, to his singular Comfort and Consolation; and so much the more, because that I was the first that made like Salutation in any great Prince's Name; He being well assured that I spake the same on the behalf of his two chief, sincere, and unfeigned Friends: Wherefore with great high Thanks, and long Discourse, with rehearsal of the King's and your Merits and Acts, in most vertuous and Catholick manner, employed for his Restitution, and your continual and effectual Study how the See Apostolique might recover the pristine Reputation and Dignity: He confirmed as much as I had spoken. After this Mr. Gregory and I enter'd into our Charge, shewing at length the high Deserts of the Princes and Realm of *England*, the Devotion of the same towards the Church; how expedient it was, as well for the See Apostolique, as for the said Realm, to foresee and provide that all Occasions of Dissention and War were extinct and put away; which for lack of Heir Male of our Sovereign's Line, and Stemm, should undoubtedly follow, with other Considerations at length contained in our Instructions. We desired his Holiness to commit the Knowledge of the Dispensation that was obtained in Time of *Julius*, of famous Memory, for Matrimony to be had between the King and the Widow, Relict late of Prince *Arthur*; and that he might have it in Form as that was that your Grace sent hither. His Holiness answered, That our Sayings had great likelihood of Truth, for lacking of Issue Male of the King's Stemm, considering the nature of Men being prone unto Novelties, and disposed unto Parties and Factions, the Realm of *England* would not only enter into their accustomed Divisions, but also would owe or do small Devotion unto the Church; wherefore his Holiness was right well content and ready to adhibit all Remedy that in him was possible as this time would serve. And because

because he was not expert in making of Commissions, he would consult with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and use his Advice, which we should shortly know.

We perceiving that the obtaining of our Charges after the King's and your Grace's Pleasure, depended much upon the Advice of *Sanctorum Quatuor*, did prevent his going unto the Pope, and delivering your Grace's Letters with Recommendations accordingly, we desired him to be good and favourable unto our Requests in the King's behalf; and for the better obtaining of our Desires, we promised to see unto him with a competent Reward. And this Communication had, we shewed unto him the Commission, which he said could not pass without perpetual Dishonour unto the Pope, the King, and your Grace; and a great Part of such Clauses as be omitted, he hath touched and laid Reason for the same in a Writing, which I do send unto your Grace with this. Considering his great Experience, Wisdom, Learning, and the entire Affection that he beareth unto the King and your Grace; and that it was far from the King's Desire, and nothing for your Purposes, that I should first have sent the said Cardinal's Sayings unto your Grace and abide Answer, and est-soons prevent to do the same: Considering also that the said King desireth a Commission convenient and sufficient, we desired him to make the Minute of one, which he gladly did; When it was made, the Pope said, That at his being in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, the General of the Observants in *Spain*, required his Holiness, in the Emperor's Name, not to grant unto any Act that might be Preparative, or otherwise, to a Divorce to be made between the King and the Queen: And moreover desired an Inhibition, that the said Cause should not come in Knowledge before any Judge within the King's Dominions. The Pope answered that *Inhibitio non datur nisi post litem motam*. And as unto the first his Holiness was content, if any like thing were demanded, to advertise the Emperor before, that he did let it pass; and this was in a manner for his Holiness being in Captivity. But his Holiness being yet in Captivity, as your Grace Reports, and esteemeth him to be as long as the *Almaines* and *Spaniards* continueth in *Italy*; he thought if he should grant this Commission, that he should have the Emperor his perpetual Enemy, without any hope of Reconciliation: Notwithstanding he was content rather to put himself in evident Ruin, and utter Undoing; than the King, or your Grace, should suspect any point of Ingratitude in him, heartily desiring *cum suspiriis & lacrymis*, that the King and your Grace, which have always been fast and good unto him, will not now suddenly precipitate him for ever; which should be done, if immediately upon delivering of the Commission, your Grace should begin Process. He intendeth to save all upright thus: If *Monsieur de Lautrech* would set forwards, which he saith daily that he will do, but yet he doth not, at his coming the Pope's Holiness may have good Colour to say, He was required by the Ambassador of *England* of a like Commission. And denying the same, because of his Promise unto the General, he was est-soons by *Monsieur de Lautrech*, to grant the said Commission, inasmuch as it was but a Letter of Justice. And by this Colour he would cover the Matter, so that it might appear unto the Emperor, That the Pope did it not as he that would gladly do Displeasure unto the Emperor, but as an indifferent Prince that could not, nor might deny Justice, specially being required by such Personages; and immediately he would dispatch a Commission, bearing Date after the time that *Monsieur Lautrech* had been with him or nigh unto him. The Pope most instantly be-

seecheth

feecheth your Grace, to be a mean that the King's Highness may accept this in a good Part, and that he will take Patience for this little time, which as it is supposed will be but short, and (*in omnem eventum*) I do bring a Commission with me, and a Dispensation, which I trust the King and your Grace will like well.

We have given unto my Lord Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* 4000 Crowns, and unto the Secretary 30 Crowns.

With this Your Grace shall receive a Letter from the Pope's Holiness, *Item*, a Councel of *Oldrand*, that giveth Light unto the King's Cause; I shall make the most Diligence homeward that I can. Our Lord Jesus preserve Your Grace.

At *Orvieto*, this  
first Day of  
*January*.

Your most humble Servant

and Chaplain,

*W. Knight.*

Rome Jan. 1. 1528.

To the KING.

PLEASE it your Highness to understand, That as soon as the Pope was at liberty, and came unto *Orvieto*, I resorted unto his Holiness with all Diligence; and at my coming unto him, did make Congratulation on your Highness behalf; forasmuch as he was restored unto his Liberty, which he accepted very joyfully and thankfully, giving unto your Highness manifold and high Thanks for your great Goodness, as well proved in his Adversity, as when he was in his most Felicity. After this he rehearsed my being at *Rome*, how dangerous it was, inasmuch as when my being there was detect, espial was made, and I was not passed out of *Rome* by the space of two Hours, ere two hundred *Spaniards* invaded and searched the House. He shewed also that he had received all such Letters as I at my being in *Rome* did send unto his Holiness; whereby he did perceive the Effect of your Highness desire concerning your Dispensation: And albeit he did send me word that I should depart, and his Holiness would send unto me the said Dispensation fully speed. Nevertheless he trusted that your Highness would be content to tarry for a time: For the General of the Observants in *Spain* being lately in *Rome*, had required him, according unto his Instructions, that he should suffer nothing to pass that might be prejudicial, or against the Queen, directly or indirectly, but that the Pope should first advertise thereof certain of the *Casarians* here. And forasmuch as this Dispensation might encourage your Grace to cause my Lord Legate *Auctoritate Legationis* to hear and discern in the Cause that your Highness intendeth, and his Holiness standeth as yet in manner in Captivity and Perplexity: His Holiness therefore besought your Grace to have Patience for a time, and it should not be long ere your Highness should have, not only that Dispensation, but any thing else that may lie in his Power. I replied unto this, That his Holiness had once granted it, and that I had dispatched a Post, and made Relation thereof, by my Writings, unto your Highness; so that I could not imagine by what Reason I might perfwade

perswade unto you that he would perform the Promise that he had once broken. In Conclusion; He was content that your Highness should have it, but he would have it delivered with this Condition; That the *Prothonotary* and *Gambora* and I, should beseech your Highness not to attempt any thing in your Cause against the Queen, till such time as the Pope were frankly at his Liberty; which could not be as long as the *Almaynes* and *Spaniards* did thus reign in *Italy*; and Promise made, we should deliver the Dispensation: and in my poor Judgment, it was best always to be in Possession of this Dispensation. After this he shewed the Minute unto the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, willing him to reform it according to the stile of this Court; which done, he shewed it unto me, and after said, That he thought good I should depart, because I rode but competent Journies, and the Prothonotary *Gambora* should follow by Post and bring the Bull with him, which is of the same Form and Substance that your Highness's Minute is of: And if there be any thing omitted, or to be added, his Holiness is always content to Reform it, and to put it under the same Date that the same Dispensation now beareth; the Copy whereof I do send unto your Highness with this, the Commission General and Protestation being void, because they were conceived *durante Captivitate* only. And here on my behalf, none other thing being to be done, I took my leave of the Pope and departed. At my coming unto *Scarperii* near unto *Bonony*, I did meet with *Thadeus* his Courier; which brought certain Expeditions Triplicat; the one unto the Prothonotar *Gambora*, the other unto *Gregory de Cassali*, and the third unto me; among which was a general Commission Triplicat, the one to be committed to my Lord Legate, and if that could not be obtained, because my Lord Legate might be thought Partial, then the same to be committed unto *Staphileius*. *Item*; There was a Copy of a Dispensation, where I perceived, by your Grace's Letter, that your Pleasure was to have your Dispensation in Form, after the Minute that *Barlow* brought; which was then sped, and already passed; so remained nothing to be sped, but the Commission your Highness pleases. This knowing, I caused my Servants to continue their Journey, and with one Servant and this Courier, I returned unto *Orvieto* with Post-Horses, where Mr. *Gregory* and I, with much Business, have obtained a Commission directed unto my Lord Legate, not in the Form that was conceived in *England*, but after such manner as is sufficient for the Cause, and as I trust shall content your Highness; wherein the Lord Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, hath taken great Pains to Pen, as well your Dispensation as the Commission; for which, and that hereafter he may do unto your Highness the better Service, Mr. *Gregory* and I have rewarded him with 4000 Crowns, of such Money as your Highness hath caused to be made unto *Venice* for the furtherance of your Causes. But albeit that every thing is passed according to your Highness Pleasure, I cannot see, but in case the same be put in Execution at this time, the Pope is utterly undone, and so he saith himself. The *Imperialists* do daily spoil Castles and Towns about *Rome*; *Monsieur de Lautrek* is yet at *Bonony*, and small hope is of any great Act that he intends. The *Casarians* have taken, within these three Days, two Castles lying within six Miles of this: And the Pope being in this Perplexity, not assured of any one Friend but of your Highness, that lieth too far off; if he do at this time any Displeasure unto the Emperour, he thinkerh he is undone for ever; wherefore he puts his Honour and Health wholly into your Highness Power and Disposition. This Morning I return Homewards, and *Gregory de Cassali* goeth in my Com-

pany as far as unto *Florence*; and from thence he goeth unto *Monsieur de Lautrek*, to solicit him forwards, if it may be. The Holy Ghost send your Highness a prosperous New Year, and many.

At *Orvieto*, the  
first Day of  
*January*.

Your most humble Subject,

Servant, and Chaplain,

*W. Knight.*

Rome 10 *Jan.* 1528.

V. *A Part of an Original Letter from the same Person to Cardinal Wolsey, by which it appears that the Dispensation was then granted and sent over.*

*Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 12.* **Y**our Grace commandeth, That I should send the Commission and Dispensation with diligence, in case they were sped, before the receipt of your Grace's Letters sent at this Time. Wherefore the Prothonotar *Gambora* and I being commanded *sub pena Excommunicationis* to deliver the same, with a certain Request to be made to the King's Highness and his Grace, at the time of delivery, I send the same at this time unto *Gambora*, requiring him in any wise to make Diligence towards the King's Highness, and not to abide my coming; the Request and Cause thereof your Grace shall perceive by mine other Letters adjoined herewith. And supposing that when your Grace hath seen my Letters, and the Dispensations, and considered this time well, it may chance that the King and your Grace will be rather well content with that that is passed, without suing for any other thing that could not be obtained without long Tract, and peradventure not so. Your Grace hath committed as much unto *Gregory de Cassali* at this time, as unto me, which being near unto the Pope, will without fail do his best Diligence: And if it shall be thought good unto the King's Highness, and your Grace, that I do return unto *Orvieto*, I shall do as much as my poor Carcase may endure, and thereby at *Turine* I shall abide the knowledge of your Grace's Pleasure. The Datary hath clean forsaken the Court, and will serve no longer but only God and his Cure. The Cardinal *Campegius* continueth in *Rome* fore vexed with the Gout; The Cardinals *Pisane*, *Triulcis*, *Ursine*, *Gadis* and *Cesis*, remaineth for Hostages. The Cardinals, *Monte*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *Ridulph*, *Ravenna*, and *Perusino*, be with the Pope; the rest abides absent. Our Lord Jesus preserve your Grace.

At *Aste*, the 10th  
Day of *January*.

Your most humble Beadsman

and Servant,

*W. Knight.*

*Orvieto*



Orvieto the 13th of January.

VI. Gregory Cassali's Letter about the Method in which the Pope desired the Divorce should be managed. Taken from a Copy written by Cardinal Wolsey's Secretary.

**H**eri & hodie ad multam diem sum alloquutus Sanctum Dominum no-  
strum de mittendo legato, insequens ordinem à Reverendissimo Do-  
mino Eboracen. suis literis 27. Decemb. mihi præscriptum. Pontifex  
ostendit se cupidissimum satisfaciendi Regiæ Excellentie, cui omnia se de-  
bere fatetur, & nunc habuit mecum longum de hac re colloquium, ut  
inveniatur modus omnia bene, firme & secure faciendi, quo facto & tueri  
possit; ideoque consulere voluit iudicium Cardinalis *Sanctorum Quatuor &*  
*Symonetta*, qui excellentior & doctior Auditor *Rotæ* est, cum quibus sub  
figillo confessionis egit, ut ex eorum consilio inveniatur modus ad moram  
tollendam, & causam secure peragendam: Atq; ita Pontifex cum illis;  
in hoc quod sequitur, se revolvit, videturq; optimus, verus & securus mo-  
dus, & me rogavit, ut nullo pacto dicam hoc obtinuisse ab ejus Sanctitate  
sicuti revera obtinui, nam Cæsariani eum statum pro suspecto allegarent,  
sed quod dicam me habuisse à Cardinali Sanctorum Quatuor & à dicto au-  
ditore. Dicunt quod Rex deberet committere istic causam Cardinali,  
ratione Commissionis quam attulit Secretarius, vel propria Authoritate  
Legationis, quod facere potest; & ubi causa fuerit commissa, si Rex con-  
scientiam suam persentiat coram Deo exoneratam, & quod recte possit  
facere quod quærit, quia nullus Doctor in mundo est, qui de hac re melius  
decernere possit quam ipse Rex, itaq; si in hoc se resolverit, ut Pontifex  
credit, statim causam committat, aliam Uxorem ducat, litem sequatur,  
mittatur publice pro Legato, qui Consistorialiter mittetur, ita enim maxime  
expediret: nam Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor & *Symonetta* dicunt hoc  
certum esse, quod si Regina citetur illa nihil volet respondere nisi quod  
protestabitur locum & iudices suspectos esse, & Cæsariani petent à Ponti-  
fice per viam Signaturæ, justitiæ Inhibitionem, qua Rex aliam nullam  
possit Uxorem capere, & si capiat proles non sit legitima donec causa non  
definiatur, & petent Commissionem qua Causa audiatur in Curia; de In-  
hibitione vero Pontifex non potest negare, neq; & Commissionem nisi in-  
justitia & mera vis inferatur, adversus quam omnis mundus exclamaret,  
Quod si Rex aliam Uxorem ceperit, hoc non possunt petere, & si petant,  
negabit Pontifex quod jure possit, nec aliud dicere poterunt vel allegare, nisi  
quod Cardinalis Eboracen. & Cardinalis mittendus & locus sit suspectus, &  
petere quod Causa videatur hic, in quo si deducatur, statim feretur senten-  
tia quam Pontifex maturabit, non servatis terminis propter momentum ne-  
gotii & alias rationes, quas sciet Pontifex adducere, & ita hic obtinebuntur  
sententiæ quæ per totum Orbem approbabuntur, quibus nullus Hispanus  
aut Germanus poterit contradicere, & mittentur in Angliam declarandæ  
per Cardinales prout Rex voluerit, & hoc etiam non obstante Pontifex  
mittet Cardinalem.

Tandem hic est modus rebus omnibus secure medendi, ad quem sequen-  
dum vos Pontifex hortatur, & rogat, ut nihil dicatur quod ab eo procedat.  
Iste modus non videtur inutilis, quia hic Auditor asserit, non aliter esse  
faciendum si bene volumus; & quia Reverendissimus Cardinalis Dominus  
Eboracen. instat pro celeritate, interim accersiri poterit qualiscunq; Le-  
gatus

gatus Rex voluerit, & magis fatifiet vulgo in mittendo Legato, veluti ad definiendam causam, & hic etiam ut dixi omnia fient quæ super id Rex petierit.

Præterea Pontifex, id quod fecit ut me resolverem ad has Literas scribendum, contentus est mittere quemcumq; Cardinalem ego petiero, sed ait oportere ut aliquis mittatur habilis, id est, Doctor in Jure, vel in Theologia, qui sunt isti *Campegius, Cæsarianus, Senensis, Cefis, Araceli, Monte*, qui senex est & immobilis; *Cefis* in obsidem ivit Neapolim, *Cæsarianus* Episcopatum habet in Hispania, *Araceli* podagra laborat & Frater est, *Senensis* est Imperialis & non valde prudens, *Campegius* esset maxime ad propositum, sed Romæ est locum tenens Pontificis, unde non posset discedere, continuantibus discordiis inter Germanos & Hispanos, neq; auderet egredi à castro; sed hoc periculum & dubium brevi expedietur, nam intra octo dies *Cæsariani* cogentur sibi consulere ut eant in Regnum, si Dominus *Laurek* eo progrediatur, vel ibunt Senas per iter Florentiæ, & tunc *Campegius* poterit exire, & si Rex ita jussit statim accingetur itineri. Pontifex jussit ut scribam, quod nunquam ingenio aut studio deerit in excogitando ut adimpleat desiderium & voluntatem Regis, & quod solum ista proponit pro meliori securitate, ne ista fiant quæ postea referri debeant, quod pareret dilationem & difficultatem, & quantum ego possim conjicere Pontifex exoptat satisfacere Regiæ voluntati. Pontifex denuo replicavit quod se totum rejicit in Brachia Regiæ Majestatis, & quod certus est quod Cæsar nunquam hoc illi ignosceret, & quod ex hac occasione vocabit eum ad Concilium, vel nihil aliud quæret nisi ut eum omni statu & vita privet; & dicta Sanctitas parvam spem habet in Gallis, nisi quantum operabitur per Regiam Majestatem & Reverendissimum Dominum Eboracen. Ad quod respondi, illum ex præteritis & præsentibus posse judicare futura. Tandem affirmo, quod si semel tollatur Cæsarianorum metus, poteritis ex arbitrio vestro disponere de Sede Apostolica.

Cardinalis *Campegius* ad Pontificem scripsit, quod sunt tres dies ex quo frater Generalis communicaverat secum negotium Regiæ Majestatis, & quod dixerat ut ad ejus Sanctitatem scriberet, ut omnino faceret aliquam Inhibitionem, ne causa istic tractaretur. Ad quod Pontifex non respondit; sed respondebit, se nihil de eo posse facere, quia non pendet causa.

Januar. 1528. ad Collegium.

VII. *A Duplicat. The King's Letter to the Colledge of Cardinals; from which it appears how much they favoured his Cause.*

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 10. **H**enicus Rex, Reverendissimis in Christo Patribus Dominis Episcopis, Patribus & Diaconis S. R. E. Cardinalibus & Amicis nostris Carissimis salutem. Nihil unquam tam grande esse posse putavimus, quin de ista Sancta sede, vestrarumq; Reverendissimarum Dominat. summa erga nos benignitate, illud semper audacter nobis fuerimus polliciti, quod certe S. Sanctum istud Collegium, quotiens ullam nobis gratificandi occasionem oblatam habuit, cumulatissime præstitit: Cæterum benevolentiam istam vestram, & singulare in nos studium, nunc longe superavit alacritas quam in nostra omnium gravissima causa, juvanda ac promovenda, in publico Consistorio, amantissime omnes exhibuistis, quo certe beneficio sic Sacro isti Collegio Sanctissimæq; isti Sedi adstrictos nos fatemur, ut vehementissime optemus Gratiam, vel sanguine ipso publice ac privatim Reverendissimis

mis Dominat. vestris quoq; posse referre. Quocirca iterum eas impense regamus, ut in suo erga nos affectu perseverare non graventur, efficiemusq; (Deo bene juvante) ut brevi perspicient, apud gratum & memorem Principem, Sanctaq; Rom. Ecclesiæ observantissimum, sua se beneficia & officia collocasse. Interim vobis quas possumus ex animo, tum his literis, tum per Oratorem istic nostrum immortales gratias Reverendissimis vestris Dominis agimus, existimetisq; quicquid à nobis præstari queat, id suo ornamento & commodo promptissimum futurum.

Febr. 10. 1528.

VIII. *A Duplicate of the Cardinal's Letter to the Pope, about the Divorce; corrected with his own hand.*

**B**eatissime Pater, post humillimam Commendationem, & Sanctissimo- Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 12.  
rum pedum oscula, doleo atq; gravissime excrucior, quod ea quæ  
tanta solitudine, literis & nuntiis apud Beatitudinem vestram ago, neque-  
am, ut unice & rerum omnium maxime vellem, prius tractare, hoc est,  
negotium Potentissimi Domini mei Regis, negotium inquam rectissimum,  
honestissimum ac sanctissimum, in quo procurando non aliter me interpono,  
quam in ejus Regiæ Majestatis salute tuenda, in hoc Regno conservan-  
do, in publica tranquillitate fovenda, in Apostolica Autoritate, in mea  
deniq; vita & anima protegenda debeo. Beatissime Pater, ad vestræ San-  
ctitatis genua provolutus, obsecro & obtestor, ut si me Christianum virum,  
si bonum Cardinalem, si S. Sancto isto Senatu dignum, si Apostolicæ Sedis  
membrum non stupidum & inutile, si recti, justitiæque cultorem, si fidelem  
Creaturam suam, si demum æternæ salutis cupidum me existimet, nunc  
velit mei Consilii & intercessionis rationem habere, & pietissimis hujus  
Regis precibus, benigne, prompteq; adnuere; quas nisi rectas, sanctas ac  
justas, esse scirem, omne prius supplicii genus ultrò subirem, quam eas pro-  
moverem, pro hisq; ego vitam meam & animam spondeo. Alioquin ve-  
reor (quod tamen nequeo tacere) ne Regia Majestas humano, divinoq;  
jure (quod habet ex omni Christianitate suis his actionibus adjunctum)  
freta, postquam viderit Sedis Apostolicæ gratiam, & Christi in terris Vica-  
rii clementiam desperatam, Cæsaris intuitu, in cujus manu neququam est  
tam Sanctos conatus reprimere, ea tunc moliatur, ea suæ causæ perquirat  
remedia, quæ & non solum huic Regno, sed etiam aliis Christianis Princi-  
pibus, occasionem subministrarent, Sedis Apostolicæ Autoritatem & Juris-  
dictionem imminuendi, & vilipendendi non absq; Christianæ Reip. per-  
turbatione: quibus malis potest vestra Sanctitas sua autoritate & prudentia  
mederi. Hæc loquor ut Christianus, & ut devotissimum istius Se-  
dis membrum sincere suadeo; non affectus, non Principis amor, non  
servitutis vinculum me impellit, sed sola rectitudine ad id adducor. Cæte-  
rum animi sollicitudo non sinit plura exprimere. Vestra Sanctitas in tam  
justo Regis voto adnuendo, sic ejus Majestatis animum sibi devinciet &  
conservabit, ut non solum ipse & ego, sed omnes ejus subditi sint ad om-  
nem occasionem, opes, vires, & sanguinem in Sanctitatis vestræ, Apo-  
stolicæ Sedis beneficium, libentissime profusuri. Mitto ad Beatitudinem ve-  
stram hujus rei gratia, Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum, Primarium Se-  
cretissimorum Conciliorum Secretarium, mei dimidium, & quo neminem  
habeo cariorem; referet ille cuncta distinctus, meum pectus aperiet. Ve-  
stram

fram igitur Sanctitatem humillime rogo, ut eum loquentem me loqui existimares, & eam fidem quam præsentem mihi haberet, illi & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari in omnibus præstare, & me à tam anxia expectatione liberare dignetur.

IX. *Cardinal Wolsey's Letter to Gregory Cassali, directing him to make Presents at Rome.*

Cotton Libr.  
Vitell. B. 10.

Tanta deinde sunt, tamq; magna officia, quæ Reverendissimus Dominus *Sanctorum Quatuor*, tum erga Regiam Majestatem, tum erga me, nunquam non amantissime exhibuit, ut quum ea in agendis gratiis assequi conantur, id animo facilius complecti, quam exteriori ullo propensæ nostræ in eum voluntatis testimonio indicare queamus: ad nostriq; in eum summum studii & affectionis cumulam, nunc tantum accessit, quantum vix unquam possit à nobis exsolvi; licetq; de ejus Reverend. Dominat. ingenti Regiæ Majestati, & mihi gratificandi ardore nunquam addubitaverim, sic tamen pectus suum, in Regiæ Majestatis promovenda juvandaq; causa, sic in meis seorsim curandis expediendisq; negotiis, operam, fidem, autoritatemq; suam interposuit, ut non minora semper efficeret, quam nos optare potuerimus: quo certe nomine, ita utrumque nostrum, suo suorumq; omnium commodo & ornamento devinxit, ut non prius conquieturi sumus: quam aliquo indicio rebus ipsis nostram vicissim gratitudinem fuerimus testati; quot enim modis & quanta sollicitudine Reverendissimus *Sanctorum Quatuor* de nobis sit optime meritus, res præstita indicat, & Dominus *Stephanus* Secretarius meus suo sermone ac relatu assidue prædicat; & quamvis munusculum illud olim oblatum recusaverit, non tamen Regiæ Majestati satisfactum esse potest, nisi memoris sui animi pignus aliquod exhibuerit. Quocirca cum eodem Reverendissimo Domino dexterime agite, ut in familiari aliquo colloquio eliciatis, quibus rebus ille maxime oblectetur, mihiq; quam primum significate, num illi, aulæ, Vaso aurea, aut equi maxime probentur, efficiamq; ne putet apud Principem inhumanum aut ingratum sua se officia collocasse. Intellexi quoq; ex eodem Domino *Stephano*, quam ardentem idem Dominus *Sanctorum Quatuor* cupiat ædificium Sancti Petri absolvi, veluti monumentum illud Religionis ac pietatis perpetuo futurum, quod certe ejus animi consilium; ut Sanctum ita dignissimum censeo, ut Christianorum Principum liberalitatem quam plurimum mereatur; meo igitur nomine affirmabitis, sic meam me esse operam apud hunc Serenissimum Regem interposituram, ut palam constet omnibus, me Ecclesiæ membrum non omnino inutile aut stupidum esse.

De aliis vero rebus in quibus S. D. N. benignitatem & Reverendissimi Domini *Sanctorum Quatuor* opera & Patrocinio Regiæ Majestati & mihi in præsentia est opus, per Dominum Stephanum copiose vos instruo, iterum atq; iterum impense rogans, ut solita vestra diligentia & sedulitate ex nostra expectatione eas curare conficereq; velitis.

Rome Feb. 1527.

X. *The Decretal Bull that was desired in the King's Cause.*

**D**ilecto, &c. Salutem & Apostolicam Benedic. Sedis Apostolicæ Su- Cotton Libr.  
prema Autoritas potestatis suæ copiam sic omnibus exhibet, ut pro Vitell. B. 12.  
causarum, personarum & temporum qualitate remedia singulis ad ædifica-  
tionem subministrare, & causas ad Canonum Sanctiones expensas æquissi-  
ma certissimaq; lance trutinans, laborantibus conscientiis & fluctuantibus  
consulere, summamque ipsis tranquillitatem statuere contendat. Cum  
itaque Clarissimus in Christo Filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex,  
Fidei Defensor, & Dominus Hiberniæ, sua nobis conquestione monstra-  
verat, quod cum Annos abhinc decem & octo nobilem Mulierem Catha-  
rinam Ferdinandi quondam Hispaniarum Regis Filiam, Illustris Principis  
Arthuri Fratris sui defuncti quondam Uxorem, hortatu, suasu, ac consiliis  
eorum, quibus se totum in prima Regni sui Administratione crediderat,  
quadam sedis Apostolicæ Dispensatione prætenfa sibi bona fide Matrimo-  
nio copulasset, ac ab eo tempore hætenus cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore  
cohabitasset, prole interim fœmina suscepta & superstita ex eadem, ac jam  
tandem post desperatam prolem Masculam, de stabilienda & confirmanda  
ejusdem Filix suæ successione cogitaret, Iustratisque Scriniis dictam super  
Matrimonio præfato Dispensationem faceret proferri, doctorumque Viro-  
rum judicia examinari, cujus quidem Dispensationis tenor sequitur, & est  
talis, &c.

Quidam Sanctionum & Canonum Ecclesiasticorum consulti, datum dictæ  
cum narratis ejusdem conferentes, aliasque nonnullas circumstantias quæ  
tum ante dictæ Dispensationis impetrationem, quæ etiam post eandem im-  
petratam intervenerunt, ponderantes, tum quod causa quæ in Bulla præ-  
tenfa est pacis continuandæ, viz. quæ ipsa tum coaluerat, fœderibus per-  
cussis firma constiterat, mutuis etiam populorum commerciis aucta, nul-  
lum suæ violationis timorem incutiens, qui justus & non omnino vanus di-  
ci posset, nec urgentissima proinde nec evidentissima videretur, qualem pro-  
hibitionis relaxatio exigat & requirat; tum quod preces falsæ erant dum  
narrabatur Prædecessori nostro, eundem Carissimum Filium nostrum tum  
cupere cum dicta charissima Domina Catharina contrahere Matrimonium,  
ad hoc ut pacis fœdera diutius continuarentur, cum eo tempore, ut asserit,  
impetrationem prorsus ignoraret, & per ætatis immaturitatem, duodeci-  
mum, viz. annum non excedentis, affectum hujusmodi inducere non po-  
tuerat; tum quod Protestatione postmodum interveniente & vim Renuncia-  
tionis habente, Dispensatio tunc per Renunciationem extincta videretur;  
Denique quod principes inter quos fœdera conservarentur, ante mandatam  
executioni Bullam fati concesserant; Bullam ipsam, tum ex surreptionis  
& obreptionis vitiis, quam aliis etiam de Causis minus validam & ineffica-  
cem esse renunciârunt & retulerunt, scrupulum dicti Regis animo conscientia-  
que gravem Injicientes eamque illi opinionem inducentes, ut Matrimo-  
nium prædictum non consistere, neque hætenus jure constitisse judicaret.  
Porro autem cum frequentius apud se, ut asserit, animo volveret, ac medi-  
taretur, quales exitus hujusmodi nuptiæ præfatæ habuerunt, ex quibus, viz.  
aliquot partus masculi imperfecti parumque vitales prodire, atque ideo se  
omni spe successoris prorsus destitui, quo suam familiam ad paucos redactam  
conservaret, occurrente simul memoriæ Divina interminatione quæ Fra-  
tris sui turpitudinem revelanti, & illius Uxorem contra S. Sancta Dei præ-  
cepta

cepta accipienti inscribitur, præferrim ubi Dispensatio non interveniat, quæ ex omni sua parte valeat & consistat, nonnullis etiam affirmantibus nostram non eatinus potestatem patere ut in ea specie gratiam faciamus, etiamsi ut scribit de nostræ potestatis plenitudine non dubitet, juste duntaxat legitimeque interpositæ, quam summam in terris agnoscit & veneratur, ad improbandas illas nuptias tantum undique videt consensum ut illas animo abhorreat, nec aliorum rationibus possit dissuaderi quin abominandas eas judicet, & Divinæ Majestati odiosas. Denique idem Carissimus Filius noster debita cum instantia nos precibus sollicitaverit, quatenus personæ suæ & Regni nobis semper devotissimi rationem habentes, maturo judicio ab angustiis liberemus, quibus se usu præsentis Matrimonii per legem conscientiæ privatum, nec ad aliud per leges publicas ante sententiam admissum, vehementer conqueritur comprehensum esse. Nos igitur considerantes quor, quanta, tum in Sedem Apostolicam, tum in fidem Christianam officia præcæteris exhibuerit, promeritus eo nomine ut nostræ vicissim potestatis gratiam uberrimam & promptissimam referat, aliamque illius causam atque privati esse, ex qua nimirum pendeat salus plurimorum, nec posse dictæ causæ decisionem diutius proferri & protelari sine gravi discriminis periculo, dicti vero Principis cruciatu maxima quæ nos ex gratitudinis vicissitudine minueret debeamus, qua decet festinatione procedi facientes ut ad finem celerrime perducatur, de Consilio Fratrum nostrorum, quorum in hac causa tam gravi atque urgenti iudicium adhibuimus, ac etiam eorum quos & Sacræ Theologiæ peritissimos & juris Ecclesiastici callentissimos desuper consulendos audiendosque putavimus, quoniam vitia & defectus prædictos ejusmodi esse comperimus, quæ pensata præfatæ Prohibitionis natura, vires ipsius Bullæ merito enervarent; quo magis, viz. attestamus & palam faciamus, quanta animi cura & sollicitudine præfati Carissimi Filii nostri conscientiam hujusmodi scrupulis & difficultatibus impediri, implicari atque vexari sustineamus, cum alioquin te dilectum Filium nostrum Cardin. Eboracen. in illa Provincia & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatum, à præclaris animi tui virtutibus, ad justitiam vero & aequitatem propensissimo sincerissimoque affectu nobis sic commendatum & cognitum habeamus, ut tibi merito soli omnem nostram Authoritatem, cum in hac Causa expedienda, tum etiam in reliquis committendam putaverimus, dignissimus quidem nobis existimatus, qui partes nostras tractes & vices absentis posses supplere: Te tamen Dilectum Filium—à nobis specialiter istuc destinandum duximus, ut conjunctim in hac causa procedere possitis, ita nihilominus propter incertum casuum eventum mandatam Authoritatem temperantes, ut altero vestrum nolente aut impedito, alter omnia exequi & causam sine debito valeat terminare. Vobis ut præfertur conjunctim, & ut præfertur divisim, ad cognoscendum & procedendum summarie & de plano, sine strepitu & figura judicii, ac de, & super viribus dictæ Bullæ sive Dispensationis inquirendum, ipsamque Bullam sive Dispensationem, si de vitiis prædictis aut eorum aliquo tali probatione consliterit, quæ licet aliis minus clara videatur, animo tamen Religioso, conscientiæque vestræ, aut ejus vestrum qui in hac Causa processerit, divisim, ut præfertur, satisfecerit, & verisimile apparuerit, vel pacem quæ in Bulla prærenditur sine hujus Matrimonii contractu consistere potuisse & continuari, vel dictum Charissimum Filium nostrum, ut allegabatur, non cupiisse contrahere Matrimonium ad hoc ut pacis fœdera conservarentur, vel denique Principes in Bulla nominatos, inter quos fœdera per illud Matrimonium continuatum iri allegabatur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam satis concessisse, ipsam nullam, minus validam, ex surreptione & obreptione inefficacem, irritam & inanem fuisse, semper & esse pronuntiandam & decla-

declarandam; Matrimonium autem prædictum, quod ejusdem virtute consistere videtur, nullum simul ac minus legitimum esse, ac pro nullo minusque legitimo haberi debere decernendum; ipsos porro contrahentes ab omni contractu Matrimoniali hujusmodi liberos, à consortio conjugali quod hætenus observârunt separari debere sententiendum, & autoritate nostra separandum. Denique utrumque ad contrahendum cum alio vel alia, novum conjugium ineundi, licentiam & facultatem tribuendum & concedendum, citra omnem recusationem, aut appellationis interpositionem, committimus & demandamus vices nostras; ac vos conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente ut præfertur aut impedito, divisim, ad præmissa exercenda & expedienda, plenæ finalique executioni demandanda, Vicarios nostros & nostrum Vicarium, aut si quo alio nomine uti poterimus, quod demandatam in prædictis Autoritatem ampliaret, cum omni potestatis plenitudine tam absolutæ quam ordinariæ, quatenus vel ad præfati Matrimonij congruam dissolutionem, vel novi contrahendi firmam Constitutionem, expedire videbitur aut pertinere; ita etiam ut Autoritate præsentis Commissionis nostræ, cum omnibus illis Canonibus, ad validiorem efficaciorisque processus vestri firmitatem poteritis dispensare, quæcunque eidem obstare putabuntur, omnemque defectum quæcunque ex causa contingentem nostræ Autoritatis interpositione, Dispensatione Apostolica supplere possitis & valeatis, tam prolem ex primo Matrimonio susceptam propter bonam fidem Parentum; si ita expedire visum fuerit, legitimam decernendo, pronuntiando & promulgando, quam ex secundo Matrimonio suscipiendam; legitimitatem etiam utriusque prolis, censuris & pœnis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, per modum decreti aut Sanctionis perpetuæ muniendo & vallando, omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterunt, facimus, constituimus & ordinamus per præsentem: Et quicquid per vos conjunctim, ut præfertur, aut divisim procedentes, per cognitionem judiciariam & summariam, aut extra-judiciariam, processus quoscunque faciendo, pronuntiando aut promulgando, eisdemve executioni mandando, Dispensationes quascunque; aut gratias in præmissis concedendo & faciendo, & generaliter in aliquibus prædictorum potestatem nostram vel ordinariam vel absolutam exercendo, ut præfertur, actum, gestum, decretum, dispensatum, pronunciatum, mandatum, aut executum fuerit, id omne & totum, cum primum poterimus, ratum, gratum & firmum habentes, in validissima & efficacissima forma confirmabimus, nec eorum aliqua unquam infirmabimus aut infringemus, aut eorum alicui contraveniemus, nec interim revocabimus; declarantes etiam & protestantes per præsentem, nostræ intentionis esse, ut præfens Commissio, sive Delegatio Autoritatis nostræ, perpetuo effectu gaudeat, & usque ad finalem prædictorum conclusionem extremumque terminum duret & consistat, non obstantibus quibuscunque decretis, sententiis, mandatis rescriptis, literis aut Brevibus in contrarium, deinceps per nos tanquam irritatoriis, derogatoriis aut revocatoriis præsentis Concessionis nostræ, emittendis, destinandis aut promulgandis; quibus omnibus expresse per præsentem derogantes, & illa omnia pro nullis, cassis, irritis & inanibus reputantes, ac talia esse & haberi, istisque omnino anteriora judicari, præsentia vero semper posteriora, & post illa repetita, emissa & destinata censeri, ac tanquam ultima & posteriora contrariis sic deinceps emittendis derogare debere, & cæteris contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Rome Jan. 1528.

XI. *The Cardinal's Letter to John Cassali about it ; Taken from a Duplicate written by his Secretary.*

Cotton Libr.  
Vitell. B.10.

**R**everende Domine Protonotari, tanquam Frater Amantissime, cum aliis meis literis copiose ad vos perscripsi Regiæ Majestatis animum, & desiderium super his rebus quas vobis in præsentia commisit, suo nomine S. D. N. declarandas.

Nunc vero ob humillimam sinceramq; meam Devotionem, quæ ex jure & officio non solum ejus Sanctitati, sed miseris Ecclesiæ sublevandis rebus, dignitatiq; Apostolicæ restituendæ adstringor, his literis vos instruam super quibusdam rebus, præcipue & accurate notandis & considerandis, quas post humillimam, reverentissimamq; meam commendationem dictæ Sanctitati, meo nomine sigillatim, speciatim declarabitis ; & cum causam concernant, quam Regia Majestas nunc maxime optat & requirit, eandem Sanctitatem vehementissime rogabitis, ut cuncta legere & bene notare non gravetur.

Primo itaq; indolens infælicem adversumq; præsentium rerum successum, in quo S. D. N. Cardinaliumq; Collegium versatur, diuq; ac nocturne volvens, quo pacto quibusve modis, totis meis viribus, omni sumptu molestiaq; neglecta, & cum proprii sanguinis vitæque effusione, ministerium aliquod impendere, tantæque afflictioni solamen afferre, & Ecclesiæ Sanctissimi Domini nostri collapsæ statui opitulari, in quam rem haud dubie quoadq; vita suppetet incumbam : mihiq; in hac cogitatione versanti, in mentem recordationemq; subiit, mirus quidem & grandis affectus. Qui divina sic disponente Providentia, ex instanti assiduaque mea opera provenit, ut hunc optimum Dominum meum Regem inducerem, eique persuaderem quod ad arctissimam istam intimamque cordis & animi conjunctionem deveniret erga S. D. N. Ecclesiæq; & sedis Apostolicæ tutelam ac patrocinium suscipiendum, memoriæque succurrunt innumeræ rationes à me adductæ, ut Regiam Majestatem, quæ Cæsari tenacissime inhærebat, adducerem, ad S. D. N. defensionem, rerumq; Italicarum tutelam amplectendam, ac inter omnes allegatas rationes, nulla fuit validior aut vehementior, vel quæ Regiæ Majestatis pectus magis permoveret, quam intima securitas, perfecta que constantia, quam ei assidue indefinenterq; insinuavi de ejus Sanctitatis vera optimaq; & flagrante correspondentia in amore perpetuo indissolubiliq; amicitia, animo & voluntate, petitionibus semper suæ R. Majest. & desiderii concedendis, quoad Ecclesiæ Thesaurus & Autoritas ejus Sanctitati Christi Vicario concessa permittit, vel quoad se extendit, seu possit extendere ; super idq; omnia uberrime promisi, meam etiam salutem, fidem, honorem animamque adstringens, quod omnia ex ipsius Regiæ Majestatis votis, in omne tempus præstarentur, absq; ulla prorsus occasione aut scrupulo, ab hujusmodi indulgendis petitionibus digrediendi, adeo quod Regia Majestas, ex hoc meo asseveranti relatu, hunc propensum S. D. N. in se animum perspicens, mihiq; ejus Sanctitatis nomine, veluti Legato, & sedis Apostolicæ membro loquenti, firmam, certamq; fidem adhibens, periculis omnibus posthabitis, laboribus sumptibusq; spreto, nullaq; sui Regni aut subditorum habita ratione, animum adfixit, prorsusq; statutum & decretum in omnibus se adjungere, atque perpetuo & constanter cum S. D. N. in affectu concurrere, in eoq; certum habeo velle decrevisseque per-



perstare, ad mortem usque, nisi forsan ex eventibus, longe diversis à meo promisso & ejus expectatione, occasio subministretur suam Regiam Majestatem ab hoc animi sui decreto amovendi. Id si illi accideret (quod avertat Deus) merito mihi posset adscribere perfidiam, levitatem, violationemque promissionis, quo casu quid mox officii aut ministerii possem Sanctissimo Domino nostro præstare, aut quæ fides in Ecclesiæ rebus mihi haberetur, singulari ejus Sanctitatis prudentiæ judicandum relinquo: nunquam enim meo in arbitrio posthac esset, quicquam alicujus momenti hinc efficere, in ejus Sanctitatis commodum, hac nunc in re Regiæ Majestatis concepta spe, aut expectatione frustrata.

Est secundo accurate considerandum quantopere hoc negotium Regiæ Majestati intersit, & quanti sit momenti, unde namque, præter Conscientiæ Regiæ exonerationem, omnis quoque Regiæ linæ, & stemmatis continuatio pendet; huic adnectitur totius Regni fœlicitas, vel excidium, hic securitas & salus eorum consistit, qui sub Regis sunt Imperio, & qui ullo unquam tempore nascentur in ejus Regno, qua ex re oriri potest occasio, & fomes tranquillitatis perpetuæ, aut discordiæ belliq; atrocissimi in universum Christianum Orbem, quæ omnia majoris sunt momenti & vigilantius prospicienda quam cujusq; Principis vel Principissæ gratia, favor & expectatio.

Tertio, Causa ex se est hujusmodi ut in animam meam spondere ausim, ejus concessionem, futuram non solum in conscientiæ, honorisq; Pontificis exonerationem coram Deo & hominibus, sed in Cœlis quoq; gratam, acceptamque extitutam: In hac deinde re secreta insunt nonnulla, secreto S. D. N. exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob causas, morbosq; nonnullos, quibus absq; remedio Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia Majestas nec potest, nec vult ullo unquam posthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut Uxorem admittere, quodcumque advenerit. Non exigua præterea habenda est ratio eorum, quæ aliis meis literis continentur, concernentia, quæ pro ingenti Thesauro S. D. N. habere queat, tam certam Regiæ Majestatis amicitiam, cum ejus Sanctitate constantissime conjunctam futuram in prosperis & adversis, in quas etiam partes amicos suos omnes pertraxit, & assidue pertrahit: Ad Ecclesiæ defensionem, Sanctissimi Domini nostri conservationem, causas omnes suas & actiones dirigens; possentq; hi omnes, Regia Majestate deficiente, in contrarium verti, & ut vera loquar, nullum Principem video in quo S. D. N. possit, quam in Regia Majestate plenius aut perfectius confidere, vel cujus medio Apostolicæ sedis status in pristinam suam dignitatem queat certius restitui, cum absq; ejus subsidio, nisi solus Deus ex immensa sua bonitate manum citissime apponat, omnino imminutus iri videatur. Quod si Sanctissimus Dominus noster nunc (quod absit) in his Regiis petitionibus durum se, aut difficilem se exhibuerit, mihi certe molestissimum est futurum vivere diutius, ob innumera mala, quæ inde subsequutura videntur, hoc præsertim firmo, tutoque Regio subsidio tam ingrante abjecto; hocq; solum, & certum, & salubre remedium videtur tantæ corrigendæ calamitati superesse, quo neglecto omnia corruant necesse est. Hac autem in re S. D. N. sua erga Regiam Majestatem animi gratitudine comprobata, poterit de illius amicitia & conjunctione quæcumque volet sibi polliceri, adversus eos omnes, qui ejus Autoritatem aut dignitatem voluerint oppugnare. Tandem his causis rationibusq; omnibus in unum congestis, mecum ipse reputans, quam multa gravissimi momenti in hujus conjugij Dissolutione occurrant, in tanta æquitate justoque fundamento posita, ob quæ hæc Dissolutio nec possit absq; gravissimo detrimento, nec debeat diutius protrahi aut intermitteri; videns quoq; quid allegari possit & allegabitur omnino ad

Regiæ Majestatis conscientiam coram Deo purgandam, etiam si id à S. D. N. neutiquam admittatur, quæ in hujusmodi allegationibus confisa, vereor ne in tanta rerum extremitate constituta, potius quam ingentia mala, quæ hinc apertissime imminet, succedant, dicta Regia Majestas ex duobus malis minus malum eligat, & soli suæ puræq; conscientiæ innitens, id agat, quod nunc tam reverenter à Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate exigit, unde Sedis contemptus indies gravior excreveret, hoc præsertim tempore admodum periculoso: quæ omnia sunt à S. D. N. summa sua prudentia alte consideranda, nullo prorsus dubio aut difficultate in re tam gravi mature concedenda interjecta; nec eam retardare debet cujusquam mortalis instantia, contemplatio vel satisfactio, præsertim quum in multis aliis rebus, forsitan non tam manifestis & apparentibus, Sanctitas sua liberalem, facilemque erga alios se sæpe præstiterit; cui humillima reverentia præmissa meo nomine dicetis, quod hæc loquor tanquam fidele, utcunq; Ecclesiæ indignum membrum, omnia excogitans quæ possent in Ecclesiæ augmentum & existimationem cedere, ea etiam admovens & consulens ut evitentur, quæ cessura videantur in contrarium. Quocirca Sanctissimo Domino nostro affirmabitis, quod præmissis omnibus tam maximi momenti existentibus probe consideratis, non veluti Mediator aut Intercessor, ob privatum illum affectum quem Regiæ Majestatis causis, ut mei juris est, promovendis gero, sed tanquam is qui in re tanta & ex tam certa scientia & cognitione, velim Sanctissimo Domino nostro suadere, ut quod nunc petitur omnino concedat, idq; suaderem etiam si in hoc Regnum nunquam venissem, neq; hic commune quicquam haberem; rogoque, precor, & obtestor ejus Sanctitatem, ut omni dubio, respectu, metuq; deposito, nullo pacto neget aut differat ea concedere aut adnuere, quæ Regia Majestas urgentissimas ob causas tanta nunc animi sollicitudine exposcit; sed his potius benignius liberaliterq; aduat, & omnia concedere non gravetur in pleniorẽ modum qui hujus rei gratia possit excogitari, compertissimumq; sibi sua Sanctitas habeat, sed id affecturum, quod coram Deo & hominibus justum omnino habebitur, arctissimeq; Regiam Majestatem devinciet ad suæ Sanctitatis, Ecclesiæ Apostolicæq; Sedis, causasq; omnes pro viribus juvandas protegendasque, nec ea in re, ulli labori, sumptui, Regno vel Subditis parcat, nec (si opus fuerit) propriam Personam exponere recusabit, in ea opinione constantissime permanens, in eandemq; sententiam Gallorum Regem & alios confœderatos attrahet, tum pro suæ Sanctitatis & Cardinalium liberatione, tum pro sedis Apostolicæ Autoritatis & dignitatis restitutione; & præterquam quum dicta Sanctitas mei humillimæ suæ Creaturæ fidem & existimationem conservabit, quo in omnem eventum & necessitatem ea possum hic facilius commodiusq; tractare quæ in Ecclesiæ commodum, beneficium & securitatem cessura videbantur, in quæ officia omnem meam industriam, zelum, studiumq; adhibebo, hunc quoq; Serenissimum Regem in perpetuum sibi lucrifaciet. Quod si harum rerum rationem non habuerit, vereor ne sit futurum in mea potestate, ut ullo modo hanc Regiam Majestatem vel alium ullum Principem ad ea adducam, quæ Sanctissimo Domino nostro solatio aut subsidio esse possunt. Sed confido ab ipsius Sanctitate tantam malorum occasionem sublatam iri, gratissimo, benignissimo, liberrimoq; animo, omnia ut petuntur concessuram esse, nullo objecto impedimento, contradictione aut mora.

Rome Jan. 20. 1528.

XII. *Staphileus's Letter to the Cardinal, that shews how much he was perswaded of the Justice of the King's Cause. The Original.*

**R**everendissime & Illustrissime Domine D. mihi colendissime, post Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 10. humillimam commendationem D. V. Reverend. dignabitur intelligere qualiter quintadecima die post recessum nostrum à Londino conscendimus navem, retenti interim in portu ob tempestatem Maris & contrarios ventos: interim in itinere fui cum Reverendo Domino Rossen. & disputavimus materiam multum, copiose, & satis prolixè, in præsentia Domini Doctoris Marmeduci, qui intellexit omnia ex utraq; parte ab utroque dicta & sapius replicata; penes quem autem steterit victoria, vel saltem, uter nostrum validius certaverit, D. V. Reverend. percipiet ex fideli relatione præfati D. Marmeduci. Unum certifico D. V. Reverend. quod pro uno mediocri Episcopatu desiderassem quod huic nostræ Disputationi interfuisset Serenissimus Rex noster & D. V. & Regina, pro intelligentia veritatis & pro modo disputandi: etenim commendo humiliter D. V. Reverend. istum bonum virum, bonum servitorem ac diligentem Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis & D. V. Reverendiss. Quibus me quoq; humillimum ac ex toto devotissimum eorum servum quam humillime possum, ex toto corde meo semper commendo, præstiturus utriq; fideliss. & amantiss. obsequium in rebus & negotiis mihi commissis & committendis. Bene valeat D. V. Reverend. quæ dignabitur tenere me semper in bona gratia Sereniss. Regis nostri, qui est decus & ornamentum Regiæ dignitatis. Ex Bononia 20. Jan. 1528.

D. V. Reverendiss.

Humillimus Servitor, Episcopus  
Staphileus.

Ad Campegium, 1528.

XIII. *The Cardinal's Letter to Campegius, taken from the Draught of it; Corrected with his own hand.*

**R**everendissime in Christo Pater, grata semper huic Regiæ Majestati Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 10. extiterunt Vestræ Reverend. Dominat. officia, sed gratissimum omnium illud fuit, quod tanta fide & fedulitate in ipsius promovenda causa ab ea fuisse præstitum ex Reverendi Domini Jerdonen. sermone cognovit: quam optimi amoris significationem toto pectore amplexatur, jussitq; ut suis nominibus ingentes vestræ Reverendissimæ D. gratias haberemus: Cui ego eo quoq; nomine maxime quoq; me debere fateor, nulla enim in re magis obnoxium me sibi potest efficere, quam si totis suis viribus, omni gratia & Auctoritate adnitatur, quo negotium hoc ex Regiæ Majestatis sententia quam citissime conficiatur; hujusmodi enim est ut nullum gravius possit accidere, dilationem nullam patitur, utpote quod totius hujus Regni conservationem, Regiæ sobolis continuationem, & ejus animi salutem in se contineat: causa quidem

quidem manifestior est quam disputatione egeat, & sanctior quam debeat in controversiam adduci, hanc unam gratiam & nunc primum à Sede Apostolica votis omnibus petit, & eam tum ex rei justitia, tum ex sua in S. D. N. filiali devotione, spem concepit, ut nullo pacto sibi persuadeat unquam fieri posse ut sua expectatione frustretur, quam sit vestræ R. D. opera ac pio patrocinio maxime posse juvari.

Iterum igitur atq; iterum Reverendissimam D. vestram obsecro, ut postquam recenti & claro hoc testimonio purgavit quicquid antea in Regiam Majestatem fide sinistre fuerit ad nos delatum, & nostrum animum sibi totum devinxit, non gravetur nunc strenue in hoc Regio promovendo negotio ad optatum usq; finem perseverare, quod ita cor nostrum premit, ut vel proprio sanguine id vellemus posse à S. D. N. impetrare. Cætera, vestra Reverendissima D. uberius ac distinctius cognoscet ex Reverendo Domino Episcopo Jerdonensi, & ex Domino Stephano Gardinero intimo meo servo, & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari, quibus rogo ut certissimam in omnibus fidem velit habere. Et felicissime valeat.

Maij 7. 1528.

XIV. *The Cardinal's Letter to G. Cassali, desiring a Decretal Bull to be sent over. A Duplicate.*

*Cotton Libr. Visell. B. 10.* **M**agnifice Domine Gregori, &c. Ingentem Serenissima Regia Majestas & ego lætitiâ concepimus, quum tum ex Domini Stephani literis, tum vero ex Domini Foxi relatu cognovimus, quanta fide, industria, ac vigilantia usi sitis in ejusdem Regiæ Majestatis conficiendo negotio, quem vestrum animum, etsi sæpe antea arduis in rebus exploratissimum certissimumq; haberemus, hoc tamen tam claro testimonio nihil à vobis omissum perspicimus, quod votum nostrum utcumq; juvare potuisset. Cæterum quum nonnulla adhuc meo aliorumq; Doctiss. virorum judicio superesse videntur, ad Regiæ Majestatis causam securissime stabilendam finiendamque de quibus ad D. Stephanum in præsentia perscribo; Vos iterum atq; iterum rogo, ut de illis impetrandis apud S. D. N. una cum Domino Stephano vestram gratiam & Authoritatem, quam apud ejus Sanctitatem maximam esse & audio & gaudeo, pro viribus interponatis, maxime autem ut in Commissione illa Decretali à S. D. N. nullis Arbitris seu Consultoribus admissis concedenda, & secreto ad me mittenda, omnes vires ingenij, prudentiæ diligentiaq; vestræ adhibeatis, affirmabitq; & in salutem animamq; meam eidem S. D. N. spondebitis, quod dictam Bullam secretissime nullis mortalium oculis conspiciendum apud me asservabo, tanta fide & cautione, ut ne minimum quidem ex ea re periculum, vel periculi metum ejus Sanctitas sit sensura; non enim eo consilio aut animo eam Commissionem impetrari tam vehementer cupio, ut vel illius vigore ullus processus aut aliud præterea quicquid ageretur, vel eadem publice privatimve legere illa ulli exhiberetur, sed ut hac quasi arrha & pignore summæ paternæq; S. D. N. erga Regiam Majestatem benevolentia apud me deposito, quum videat nihil illi degeneraturum quod petiverit, perspiciatq; tantum fidei ejus Sanctitatem in me reposuisse, sic mea apud dictam Majestatem augeatur Authoritas, ut quanquam vires omnes suas opesq; Apostolicæ Sedis conservationi & in pristinum statum reparationi sic sponte dicaverit, me tamen suasore & consultore omnia in posterum, & in sanguinis effusionem sit concessura & effectura, quæ in ejusdem

ejusdem Sedis & suæ Beatitudinis securitatem, tranquillitatem & commodum, quaquam ratione cedere poterunt.

XV. *The Brieve of Pope Julius for the King's Marriage ;  
suspected to be forged.*

**J**ulius Papa Secundus. Dilecte Fili & dilecta in Christo Filia, salutem Cottons Libr. Vitell. B.12.  
& Apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Auctoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout (personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino conspicit expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus Carissimi in Christo Filij nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimus primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitiaæ nexibus & fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ Regem, & Carissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Ferdinandum Regem, & Carissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Elizabeth. Reginam Catholicos Hispaniarum & Siciliæ, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præfenti contraxeritis, *illudq; carnali copula consummaveritis*, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non suscepta, decessit, & hujusmodi vinculum pacis & connexitatis inter præfatos Reges & Reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret, nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confoveretur & confirmaretur, ex his & certis aliis causis, desideratis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præfenti contrahere : Sed quia desiderium vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis, Dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere in præmissis de Dispensationis gratia & benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiaæ amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, his & aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obstante, Matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo postquam contractum fuerit, remanere libere & licite valeatis, Auctoritate Apostolica per præfentes Dispensamus; & quatenus forsan jam Matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consummaveritis, vos & quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem Auctoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobiscum ut in hujusmodi Matrimonio sic de facto contracto remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere, inter vos libere & licite valeatis, similiter Dispensamus, prolem ex hujusmodi Matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Volumus autem, si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, poenitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 26. Decemb. millesimo quingentesimo tertio, Pont. nostri Anno primo.

Sigismundus.

XVI. *A Part of the Cardinal's Letter to G. Cassali, desiring leave to shew the Decretal Bull to some of the King's Council. A Duplicate.*

Cotton Libr.  
Vitell. B. 10.

**I**llud igitur video maxime necessarium superesse, ut Decretalis Bulla, quam Reverendissimus Dominus Legatus secum defert, secreto legenda exhibeatur nonnullis ex Regis Consultoribus, eo quidem consilio, non ut in iudicium proferatur, vel ad causam definiendam adhibeatur, sed solum ut perspicientes illi, quorum Prudentia & Autoritas non parva est, nihil à me fuisse omissum, quod causam Regis possit securissimam reddere, omniaque fuisse à S. D. N. concessa, quæ in causæ firmamentum ullo pacto queant excogitari facilius, ubi Regiæ Majestatis securitati, Regni quieti, & perpetuo totius rei stabilimento undiq; consultum viderint, in sententiam nostram deveniant, summaq; cum diligentia in Autoritate Apostolica ad Dei gloriam conjuncta rectissime absolvantur. Proinde, Domine Gregori, iterum atq; iterum vos impense rogo, quod ad S. D. N. genua devoluti ejus Beatitudinem meo nomine obsecretis, ut hoc reliquum meæ fidei meæq; dexteritati de Bulla Decretali ostendenda committere velit, quam rem sic moderabor, ut nullum prorsus periculum, nullum damnum, nullum odium queat unquam sibi, vel Sedi Apostolicæ provenire; hocq; tam instanter precor, ut pro salute mea conservanda petere queam ardentius nihil.

XVII. *John Cassali's Letter about a Conference he had with the Pope. An Original.*

Reverendissime ac illustrissime Domine D. mi Colendissime! &c.

Cotton Libr.  
Vitell. B. 10.

**Q**uum Tabellarius D. Vestræ Reverendissimæ cum ejus mandatis literisq; die 2. Novemb. datis Bononiam ad Equitem fratrem pervenisset, neq; ipse tunc posset præ debilitate properatis itineribus Romam venire, ne ad eam rem longioris temporis moram interponeret, misit per dispositos equos D. Vincentium Cassalium fratrem nostrum patruelem, volens ipsum statum subsequi; venit igitur D. Vincentius Cassalius. At ego vestræ Dominationis Reverendissimæ literis lectis ac perpensis, S. D. N. adivi, & ea quæ D. V. Reverendissima scripserat, diligenter ejus Sanctitati exposui, ipsaq; etiam literas recitavi, quæ prudentissime & efficacissime omnia explicabant. Atq; hujusmodi verbis sum loquutus.

Non locus hic nec tempus postulat, Beatissime Pater, ut ego nunc commemorem, quanto amore, quanto animi affectu, quibusq; officiis illa Regia Majestas Apostolicam Sedem Sanctitatemq; Vestram sit ubiq; omni tempore prosecuta, quantaq; observantia & fide Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracensis semper coluerit; nec recensendum hic videtur, quot labores, quot incommoda subiverint, quæ officia, quas multoties impensas effecerint, quærentes Ecclesiasticum statum, Christianam Religionem, & Catholicam Fidem protegere ac conservare: nec vestra Sanctitas ignorare debet, quibus laboribus, quantis precibus, quot tabellariis, quot oratoribus missis, quot non dicam literis, sed voluminibus conscriptis, post multa insuper Jurisperitorum consilia, tum ex Anglia allata, tum hic etiam formata, fuerit tandem à vestra Sancti-

Sanctitate impetratum, ut res eo, quo fuit pacto, componeretur : Quæ ratione Regiæ Majestatis desiderio indulgebatur, & Beatitudinis vestræ honori ac conscientiæ, justitiæq; & equitati consulebatur. At nunc Sanctitas Vestra animadvertit illos, præter omnium nostrum spem & Opinionem, omni auxilio penitus esse destitutos : Reverendiss. Campegius non modo non ostendit, se adeo urgentibus precibus Serenissimi Regis obtemperare velle ; sed ut primum ad Colloquium venit, rem totam pervertit, Regiam Majestatem à Divortio dissuasit, perinde ac si ei Legatio demandata fuerit, ut Serenissimo Regi ex parte Reginæ persuadere debeat, ut se à Divortio abtineat, adeo ut non possit Regia Majestas stimulum hunc Conscientiæ ex suo pectore evellere, semperq; in ea mentis perturbatione illi sit permanendum, ut omnibus horis cogitet successorem sui Regni ex suo sanguine defuturum. Neq; adhuc Reverendissimus Campegius ullam significationem dedit, velle se ad id exequendum descendere, quod priore illa generali Commissione continetur ; verum, quod pejus etiam est, quum multis precibus Bulla Decretalis in hac causa Regia impetrata fuerit, promiseritq; Vestra Sanctitas se permissurum ut Serenissimo Regi ac Reverend. D. Eboracen. ostenderetur, & eorum manibus crederetur, quam ipsi aliquibus ex Secretissimis Consiliariis ostenderent, ut Serenissimus Rex de totius negotii æquitate instructior fieret, noluit Reverendissimus Campegius eam credere Serenissimo Regi, aut Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. suo in ea causa Collegæ. Cur autem velit Vestra Sanctitas Regiam Majestatem in eam spem adduxisse, ut deinde hoc pacto illam frustretur ac deludat. Tunc S. D. N. injecta in meum brachium manu, me ulterius loqui prohibuit, se ira accensum non abscondens, dixit, non parum sibi de D. V. Reverendissima conquerendum esse, atq; sub ejus fide se deceptum esse ; Bullam Decretalem dedisse, ut tantum Regi ostenderetur, concremareturq; statim : ad hoc me (inquit) multis ille magnisq; precibus protraxit, ostendens, si id non daretur, manifestum suæ saluti ruinam impendere ; nunc autem eam Bullam, quæ debuit esse Secretissima, vult divulgare, neq; unquam se promississe concessurum ut Consiliariis ostendatur : literas ( inquit ) ipsas Reverendissimi Eboracen. proferre possum, quibus id tantum, quod dixi, petit, & ipsum Equitem Cassalium testem volo, quod Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus & ipse nihil aliud à me postulaverunt, nec si postulassent, quicquam amplius obtinuissent ; atq; utinam aliter rem petissent, eam namq; facile denegassem, nec ad hanc pœnitentiam venissem, ex qua vel unius digiti jactura ( modo fieri possit ) quod factum fuit revocarem, video enim quantum mali ex eo mihi subeundum sit. Quum S. D. N. hæc & similia contra suum morem dixisset, ego in eam sententiam subsecutus, sciendum esse, quod D. V. Reverendissima petit, non esse ab eo, quod ejus Sanctitas constitutum fuisse dicit alienum, nec D. V. Reverendissima hanc rem divulgari velle, aut secundum eam Bullam sententiam ferri ; Cæterum Regiæ Majestati & sibi tradi, ut possent aliquibus fidelioribus carioribusq; Consiliariis ostendere, ut ipsi de re tota fiant instructiores, quod perinde arcanum erit, ac si in nullius notitiam devenisset. At non (inquam) Sanctitas vestra plerosq; habet quibus quum aliquid arcanum crediderit, putet id non minus celarum esse, quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur, quod multo magis Serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet cui singuli in suo Regno sunt subjecti, neq; etiamsi velint, possunt Regi non esse fidelissimi : Væ namq; illis si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent. Quid hoc præterea obesse potest ? an non sic petatum, sic constitutum fuit ? quæ ratio Sanctitatem Vestram propositum mutare cogit ? Ibi Pontifex iracundus, & concitator etiam quam paulò ante ; Haud (inquit) ita fuit constitutum,

tutum, nec me latet, quid de ea Bulla facere cogitent, & cujusmodi ex eo mihi damnum redundaturum sit; firmum igitur illud habeatis, me decrevisse, neque sententiam muto, nolle quicquam amplius hac in re permittere. At ego, nolit (quæso) vestra Sanctitas sic ex certa animi sententia loqui, ac potius in his literis Reverendissimi Domini Eboracen. consideret damna, ruinas, hæreses, quæ Vestra Sanctitatis culpa in illo Regno orientur: Regia enim Majestas, male à Vestra Beatitudine tractata, injuria, & ignominia affecta, studium & voluntatem, quam semper optimam in Sedem Apostolicam habuit, in contrariam partem convertere posset, hoc est Dominationi Vestrae toto pectore considerandum: Esto quod de hujus negotii æquitate disceptatum non sit, concedamus etiam hanc rem malam, & mali exempli futuram (quod quidem secus esse judicaverunt omnes) an non Vestra Sanctitas novit pleraque quæ non bona sunt, præferri nonnunquam à nobis sole-re, ne pejora patiamur; atque hoc tum aliis in rebus, tum imprimis hæresium evitandarum causa providendum est, quas videmus, quum semel altiores radices egerint, non posse amplius extirpari: atque ibi ad illius pedes genibus flexis, eam precibus omnibus sum obtestatus, ut amicitiam potentissimi Regis conservare, observantiam Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimæ erga ejus Sanctitatem, nostramque servitutem respicere vellet; relicta namque Regiæ Majestatis amicitia, religionis imminutio subsequeretur, & Regni illius à tam antiqua cum sede Apostolica conjunctione dissolutio, ac Dominationis Vestrae Reverendissimæ gratia & Autoritas apud Sereniss. Regem non suo merito deficeret, ejusque fortasse salus periclitaretur; Nos autem qui semper Beatitudini Vestrae inservivimus, pro qua tot bonis officiis functi sumus, & tantum operæ perfecimus, ad integram amicitiam inter Regiam Majestatem & Vestram Sanctitatem conservandam, in medio nostrarum actionum, Regni illius damna & calamitatem, Nostramque certissimam ruinam conspiceremus. Ad hæc S. D. N. & brachiorum & totius corporis agitatione, animum commotum ostendens, volo (inquit) ego ruinam, quæ mihi modo immineat, considerare, & id ipsum quod feci valde me angit; Si hæreses, vel alia mala oritura sunt, quænam in eo mea culpa erit? sitis meæ conscientia fuerit me vacasse culpa, cui essem obnoxius, si hoc etiam quod nunc ex me petitur concederem: Nec Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracensis, nec vos ullam causam de me conquerendi habetis, quicquid nunc pollicitus sum præstiti, neque aliud unquam, etsi mihi faciendi esset facultas Regia Majestas & Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. à me petierunt, quod non promptissime concesserim, ut quisque facile intelligat, quanti eas semper fecerim; ad aliqua etiam Vestri causa faciliorem me præbui. Cæterum ubi vertitur meæ conscientia integritas, omnia posthabenda censeo, agant per se ipsi quod volunt, Legatum remittant eo prætextu, quod in causam ulterius procedi nolint, & deinceps ut ipsi volent rem conficiant, modo ne me autore injuste quicquam agatur. Tunc ego, Nonne Vestra Sanctitas vult, ut ex vigore Commissionis procedatur? quod quum velle affirmasset, dixi, igitur Reverendissimus Campegius Sanctitatis Vestrae Voluntati adversatur, Divortium enim Regi dissuasit; At Pontifex Ego (inquit) illi imposui, ut Divortium Regi dissuaderet, persuaderet Reginae; quod autem ad Commissionem pertinet, si requiratur, exequetur. Sumus ergo (inquam) concordēs, Beatissime Pater, quod quum ita sit, quid nocere poterit Decretalem Bullam aliquibus secretissimis ac juramento adactis Consiliariis ostendisse? Tum quassans caput, Scio (inquit) quid de ea re facere constituent, verum nondum Campegi literas ex Anglia legi, quapropter die crastino ad me redibitis. Hoc pacto S. D. N. primo die me dimisit. Adfuit his sermonibus Dominus Vincentius Cassalius, quem



quem ob equitem fratrem huc missum dixi, qui equitem ipsum excusavit, quod quamvis ille animadverteret negotium hoc tanti momenti esse, ut etiam cum vitæ discrimine Romam per dispositos equos sibi properandum esse videret, nihilominus superfedisse videns quod si id fecisset necesse sibi futurum domi, & in lectulo, permanere potius, quam de re tanta coram ejus Sanctitate agere. Atq; interim Dominus Vincentius multas rationes ad persuadendum, equitis Cassalii nomine adhibuit, quas eodem pacto ejus Sanctitas in sequentem diem rejecit.

Postridie ejus diei signatura habita est, cui ego tanquam referendarius interfui, in vesperumq; est protracta, nec judicavi opportunum Pontificem signaturæ munere defessum aggredi, quum præsertim ejus Sanctitas diceret se nondum Campegii literas perlegisse. Res igitur iterum in diem proximum rejecta fuit, quo postea horam commodam nactus, Pontificem adivi, quumque omnium Caputum, quæ D. V. Reverendissimæ literis continebantur, quasi summam effecissem, ne quicquam per oblivionem præterirem, ab ea primum parte cœpi, in qua dicitur suam Sanctitatem concessisse Commissionem generalem in amplissima forma, & promississe ferendam sententiam, se ratificaturum. Pontifex hoc verum esse affirmavit, dicens se contentum esse, ut ad sententiam procedatur; Qua vero parte est, ejus Sanctitatem Bullam Decretalem concessisse, ut secretiores Regiæ Majestatis consiliarios instrueret, id à veritate longe remotum dixit, posseq; ad id se literas D. V. Reverendissimæ ostendere: Atq; ea repetivit, quæ priore die super hoc dixerat, viz. Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum & Equitem Cassalium se testes habere, hanc Bullam non ea conditione petitam fuisse ut ostenderetur cuiquam, præterquam Serenissimo Regi & D. V. Reverendissimæ, & Campegium nunc ad se scribere tantundem effecisse, quo facto ex conventionem Bullam comburi debere, promissurum quoq; se dixit, ut si quæ allegantur, probentur, ad sententiam ferendam procedatur, se id ratum habiturum. Quumque ego quæsissem an vellet, quæ fierent per eam Bullam comprobare, minime id oportere dixit; negavit quoque eam consiliariis ostendendam esse, qui tametsi rem bonam non judicarent, approbarent tamen super ejus Sanctitatis Conscientiam; ac sæpius interim repetivit, non esse amplius in ea re commorandum. Ad aliam igitur partem deveni, in qua D. V. Reverendissima dicit, Reverendissimum Campegium Divortium inter Regem Serenissimum & Reginam conatum dissuadere: Tum Pontifex Campegium scribere dixit, eo se etiam functurum officio, ut Reginæ Divortium persuaderet, quam ab eo alienam invenerit; modeste tamen eam, ait, locutam fuisse, & Consiliarios petiisse, qui ex Hispania denegati fuerint, ex Flandria autem concessi. Dixit etiam S. D. N. se literas ad Regem, Reverendissimo Campegio ex suo Chirographo dedisse, ut Regia Majestas fidem his haberet, quæ Reverendissimus Campegius suæ Sanctitatis nomine diceret. Ad illam deinde partem deveni, ubi est: Causam Regis perinde differt, ac si nolit ad judicium, sententiamque in partem suæ Majestatis ferendam descendere, donec S. D. N. certiorum prius effecerit, de his ad hanc causam concernentibus, quæ ibi vidit & audivit. Ad hæc respondit, Campegium quandocunque requisitus fuerit, processurum, neque de superfedendo Commissionem habere; se tantum injunxisse, ut quum procedi cœptum esset, se certiorum faceret, ne tamen interim moræ aliquid interponeretur. At ubi est, nullo pacto adduci vult, ut mihi suo Collegæ Commissionem hanc Decretalem credat. Dixit verum id esse, ideo factum ne pluribus palam fieret, eaque conditione qua petitum fuit, ostensam nequicquam amplius expectandum, ea repetens, quæ prius etiam circa hoc dixerat. At ego, videat Sancti-

tas vestra quod ex his verbis, quæ hic scripta sunt loquor, quæ dicunt Sanctitatem vestram Commissionem Decretalem concessisse, eâ conditione ut aliquibus Regiis Consiliariis ostenderetur. Tum Pontifex iterum excaudescens; Ostendam (inquit) literas ipsius Reverendissimi Eboracen. nec loquor mendacia, & non minus meis verbis, literisq; prioribus Reverendissimi Eboracen. fides est habenda quam his qua nunc affertis. Tum ejus Sanctitatem mitigari quæsi, si minus urgender mandata exequeretur; quoniam id à me fieri oportet. Quod ad Regni ruinas, damna, calamitates, scandala, & diminutionem Religionis, multa in eandem sententiam dixit, in quam primo die locutus fuit; quam diceret, Egregium vero decus Serenissimo huic Regi fuerit, si ipse, qui Fidei Defensor & sit & appelletur, qui libros etiam pro ejus defensione ediderit, eandem nunc impugnare cogatur; Ad hæc quam recte sint venturi, viderint ipsi. Eo autem loco, in quo dicebatur aliquid de Regio negotio, inter Generalem Fratrum de observantia, & ejus Sanctitatem convenisse, & eo autore fœdus inter ejus Sanctitatem & Cæsarianos componendum; Dixit, id ostendere, quod de Regio negotio nihil promiserit, quod quicumq; pollicitus sit, & quin poterit habita ratione suæ conscientiæ, re ipsa præstare velit: In eo autem quod de Pace tractanda affertur, dixit, se nullum modum in tali negotio invenire, neq; se adhuc scire, quod iste Generalis ulla pacis conditiones sit allaturus; atq; ea insuper addidit, quæ meis literis die 15 Novemb. datis D. V. Reverendissimæ significavi.

Aliis deinde diebus S. D. N. sæpissime sum alloquutus, qui decrevit cum Reverendissimis de Monte & Sanctorum Quatuor Cardinalibus de his rebus omnibus loqui, præterquam de Bulla Decretali, de qua cum nemine vult ullam fieri mentionem, jussitq; ex omni Scriptura ejus memoriam eximi. De reliquis itaq; rebus omnibus loquutus sum cum his duobus Cardinalibus qui dixerunt Pontificem contentum fore, ut ad sententiam procedatur, tametsi id plerisq; alienum videatur: deque eo nonnulli ex Cardinalibus cum obtreptione loquuntur, & Cæsaris Orator, ne procedatur; protestatur, voluntq; fieri in Curia Causæ advocacionem, Commissionemq; cum Inhibitione ad partes; dicuntq; hi duo Reverendissimi, quod quæ postulant illi, justa sunt, nec minimo cuiq; denegari possent, nolle tamen Regiæ Majestatis causa S. D. N. quicquam ex eo quod factum sit immutare.

Quum alio etiam die Pontificem otiosum nactus essem, multa cum ejus Sanctitate, de rebus præteritis dislerui, deque eo, quod ego ad ejus utilitatem cum Venetis egissem, quoniam scirem Serenissimi Regis, & D. V. Reverendissimæ voluntatem esse, ut quotiescunque occasio daretur, pro suæ Sanctitatis commodo omnia fierent: Exposui deinde quantopere elaborassem pro negotio Cerviæ & Ravennæ, utque multa Gallici Oratores egissent à D. V. Reverendissima potissimum instigati; Addidi etiam efficacissima verba, quibus usus est Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus. Ad omnia S. D. N. respondit, se ea de re Regiæ Majestati, ac D. V. Reverendissimæ gratias habere, & mihi quoque gratias egit; dixitque, non tamen omnes simul tantum efficere potuistis, ut mihi meæ civitates redderentur. Scitis autem conditiones fœderis in quo ego quoque eram, fuisse, ut quum quis nostrum injuria afficeretur, ab eo cæteri confœderati injuriam propullarent, quod multo magis pro me faciendum erat, quum qui in ipso fœdere essent, mihi injuriarentur; Et inde Cæsariani volunt mihi persuadere Venetas non fuisse id facturos, si putassent Regi Angliæ aut Christianissimo displiciturum: Neque interim desistunt, multa, magnaq; mihi polliceri, unde ego  
quod

quod alias etiam dixi, id quod affertur, quum aliter facere nequeam, accipere cogar. Illudq; etiam vos scire volo promissum mihi fuisse, si legatus hic in Angliam mitteretur, futurum ut mihi civitates à Veneris restituerentur. Tum ego, non omnia, Beatissime Pater, adhuc sunt perfecta, Rex enim potentissimus omnino operam dabit, ut illæ civitates Beatitudini Vestræ restituantur: An non, quæ ejus Majestas scribit, Vestra Sanctitas animadvertit? Cui videndum imprimis est, ne de ipsa Serenissimo Regi sit conquerendum; & ex hac occasione iterum ad Regiam causam redii. At ejus Sanctitas dixit, se omnia quæ potuisset pro Regia Majestate & D. V. Reverendissima fecisse, facturamq; etiam libenter.

Nonne igitur (inquam) posset ratio aliqua inveniri, qua concederetur eam Bullam aliquibus ex Secretioribus Consiliariis ostendi posse? Tum Pontifex, non (inquit) Non potest hoc fieri, nec à me impetrari; quod si ullo modo fieri potuisset, minime tam multas magnasque preces à Serenissimo Rege, & Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. expectassem; quumque quibusdam validis Argumentis instarem, prohibuit me ulterius de hujusmodi re loqui. Nolui ego unquam dicere, equitem fratrem brevi esse venturum, ne Pontifex rem in illius adventum protraheret, ea tantum de causa, ut moram interponeret.

Omnibus deinde aliis diebus super eodem negotio institi, nunquam tamen Pontifex sententiam suam ulla ex parte immutare voluit; tam tum illud decrevit, Nuntium mittere velle, qui suam sententiam verbis explicaret: quumq; nulla mihi amplius spes relinqueretur quicquam amplius impetrandi, tum demum dixi, Equitem fratrem Romæ futurum sequenti die, qui quum adeo gravis momenti rem cerneret, noluerit suæ valetudini consulere, & quod is minime putasset, suæ servitutis in ejus Sanctitatem merita hoc modo male tractanda fuisse. Gratum sibi dixit Pontifex Equitis adventum fore, quodque cum ipso & constituerentur omnia, negans se tamen ullo pacto id quod nunc petitur concessurum: Venit itaq; Eques frater, qui non secus ac si nunquam quisquam de hac re cum Pontifice egisset, singula de integro tractavit, omnibus his modis & rationibus tentatis quæ excogitari poterunt. Quæ omnia minutim Dominus Vincentius Cassalius noster patruelis, quem ad ipsum mittimus, verbis coram explicabat, egoque ne D. V. Reverendissimæ jam nimis molestus sim, de hac ulterius non scribam.

Quod ad Wintoniensem Expeditionem spectat, multum hi Reverendissimi Domini Cardinales offendebantur, nunc ab ipsis pecuniarum remissiones postulari, quum deprædata eorum bona sint, ipsiq; propter id ad paupertatem redacti. Quibus ego ostendi, majus emolumentum ad ipsos venturum, si D. V. Reverendissima unam Ecclesiam acciperet, alteram depouneret, quam si alter tantum Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ expeditionem faceret; neque D. V. Reverendissimam nimis hanc permutationem optare dixi, quum Wintoniensis non multo Ecclesia Dunelmensi sit ditior. Ad hæc dixerunt, quod libentius D. V. Reverendissimæ quam cuiquam alteri erunt gratificaturi, quoniam ipsa de sede Apostolica sit semper bene merita, non tamen se vereri, quin D. V. Reverendissima Wintoniensem Ecclesiam illius Regni primariam sit acceptura. Ego quum Pontificem, & deinde Cardinales eos qui magis rebus nostris student ambissem, effeci, ut Pontifex de ea re in Consistorio referret, quod ejus Sanctitas effecit, multis etiam additis laudibus D. V. Reverendissimæ, quibus aliqui Cardinales, & maxime Neapolitani, responderunt ea quæ superius dixi. Illud tandem decreverunt, quod quum D. V. Reverendissima solvere debeat, pro expeditione Wintoniensis

nienſis Eccleſiæ, & pro retentione Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis & Abbatia Sancti Albani, habita ratione totius ſummæ, ejuſ pars dimidia V. D. Reverendiſſimæ condonaretur, & ut ad 13 vel 14 millia aureorum remittant, & non multo plus eo, quod pro Wintonien. tum Eccleſia deberet ſolvere. Id Reverendiſſimis Cardinalibus ideo diſplicebat, quoniam nolent reſ hujusmodi in exemplum trahi, quum præſertim Magnus Francia Cancellarius; ipſe quoque in magna quadam Expeditione, id ipſum in præſentia flagitat, quod iſti concedere nolunt.

Cætera ex Domino Vincentio D. V. Reverendiſſima copioſius coram intelligat; Quæ bene valeat. Dat. Romæ die 17 Decemb. 1528.

Humillimus ſervus

Jo. Caſſalius,

Prothonotar.

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XVIII. The Pope's Letter to the Cardinal, giving Credence to *Campana*. An Original.

*Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ Sanctæ Cecilie Presbytero, Cardinali Eboracen. in Regno Angliæ nostro & Sedis de Latere Legato.*

Cotton Libr.  
Vissell. B. 10.

**D**ilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Existimavimus non tam commode per literas responderi posse his, de quibus postremo Oratores Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri istius Regis nobiscum egerunt; Itaque proprium hominem Franciscum Campanam familiarem nostrum istuc mittimus, ex quo sua Serenitas ac Circumspectio tua plenius intelligent quæ nobis occurrant, tam de rebus ad pacem & publice ad universam Christianitatem spectantibus, quam super privatis Serenitatis suæ, de quibus nobis per literas & Oratores vestros significastis, quas quidem summo opere cordi habemus. Circumspectionem tuam hortamur, ut sibi ac Serenitati suæ persuadeat nos paternam benevolentiam atque animum gessisse & gerere erga Serenitatem suam, ab eodemque amore proficisci omnia quæcunque illi significamus, ut pluribus Circumspectionem tuam, quam merito multum amamus, exponet Dilect. Fil. Card. Campegius, Legatus una tecum noster, ac dictus Franciscus, quibus plenissimam fidem habebitis. Datum Romæ 15. Decembris MDXXVIII.

J.

Clemens manu propria.

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Decemb. 1. 1528.

XIX. *A Part of Peter Vannes his Instructions, directing him to threaten the Pope. An Original.*

— **A**ND *Peter*, as of himself, shall a part say unto his Holiness; Sir, I being an *Italian*, cannot but with a more fervent Zeal and Mind than any other, study and desire the Weal, Honour and Safety of

of your Holiness and the See Apostolick; which compelleth me to shew unto your Holiness, frankly, what I see in this Matter. Surely, Sir, in case your Holiness continuing this particular respect of Fear of the Emperor, do thus delay, protract, and put off the Accomplishment of the King's so instant Desire in this Matter, and not impart to his Majesty therein bounteously of the Treasure and Goods of the Church, and the See Apostolick, *quantum potestis ex Thesauro Ecclesie & ex plenitudine Potestatis ac Auctoritate à Deo vel ab Ecclesia collata*; I see assuredly, that it will be a means so to alienate the fast and entire Mind which his Highness beareth to your said Holiness, as not only thereby his Grace, Nobles, and Realm, but also many other Princes his Friends and Confederates, with their Nobles and Realms, shall withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from your Holiness, and the See Apostolick, studying how they may acquit this your Ingratitude, in the highest Cause that can be devised, shewed, and so long continued with the Semblable. And therefore, Sir, at the Reverence of Almighty God, cast not from you the Heart of this noble virtuous Prince, who finally cannot fail, the Peace had, which Christendom may not long forbear, to have in his Puissance, such a Stay as may be able, in the highest and largest Manner, to Recompence his Friends, and to acquit the contrary.

Henry R.

XX. The Cardinal's Letter to the Ambassadors about his Promotion to the Popedom. *An Original.*

*Magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Cassalio ac Domino Petro Vanni, Serenissimi Domini Angliæ & Franciæ Regis in Rom. Curia oratoribus.*

**M**agnifice Domine Gregori & Domine Petre salutem. Sicuti incom- Cotton Libr. Vitell. B.16.  
modissimus totius Reipublicæ Christianæ, ac potissimum Regiæ Majestatis negotiis S. D. N. obitus accidit, ita etiam vos non latere puto quantum periculi & discriminis hujus Serenissimi Regis saluti & honori, ac Regni sui quieti ab hac futuri Pontificis Electione immineat, & quantopere vobis adnitendum, ac vestro studio, diligentia, industria & prudentia occurrendum & obstandum sit, ne aliquis eligatur Pontifex alienus ab hac Regia Majestate; & quid pro me promovendo facere ac tractare debeatis, cumulate per communes meas literas vos admonui: nec oportet per has quicquid aliud replicare, quas solum ad vos scribere volui, ut significem vobis me totum hoc gravissimum & omnium maximum negotium, de quo acturi estis, vestræ prudentiæ, fidei, & dexteritati, quam longo temporis usu exploratissimam habeo, committere & credere, speroq; vos spei & opinioni meæ de vobis conceptæ omnino responsuros, & bene valete. Londini die 6 Feb. 1528.

Vester amantissimus Frater,

T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXI. An Information given to the Pope about the Divorce. An Original.

*Adnotatio Summaria eorum quæ aliis libellis fusius explicata S. D. N. tum licere, tum expedire, persuadent, ut in Causa Regiæ Majestatis Sententiam divortij ferat.*

Cotton Libr.  
Vitell. B. II.

**P**rimum licet atque etiam expedit dirimere hoc Matrimonium, quod juri tum divino tum humano repugnat.

Divinum enim jus duci prohibet Uxorem fratris, quin hic fratris Uxorem ductam fuisse sit notorium.

Humanum vero jus, duo hujus Matrimonij impedimenta continet, alterum affinitatis, quod divino jure inductum severissime sancivit; alterum publicæ Honestatis & justitiæ, quod promulgavit Deus: si ex definitione Matrimonij, divini, humanique juris commutatio interveniret, quibusnam auspiciis hoc Matrimonium constare dicemus, quod utroque jure adversante ac repugnante contractum est, coit, & utcunque consistit?

Sed cessavit, inquit, in hac specie juris utriusque prohibitio per gratiam & Dispensationem summi Pontificis.

Respondetur quidem istis multis modis. Primo non esse videri, quod nullum est, nullum autem haberi quod sine Autoritate legitima fiat; denique Pontificis Autoritatem non eatenus pertinere, ut in gradibus divina lege prohibitis dispensare possit: non opinionibus Scripturientium, qui Pontificis Autoritatem imminutam velint, sed ipsius Pontificis sententia constat, quem suæ Jurisdictionis modum, & optime novisse & ampliare velle potius quam restringere credendum est; quæ quum ita sint, etiam si humani juris prohibitio per dispensationem sublata videatur, manet nihilominus immotum, quod Divinum est, si ipsis contra seipsos credimus Pontificibus.

Deinde, ut posse Pontifices dispensare fateamur, & in ea parte tribuamus plus Autoritatis quam ipsi sibiipsis audeant arrogare, tamen non passim, non quocunque modo, non temere, & sine omni consideratione, posse eos dispensare; atque fatendum est ne suo testimonio Dissipatores verius, quam Dispensatores appellentur. Itaque ut causam urgentissimam & evidentissimam, tum etiam manifestissimam debet habere Dispensatio, precibus denique veris, non ementitis atque confictis inniti

In Dispensatione autem, quo constat hoc Matrimonium, verbis quidem pacis causa proponitur, sed non ideo quia sic refertur, re ipsa subsistit, Pontificis facta non ad verborum superficiem, sed rei ipsius solidam veritatem expendi convenit.

Certum est, pacem multis modis, tum firmissimam fuisse unoque Matrimonio conciliatam, pactorum denique ac foederum vi constantem, istud necessario Matrimonium non desiderasse, & jam Dispensationem sine causa intervenisse dicimus, & consequenter nullam esse, manereque adhuc divinam prohibitionem atque adeo & humanam.

Porro etiam, si aliqua sit, & causam haberet, tum mendacii conflata est, subreptitia & obreptitia merito appellanda, jure tum divino, tum humano reprobanda.

Nam quum quod alioqui Canonibus cautum sit, ipsius etiam Dispensationis proœmium contineat, " Romani Pontificis Autoritatem concessa  
" sibi

“ tibi desuper uti potestate, prout personarum, causarum, & temporum  
 “ qualitate pensata, id in Domino salubriter conspiciit expedire; Quomodo potuit S. D. N. hujus Serenissimi Regis qualitates pensare quas ignoravit? Neq; enim de ætate quicquam, quæ in contrahendo hoc Matrimonio præcipua qualitas erat, narrabatur, & tamen illum annum eo tempore duodecimum non excessisse notorium est; & tacita ad hunc modum ætate, mendacium pro causa suggestum est manifestissimum; Cupiisse viz. tunc Serenissimum Regem contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur: facti veritas est, tum quid ageretur ignorasse, & etiamsi tum scivisset, tamen non fuisse verum quod cuperet, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur: ætas ostendit, quæ per communis juris dispositionem discretionem non admittit; cupere quidem affectus est, cæterum cupere contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, judicij est & discretionis. Porro autem, quum de continuandis inter duos Principes fœderibus ageretur, alter ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis concessit, & re integra, causa, si quæ fuit, cessavit.

Sed producitur aliud Breve tenoris tam efficacis ut istas Objectiones non admittat.

Sed manet nihilominus eorum sententia, qui Pontificem non posse dispensare affirmant, secundum quos nec Breve nec Bulla consistit; deinde Breve falsum esse, & pro falso judicari debere, multis rationibus convincitur; deniq; falsum cum sit, & tamen prioris Bullæ errores corrigat, illam opinionem merito confirmet, ne prior Dispensatio efficax videatur, vel eorum judicio, qui hoc Matrimonium defendere studuerunt, viz. qui veris allegationibus diffisi, ad falsas & conflictas Dispensationes, vitia objecta removentes confugere coacti sunt.

Ista, si singula minus sufficiant, saltem collata, obtineant & persuadeant licere. Illa vero opinio multis persuasa, Pontificem viz. non potuisse dispensare, ut sola infirmet Dispensationem, non petitur, sed habet nihilominus aliquid considerationis; quanquam enim refellatur à quibusdam & reprobetur, manet tamen scripta, atq; adeo testimonio ipsius Pontificis comprobata. Perpendatur deinde causa & suggestionis veritas, si mendacium intervenisse apparet, & quod est notorium, illam Dispensationem adversariorum factis in novi Brevis fabricatione tacite reprobari, quis non videt ex his causis licere ut sententia Divortij proferatur?

Postremo expedit ut id pronuntietur, quod in omnium sententias consentiat, Reprobatio autem Dispensationis cum omnibus convenit opinionibus, sive quia Autoritas abfuit, sive quia non recte interposita dicatur; Approbatio vero cum istis dissentit omnibus.

Expedit ut firma sit & inconcussa Regni Successio, quæ contra has opiniones confirmari non potest.

Expedit ut conscientia Serenissimi Regis his scrupulis impedita, & turbata, expedita & tranquilla reddatur.

Breviter, expedit votis Serenissimi Regis fatisfieri, qui pro genuinis & innatis suis virtutibus, non nisi optima cupit, & modo etiam optimo votorum suorum compotem effici laborat; si non virtutem spectaret, cætera nihil haberent difficultatis, sed omnium virtutum cogitationem quandam esse animadvertens suum justitiæ decorum, quod temperantia est querit, ut justum, justo modo, obtineat & assequatur. Itaque expedit ne auxilium denegetur, vel differatur ei qui id juste implorat.

XXII. *The second Part of a long Dispatch of the Cardinals concerning the Divorce. An Original.*

To my loving Friends Master Stephen Gardiner Doctor of both Laws; Sir Francis Brian, and Sir Gregory Cassalis, Knights; and Mr Peter Vannes Secretary to the King's Highness for the Latin Tongue; His Graces Orators, Residents in the Court of Rome.

Cotton Libr.  
Vuell. B. 1. 1.

Another part of your Charge consisteth in expedition of the King's great and weighty Cause of Matrimony, whereupon depend to many high Consequences, as for no earthly Cause to suffer or tolerate, tract or delay, in what case soever the Pope's Holiness be of amendment or danger of life; nor as is aforesaid, oweth to be by his Holiness preteromitted, whether the same be in the state of Recovery, or in any doubt or despair thereof: for one assured and principal fundamental and ground is to be regarded, whereupon the King's Highness doth plant and build his Acts and Cogitations in this behalf, which is from the reasonable favour and justice, being the things from the which the Pope's Holiness, *in prosperis nec adversis*, may lawfully and honestly digress; and when the plainness of his cause is well considered, with the manifest Presumptions, Arguments, and suspicions, both of the insufficiency of the Bull, and falsity of the Brief, such as may lead any Man of reason or intendment, well to perceive, and know, that no sufficiency or assured truth can be therein; How may the Pope's Holiness, *ex aequo & iusto*, refuse or deny to any Christian Man, much less to a Prince of so high merits, and in a cause whereupon depend so many consequences, to his Holiness well known, for a vain respect of any Person, or by excuse of any Sickness, justifie, colour, or defend any manner refusal, tract, or delay, used in declaration of the truth in so great a Matter, which neither for the infinite conveniences that thereby might ensue, admitteth or suffereth to be delayed, nor by other than himself, his Act or Authority; may lawfully be declared? And well may his Holiness know, That to none it appertaineth more to look unto the justness of the King's desire in this behalf, than to his Highness his self, whose interest, whose Cause, with the same of his Realm and succession resteth herein; for if his Grace were minded, or would intend to do a thing inique or unjust, there were no need to recur unto the Pope's Holiness for doing thereof. But because his Highness and his Council, who best know the whole of this Matter, and to whose part it belongeth most profoundly to weigh and ponder every thing concerning the same, be well assured of the truth of the Matter, needing none other thing but for observance of his Duty towards God and his Church, to have the same Truth also approbate and declared by him to whom the doing thereof appertaineth; his Grace therefore seeing an untruth alledged, and that so craftily as by undue and perverse ways, the same without good reason adhibited, may for a season bring things into confusion, doth communicate unto the Pope's Holiness presumptions and evidences enough, and sufficient to inform the Conscience of his Holiness of the very truth: which then, if his Holiness will not see, but either for affection, fear, or other private cause, will hearken to every  
dilatary



dilatory and vain allegation of such as led upon undue grounds would colour the Truth; What doth his Holiness less therein, than under a right vain colour expressly deny and refuse the said Justice, which to be done either in health or sickness, in a matter of so great moment, is in no wise tolerable? But for the same reasons that be before mentioned, is the thing, whether the Pope's Holiness be in hope or despair of life, without further tract to be absolved and determined; for if Almighty God grant his Holiness life, this Act is, and always shall be, able to bear it self, and is meet to be an example, a President and a Law, in all like Cases emerging, the Circumstances and Specialties of the same in every part concurring as they do in this; nor can the Emperor make exceptions at the same, when he best knowing, perceive, the untruth shall see the grounds and occasions, that of necessity and meer justice have enforced and constrained the Pope's Holiness thereunto; which he could not refuse to do, unless he would openly and manifestly commit express injury and notorious injustice. For be it that the Pope's Holiness hearkning to the said frivolous and vain Allegations, would refuse to declare the Law herein to the King's purpose, then must his Holiness, either standing in doubt, leave and suffer the Cause to remain in suspense to the extream danger of the King's Realm and Succession for ever, or else declare the Bull or Breve, or both to be good, which I suppose neither his Holiness, nor any true Christian Man can do, standing the manifest occasions, presumptions, and apparent evidences to the contrary. Then if the matter be not to be left in suspense, no Judgment can be truly given to the approbation of the Bull or Breve; how can the Pope's Holiness of Conscience, Honour or Vertue, living or dying, thus procrastinate or put over the immediate finishing thereof, according to the King's desire? or how may his Holiness find his Conscience toward's God exonerate, if either living he should be the cause of so many evils as hereof may arise; or dying, wilfully leave this so great a Matter, by his own default, in this confusion, uncertainty and perplexity? It is not to be supposed, that ever Prince most devout to the See Apostolick, could so long tolerate so high an injury, as being so merited towards the said See, is both unacquainted for his kindness with any special Grace, and also denied upon his petition of that which is evident to be plain Justice. This thing is otherwise to be looked upon, than for the Pope's Sickness, where most need were to put an end unto it, to be delayed, seeing that living and amending, it is of it self expedient and justifiable, and dying, it shall be an act both necessary, meritorious and honourable. For this cause ye now knowing the King's mind in this behalf, shall if ye have not already before this time spoken with the Pope's Holiness at length in these Matters, as the King's Grace trusteth ye have done, sollicite as well by the means of *Messiere Jacobo Salviati*, as by the Bishop of *Verone*; and otherwise as ye can think best, to have such commodious access unto his Holiness, as ye may declare the premises unto him; which by your wisdoms, in as effectual and vive manner as ye can, open it unto his Holiness. It is undoubtedly to be thought the same shall rather be to his comfort and encrease of Health, than to any his trouble or unquietness; and that his Holiness hearing these reasons not evitable, will whether he be in way and hope of amendment, or otherwise, both proceed to the said indication, and also to the Declaration of the Law, and passing of a sufficient and ample Decretal, as hath been devised in the King's said Cause, with other such things, as by former Letters and instructions, by the Decrees mentioned in the same, that failing have been committed un-

to you, to be solicited and procured there ; in the labouring whereof, albeit since your departures from hence, the things have by reason of the Pope's fore sickness, otherwise chanced than was here supposed, by means whereof ye not instructed what to do in any such case, were peradventure not over-hasty or importune to labour these Matters, till the Pope's Holiness might be better amended, nor could perchance find the means to have convenient access unto his presence for the same, ye must nevertheless adhibit such diligence, as howsoever the sickness of his Holiness shall cease, amend, or continue, these things be not for the same, or any other cause tracted or left in longer suspense ; but finding possible means to come unto the Pope's presence, to declare all such things unto the same, mention'd both in the former Letters and instructions given unto you, and also in these presents, as may make to the purpose ; and failing of often access in your own Persons to his Holiness, ye cause the Bishop of *Verone*, and other such assured Friends as ye can attain, being about him at such times as they may have with his Holiness, to inculcate unto him the said Points and Considerations, and all other that ye can excogitate and devise to the furtherance and advancement of these Matters, not forbearing or sparing also, if ye shall see difficulty at the Pope's hand, or in audience to be given to you or your Friends there, being about his Person, to break and open after a good fashion and manner the same unto such of the Cardinals, as ye may perceive assuredly and constantly to favour the King's Highness, and the *French King* in Election of a future Pope, in case (as God forbid) the Pope's Holiness should decease ; and to shew unto the same Cardinals, all such things as you shall think meet, both for their more ample instructions in the truth and specialities of the Matters, as well concerning the Indication of Truce, as the King's said Cause, and the presumptuous Reasons, and plainer Evidences, leading to the insufficiency of the Bull, and apparent falsity of the said Breve ; to the intent, that as many of the said Cardinals as ye can win, made sure in those Matters, they may, both in time of sickness, and also of amendment, move and induce the Pope's Holiness thereunto, laying before him as well the Merits and Honour that may ensue by the perfection of the Premises, as the danger imminent by the contrary : and seemably it shall be expedient that ye win and make sure to the same purpose, as many of the Officers of the *Rota* and other as ye can, who as ye write be not accustomed, nor will give counsel to any Person but the Pope's Holiness ; for albeit ye cannot have them to be of the King's Council, yet nevertheless they may do as much good, or more, in training and counselling the Pope's Holiness, upon the great Reasons that you can shew unto them, to hearken unto your Overtures on this behalf. To which purpose you shall adjure, make, and win, as many Friends of the Cardinals, of them, and other, as ye possibly may, as for the thing which the King's Highness and I more esteem than twenty Papalities ; and amongst other, ye shall insist, by all means and good persuasions ye can, for the continuance there of the said Bishop of *Verone*, so as he may countervail the Arch-Bishop of *Capuan* ; who, as it seemeth, is continually about the Pope's Person, and were necessary to be met with in the labours and persuasions, which by likelyhood he maketh to the hindrance of the King's Purpose : For the better continuing of the which Bishop of *Verone*, not only the King's Highness and I write unto him at this time, as by the Copy of the same several Letters being herewith ye shall perceive, but also the *French King* will do the-semblable. And furthermore,

to the intent that the Pope's Holiness may well perceive that not only the said *French King* mindeth the King's said Cause, and taketh it to heart as much as it were his own, and will effectually join and concur with the King's Highness therein, but that also he is and will be conformable to the said Indication; He will send thither, with all speed, the Bishop of *Bayon* to further, sollicite, and set forth the same; who, before his departure from hence, which was a good season passed, was and is sufficiently and amply instructed in all things requisite to this purpose; and not only in these Matters, but also in such other as were written unto you by *Vincent de Cassalis*, and *Hercules*, upon advertisement given hither that the Pope's Holiness was deceased; so as ye may be sure to have of him effectual concurrence and advise in the furtherance and solicitation of your Charges, whether the Pope's Holiness amend, remain long sick, or (as God forbid) should fortune to die; trusting, that being so well furnished by all ways that can be devised, ye will not fail to use such diligence as may be to the consecuting and attaining of the King's Purpose: wherein, tho' ye be so amply and largely instructed, that more cannot be; yet nevertheless having lately received from the Bishop of *Worcester* a Memorial of diverse great things to be well noted and considered, for trial of the falsity of the said Breve, I send you herewith a Copy of the same Memorial, to the intent ye substantially visiting and perusing the same, may follow and put in execution such part thereof, for better trial of the falsity, as is to be done there, like as the rest meet to be done here, shall not fail to be executed with diligence accordingly.

Thus be ye with these, and other former Writings, sufficiently instructed what is to be done by you there, whether the Pope's Holiness continue long in his sickness, or whether the same fortune to decease, or soon, God willing, to amend. There resteth no more, but that ye always take for a perfect ground, That tho' to every new chance not before known, sufficient Provision and Instruction could not be given to you at your departure, ye always note, remember, and regard, That this the King's Cause admitteth nor suffereth any manner negative, tract, or delay; wherefore knowing that so well as ye do, and also how much the Indiction of the Truce shall be commodious and necessary, both to the King's Highness in particular, and to all Christendom in general, by means whereof his Grace shall avoid Contribution, and other Charges of the War, ye must now, if ever you will have thanks, laud, or praise for your Service, employ your selves *opportune & importune*, to put an end to the Points to the King's satisfaction and desire; and in every difficulty to study, by your Wisdoms, the best and next Remedy, and not always to tract your doings, till upon your Advertisement hither, ye shall have new knowledge from hence: For thereby the matter it self, and also your demurr there, be of over long a continuance, and infinite inconveniences by the same may ensue. I therefore require you according to the special trust and confidence that the King's Highness and I have in you, now for ever to acquit your selves herein with all effect possible, accordingly so as the King's Highness be not longer kept in this perplexity and suspence, to his Grace's intolerable inquietness, and the great heaviness of all those that observe and love the same.

Furthermore, tho' it so be that the King's Trust, and also mine is, Ye will by your Wisdom find such good means and ways as ye shall not fail, God willing, to open and declare unto the Pope's Holiness, the whole of the King's Mind, and all and singular the Premises, with the residue

above

above mentioned in your former Instructions and Letters sent unto you : Yet nevertheless considering what ye wrote of the doubt of continuance of the Pope's sickness, and to make sure for all Events and Chances, in case his Holiness (as God forbid) should long remain in such state, as he might either take upon him the naming of the Peace, journeying and repairing to the sacred Diet, nor also hear the whole of the things by you to be opened and propounded touching the King's said Cause : It hath been thought to the King's Highness convenient rather than these great and weighty Matters should hang in longer suspence, to excogitate some other good means and way how these Matters, so necessary, may by some ways be conduced and brought to an end : And it is this ; That the Pope's Holiness not being able to travel to the place devised, where the Princes may be near him for Treaty, and managing of the peace, he do depute me and my Lord Cardinal *Campegius*, *conjunctim & divisim*, as his Legates for that purpose, to do and execute all such things in his Holiness's Name, as the same should do in that behalf if he were there present ; whereunto, for the well of Christendom, we shall be contented to condescend. So always, that as hath been written heretofore unto you, before I pass or set forth to any Convention or Place, to the intent before specified, the King's Highness be fully satisfied and pleased in his said matter of Matrimony, without which, neither with nor without the Pope's presence, I will ever begin or take that Voyage : for performance whereof, this Article following is of new devised, to be by you propounded unto his Holiness, if the Decretals cannot be obtained, or some other thing, that ye shall well know and perceive, by advice of expert Counsel there, to be better to the Kings purpose than this thing now devised, and that may without tract be passed or granted ; that is to say, That his Holiness do enlarge, extend, and amplify his Commission given to me and my Lord Legate *Campegius*, whereby we jointly and severally may be sufficiently furnished and authorized, to do as much in this cause of Matrimony, with all the emergents and dependencies upon the same, as his Holiness may do of his ordinary and absolute Power, with sufficient and ample Clauses, *ad Decernend. & Impetrand. jura, leges, & Rescripta quaecunque hoc Matrimonium concernentia, una cum omnibus & singulis dubiis in eadem causa emergentibus.* And further, to make out Compulsories to any Princes, or Persons of what preheminance, dignity, state, or condition soever they be, *Etiam si Imperiali, Regali, vel alia quacunque dignitate persulgeant, sub quibuscumq; pœnis*, and in what Countries and places soever they be, to exhibit and produce any manner Witnesses, Records, Originals, Rescripts or other thing, in what place, or time we, or the one of us shall require them, or any of them in this behalf, with all and singular the Circumstances requisite and necessary to such a Commission, after such ample and assured manner, as the same once had, we shall not need for any Objections, doubt, or other thing that might infringe or lack, to send of new to the Pope's Holiness for other provision, whereby the King's said Cause might hang in any longer tract or delay. In which case of coming to this Commission, ye Mr. *Stevens* must have special regard to see the same sufficiently and substantially penned, by advice of the most expert Men that ye can find to that purpose : For the better doing whereof, I send unto you herewith a Copy of the said Commission to me and my Lord *Campegius*, with certain Additions thereunto noted in the Margin, such as have been here devised ; and also a Copy of certain Clauses in a Bull, to the intent ye may see how  
amply

amply the same be couched, to avoid appellations and other delays in Causes of far less moment and importance than the King's is. Nevertheless ye must, if it shall come to the obtaining of this new commission, see to the penning and more fully perfecting thereof, so as the same may be in due perfection, without needing to send estoons for remedying of any thing therein, as is aforesaid; looking also substantially whether the Chirograph of Pollicitation, being already in your hands, be so couched, as the Date, and every thing considered, it may sufficiently oblige and astringe the Pope's Holiness to confirm all that we, or one of us, shall do, by virtue of this New or the Old Commission: And if it be not of such efficacy so to do, then must ye in this case see, that either by sufficient and ample words to be put in this new Commission, if it may be so had, or by a new Chirograph the Pope's Holiness may be so astringed; which Chirograph, with the Commissions before specified, if ye obtain the same, the King's pleasure is, That ye Sir *Francis Brian* shall bring hither, in all possible diligence, after the having and obtaining thereof, solliciting nevertheless, whether the Pope be to be facilly spoken with, or not, the immediate Indication of the Truce, as is aforesaid, without which in vain it were for me, either with or without the Pope, to travel for labouring and conducing of the Peace. And so by this way should the Pope's Holiness, with his merit and sufficient justification, proceed for the Truce, as a fundament of Universal Peace, satisfy the King's desires, and avoid any doubt of the Emperor; forasmuch as his Holiness might alledg, That being so extreemly sick, that he was not able to know of the Cause himself, he could no less do of justice, than to commit it unto other, seeing that the same is of such importance as suffereth no tract or delay. And finally, the King's Highness, God willing, by this means, should have an end of this Matter. One thing ye shall well note, which is this; Albeit this new Device was now for doubt of the Pope's long continuance in sickness, first excogitate; yet it is not meant, nor ye be limited to this Device, in case ye can obtain any other, nor ye be also comanded, to prefer this before all the other Devices; but now that ye shall see and understand what this Device is, and knowing what thing is like or possible to be obtained there, without long putting over of your pursuits, expend, consider, and regard well with your self, what thing of this, or any other that may best serve to the brief and good expedition of the King's Cause. So always that it be a thing sure, sufficient, and available to his Grace's purpose, that may without any further tract be there had; and then by your Wisdom taking unto you the best Learned Counsel that ye can have there, leave you to the expedition of that which so may be most meet, as the times require and suffer, to the brief furnishing of the King's said Cause to this purpose, without tract or delay, and that ye may see is the thing, which as the matter stands, can speedily be obtained and sped, as is aforesaid. For whether the Decretal be better than this, or this better than that, or which soever be best, far it shall be from Wisdom to stick, and still to rest upon a thing that cannot be obtained; but since ye know the King's meaning, which is to have a way sufficient and good for the speedy finishing of this cause to his Grace's purpose, note ye now, and consider with your self, by advice of Learned Counsel, as is aforesaid, how ye may bring that to pass, and shall ye deserve as high thanks as can be possible. So always that it be to well provided and looked upon, that in it be no such limitations or defaults, as shall compel us any more to write or send for reformation thereof:

And

And coming to this Commission, tho' percase ye can by no means or sticking have it in every point as the Copy, which I send you with the Annotations do purport; yet shall ye not therefore refuse it, but take it, or any other thing as can be had, after such form as may substantially serve, and as ye can by your wisdom and good solicitations obtain, for the speedy finishing of the King's Cause to his purpose, as is aforesaid, which is the scope whereunto we must tend at this time; and therefore ye be not limited or coerced within any such bounds as ye should thereby be compelled or driven, for lack of obtaining any thing or point mentioned in these or other your Instructions, or former Writings, to send hither again for further knowledge of the King's pleasure; but ye be put at liberty so to qualify, so to add, detract, immix, change, chuse or mend as ye shall think good; so always that ye take the thing that best can be had, being such as may as effectually as ye can bring about, serve to the King's purpose, and to put indelayed end to it, according to his Grace's desire, without further tract, or sending thither, which is as much as here can be said or devised. And therefore at the reverence of Almighty God, bring us out of this perplexity, that this Vertuous Prince may have this thing sped to the purpose desired, which shall be the most joyous thing that this day in Earth may chance and succeed to my heart; and therefore I esteems beseech you to regard it accordingly: Howbeit if the Pope's Holiness refusing all your desires, shall make difficulty and delay there, it is an evident sign and token, that his Holiness is neither favourable to the King's reasonable Petitions, nor indifferent, but should thereby show himself both partial, and expressly averse unto his Grace; wherefore in that case finding in his Holiness such unreasonableness, as it can in no wise be thought ye shall do, The King's pleasure is, that ye proceed to the Protestations mentioned in the first Instructions given to Mr. *Stevens*, for you and the residue of your Collegues; and that ye not only be plain and round with the Pope's Holiness therein, if ye come to his Speech; but also ye show and extend unto the Cardinals, and other that be your Friends, which may do any good with him, the great peril and danger imminent unto the Church and See Apostolick; thereby exhorting them, That they like vertuous Fathers have regard thereunto, and not to suffer the Pope's Holiness, if he would thus wilfully, without reason or discretion to precipitate himself and the said See, which by this refusal is like to suffer ten times more detriment, than it could do for any discontentment that the Emperor could take with the contrary: for ye shall say, sure they may be, and so I for my discharge declare, both to the Pope's Holiness and to them, If this Noble and Vertuous Prince, in this so great and so reasonable a Cause, be thus extreemly denied of the grace and lawful favour of the Church, the Pope's Holiness shall not fail for the same to lose Him and his Realm, the *French* King and his Realm, with many other their Confederates; besides those that having particular Quarrels to the Pope, and so aforesaid will not fail, with diverse other, as they daily seek occasions, and provoke the King's Highness thereunto, which will do the semblable, being a thing of another sort to be regarded, than the respect to the Emperor, for two Cities, which nevertheless shall be had well enough, and the Emperor, neither so evil contented, nor so much to be doubted herein, as is there supposed. This, with other words mentioned in your Instructions concerning like matter, ye shall declare unto his Holiness, and to the said Cardinals, and others being your Friends, if it come to that point; whereby it is not to be doubted, but they perceiving the danger aforesaid, shall be glad to  
exhort

exhort and induce his Holiness, for the well of himself and the Church, to condescend to the King's desire; which is as much as can be here thought or devised, to be by you done in all Events and Chances: And therefore I pray you, estfoons, and most instantly require you, as afore, to handle this Matter with all effect possible. Coming to this new Commission, when you shall have once attained such things as shall be sufficient for the King's purpose as is aforesaid; and that you have it in your hands and custody, and not afore, lest thereby ye might hinder the expedition thereof, ye shall by all ways and means possible, labour and insist, that the King's Highness, as need shall be, may use and enjoy the benefit of the Decretal, being already in my Lord Cardinal *Campegius's* hands, whereunto his Highness and I desire you to put all your effectual labour for the attaining of the Pope's consent thereunto accordingly.

Ye shall furthermore understand, That it is thought here, in case, as God forbid, the Pope should die before ye should have impetrate any thing that may serve to the absolution of the King's Matter, That the Colledge of Cardinals have Authority, Power, and Jurisdiction, *sede vacante*, to inhibit, avoke, & *ex consequenti*, to pass and decide the King's Matter, seeing that the same is of so high moment and importance concerning the surety of a Prince and his Realm, as more amply ye shall perceive in the Chapters, *ubi Periculum de Electione, ne Romani, de Jurejurando, & capite primo de Schismaticis*; Wherefore the King's Pleasure is, That ye Mr. *Stevens* shall diligently weigh and ponder the effect of the said Chapters, not only with your self, but also with such the King's Learned Counsel as ye and your Collegues have conducted there; and what Jurisdiction, *sede vacante*, the Colledge of Cardinals have either by the Common Law, usage or prescription, which may far better be known there than here: And if ye find that the Cardinals have in this the King's Cause, and such other like Authority and Jurisdictions to inhibit, avoke and decern, then, *in casu mortis Pontificis, quod Deus avertat*, ye shall specially foresee and regard that for none intercession or pursute made by the Emperor and his Adherents, they shall either inhibit or avoke: And also if before such Death, ye shall not have obtained such thing to the King's desire and purpose, as these present Letters before do purport, his Grace's pleasure is, That ye shall pursue the effectual expedition of the same, at the hands of the said Colledge, *Sede vacante, ne res quæ nullam dilationem exposcit, tantopere usque ad Electionem novi Pontificis quoquam modo differatur*; using for this purpose all such Reason, Allegations, and Pertwations mentioned in those Letters, and your former Instructions, as ye shall see and perceive to serve to that effect; and so to endeavour and acquit your self, that such things may be attained there, as may absolve this the King's Matter, without any further tract or delay; whereby ye shall as afore highly deserve the King's and my special thanks, which shall be so acquitted, as ye shall have cause to think your pains and diligences therein in the best wise imployed, trusting in God that howsoever the World shall come, ye shall by one means or other bring the King's Matter, which so highly toucheth his Honour and quiet of Mind, unto the desired end and perfection.

Finally; Ye shall understand that the *French King*, among other things, doth commit at this time to the Bishop of *Bayon*, and Mr. *John Joakim* to treat and conclude the Confederation heretofore spoken of, between his Holiness, and the King's Highness, the *French King*, the *Venetians*,

and other Potentates of *Italy*, for a continual Army to be entertained to invade *Spain* in case it stand by the Emperor, that the Peace shall not take effect: Wherefore the King's pleasure is, That ye having conference with them at good length in that Matter, do also for your parts, sollicite, procure, and set forth the same; entring also on the King's behalf unto the Treaty, and conclusion thereof, after such manner as your former Instructions and Writings do purport. So as like as the *French* King is determined, that his Agents shall join and concur with you in the King's Pursuits and Causes; So ye must also concur with them in advancement of their Affairs, the successes whereof, and of all other your doings there, it shall be expedient ye more often notify hitherto than ye do, for many times in one whole month no knowledge is had from you, which is not meet in those so weighty Matters, specially considering that sometime by such as pass to *Lyons*, ye might find the means to send your Letters, which should be greatly to the King's and my consolation, in hearing thereby from time to time, how the things succeed there; I pray you therefore to use more diligence therein, as the King's and my special trust is in you. And heartily fare you well. From my Palace besides *Westminster*, the sixth day of *April*.

The *French* King hath sent hither an Ambassiate, *Monseigneur de Langes*, Brother to the said Bishop of *Bayon*, with certain clauses in his Instructions, concerning the said Treaty of Confederation, the Copy whereof ye shall receive herewith, for your better carrying on that Matter. Praying God to speed you well, and to give you grace to make a good and short end in your Matters. And est-soons fare ye well.

Your Loving Friend,

*T. Cardin. Eborac.*

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XXIII. *Another Dispatch to the Ambassadors, to the same purpose. A Duplicate.*

Cotton Libr.  
Virell. B. 11.

Right well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my hearty manner letting you wit, that by the hands of *Tbadens* bearer hereof, the King's Highness hath received your several Letters to the same directed with the Pope's Pollicitation mentioned in the same, and semblably I have received your Coniunct and several Letters of the date of the 18. and 29. days of *March*; the 8, 19, 20, and 22. of *April*, to me directed, wherein ye at right good length have made mention of such Discourses, Conferences, Audiences, and Communications as ye have had concerning your Charge, since the time of your former Advertisements made in that behalf, with all such Answers and Replications as have been made unto you by the Pope's Holiness, and other on his behalf concerning the same. In the Circumstances whereof ye have so diligently, discreetly, and substantially, acquitted your selves, as not only your firm and fervent desire, to do unto the King's Highness special and singular service in this his great and weighty Cause; but also your Wisdom, Learning, and perfect dexterities, heretofore well known, hath every one for his part thereby been largely of new shewed, comprobate and declared to the King's



King's good contentment, my rejoyce and gladness, and to your great laud and praise. For the which his Grace giveth unto you right hearty thanks, and I also for my part do the semblable; assuring you, in few words, tho' the time and state of things hath not suffered that your desires might at this time be brought unto effect; yet the King's Grace well knoweth, perceiveth, and taketh, that more could not have been done, excogitated, or devised, than ye have largely endeavoured your self unto for conducting the King's purpose, which his Grace accepteth, as touching your merits and acquittal in no less good and thankful part, than if ye finding the disposition of things in more direct state, had consecute all your pursuits and desires: Nor ye shall doubt or think, that either the King's Highness or I have conceived, or thought any manner negligence in you for such things as were mentioned in the last Letters sent unto you by *Alexander*, Messenger, but that albeit his Highness had cause, as the same wrote, to marvel of your long demor, and lack of expedition of one or other of the things committed to your charge; yet did his Highness right well persuade unto himself the default not to be in you, but in some other cause; whereof his Grace not knowing the same, might justly and meritoriously be brought unto admiration, and marvel: And therefore be ye all of good comfort, and think your perfect endeavours used, and services done, to be employed there, as it can right well, in every part regarded and considered.

In effect coming to the Specialities of the things now to be answered, The King's Highness having roundly noted and considered the whole continue and circumstances of all your said Letters and Advertisements; findeth and perceiveth evidently, that whatsoever Pursuits, and Instances, and Requests have been, or shall be for this present time, made there by you on his Grace's behalf to the Pope's Holiness, for the furtherance of the said great and weighty Cause; and how much soever the necessity of Christendom for the good of Peace, the importance of the Matter, the justness of the thing it self, reason, duty, respect to good Merits, detecting of Falsities used, evident Arguments and Presumptions to the same, or other thing whatsoever it be, making for the King's purpose, do weigh; the Times be now such, as all that shall be done in any of the Premises there, is apparent by such privy Intelligence and promise as is between the Pope and the Emperor, to hang and depend upon the Emperor's Will, Pleasure, and Arbitre, as whom the Pope's Holiness neither dare nor will in any part displease, offend, or miscontent, nor do by himself any thing notable therein, which he shall think or suppose to be of moment, the said Emperor first inconsulted, or not consenting thereunto. And for that cause, since the Emperor not only is the Adversary of Universal Peace, Letter, and Impacher thereof, but also, as hath appeared by sundry Letters heretofore, and now of new sent out of *Spain*, doth shew himself adverse, and enterponing himself as a Party against the King's said great Matter; It were in manner all one to prosecute the same at the Emperor's hands, as at the Pope's, which so totally dependeth upon the Emperor; and as much Fruit might be hoped of the one as of the other, so as far discrepant it were from any wisdom in a thing so necessary, and which as ye know must needs be brought unto an end without any further delay, to consume and spend time, where such express contrariety and in manner despair appeareth to do good therein, and where should be none other but continual craft, colour, abuses, refuses and delays, but rather to proceed unto the same in place, and after such form as may be appearance

of some good and brief effect to insue. Wherefore to shew you in Counsel, and to be reserved unto your selves, The King's Highness finding this ingratitude in the Pope's Holiness, is minded for the time to dissemble the Matter, and taking as much as may be had and attained there to the benefit of his Cause, to proceed in the Decision of the same here, by vertue of the Commission already granted unto me and my Lord Legate *Campagnius*.

And for because that ye Mr. *Stevens* be largely ripened and acquainted in this Matter, and that both the King's Highness and I have right large experience of your entire zeal and mind to the studying and setting forth of such things concerning the Law, as may be to the furtherance hereof; considering also that for any great thing like to be done there herein, such Personages as be of good Authority, Wisdom, and experience, tho' they be not learned in the Law, may with such Counsel as ye have retained there, right well serve to the accomplishment of such other things as shall occur, or be committed unto them on the King's behalf, tho' so many Ambassadors do not there remain and continue: His Grace therefore willing and minding to revoke you all by little and little, except you Sir *Gregory*, being his Ambassadour there continually residing, willeth, That after such things perfected and done, as hereafter shall be mentioned, ye Mr. *Stevens*, and you Sir *Francis Brian*, shall take your leave of the Pope's Holiness, and with diligence return home. For if ne had been the Absence of you Mr. *Stevens*, seeing that there is small appearance of any Fruit to be obtained there, the King's Highness would have entred into Process here before this *Whitsuntide*: But because his Grace would have you here present, as well for the forming of the said Process, and for such things as he trusted that ye shall obtain and bring with you, as also for the better knowledge to be had in sundry Matters, wherein you may be the better ripened and informed by means of your being in that Court, and otherwise, his Highness will somewhat the longer defer the commencement of the said Process, and respite the same, only for your coming; which his Grace therefore desireth you so much the more to accelerate, as ye know how necessary it is, that all diligence and expedition be used in that Matter. And so ye all to handle and endeavour your selves there, for the time of your demor, as ye may do the most benefit and advantage that may be to the speedy furtherance of the said Cause.

And forasmuch as at the dispatch of your said last Letters, ye had not opened unto the Pope's Holiness, the last and uttermost Device here conceived, and to you written in my Letters sent by the said *Alexander*, but that ye intended, as soon as ye might have time and access, to set forth the same; wherein it is to be trusted, since that thing could by no colour or respect to the Emperor be reasonably denied, ye have before this time done some good, and brought unto perfection; I therefore remitting you to such Instructions as ye received at that time, advertise you that the King's mind and pleasure is, ye do your best to attain the Ampliation of the said Commission, after such form as is to you, in the said last Letters and Instructions, prescribed; which if ye cannot in every thing bring to pass, at the least to obtain as much to the King's purpose, and the benefit of the Cause as ye can; wherein all good policy and dexterity is to be used and the Pope's Holiness by all persuasions to be induced thereunto; shewing unto the same how ye have received Letters from the King's Highness and me, responsives to such as ye wrote of the Debates before rehearsed; whereby ye be advertised that the  
King's

King's Highness, perceiving the Pope's strange demeanour in this his great and weighty Cause, with the little respect that his Holiness hath, either to the importance thereof, or to do unto his Holiness at this his great necessity, gratuity and pleasure; not only cannot be a little sorry and heavy to see himself frustrate of the future hope and expectation that his Grace had, to have found the Pope's Holiness a most loving; fast, near and kind Father, and assured Friend, ready and glad to have done for his Grace, that which of his Power Ordinary or absolute, he might have done in this thing, which so near toucheth the King's Conscience, Health, Succession, Realm, and Subjects; But also marvelleth highly, That his Holiness, both in matters of Peace, Truce, in this the King's Cause, and in all other, hath more respect to please and content him of whom he hath received most displeasures, and who studieth nothing more than the detriment of the See, than his Holiness hath either to do that which a good common Father, for the well of the Church, Himself, and all Christendom, is bounden, and oweth to do, or also that which every thing well pondered, it were both of Congruence, Right, Truth, Equity, Wisdom, and Conveniency for to do. Thinking verily that his Highness deserved to be far otherwise entreated, and that not at his most need in things nearest touching his Grace, and where the same had his chief and principal confidence, thus to have his just and reasonable Petitions rejected, and totally to be converted to the arbitre of his Enemy, which is not the way to win, acquire and conserve Friends to the Pope's Holiness and See Apostolick, nor that which a good and indifferent Vicar of Jesus Christ, and common Father unto all Princes oweth and is bound to observe. Nevertheless ye shall say the King's Highness, who always hath shewed, and largely comprobate himself a most devout Son unto the See Apostolick, must and will take patience; and shall pray to God to put in the Pope's mind, a more direct and vertuous intent so to proceed in his acts and doings, as he may be found a very Father, upright, indifferent, loving and kind; and not thus for a partial respect, fear, or other inordinate Affection, or cause, to degenerate from his best Children, showing himself unto them, as a Step-Father, nor the King's Highness ye shall say can persuade unto himself, that the Pope's Holiness is of that nature and disposition, that he will so totally fail his Grace in this Matter of so high importance, but that by one good mean or other, his Holiness will perfectly comprobate the intire love that always the same hath shewed to bear towards his Highness, wherein ye shall desire him now to declare by his Acts the uttermost of his intent and disposition; so as ye Mr. *Stevens* and Mr. *Brian*, who be revoked home, do not return with void hands, or bring with you things of such meagerness, or little substance, as shall be to no purpose: And thus by these, or like words, seconding to the same effect, which as the time shall require, and as he shall have cause, ye by your Wisdoms can qualifie and devise. It is not to be doubted, but that the Pope's Holiness perceiving how the King's Highness taketh this Matter, and that two of you shall now return, will in expedition of the said Ampliation of the Commission, and other things requisite, strain himself to do unto the King's Highness as much gratuity and pleasure as may be; for the better attaining whereof, ye shall also shew, how heavy and sorry I with my Lord Legate *Campegius* be, to see this manner of proceeding, and the large promises which he and I so often have made unto the King's Highness, of the Pope's fast and assured mind, to do all that his Holiness, *etiam ex plenitudine potestatis*, might do, thus to be disappointed:

pointed: most humbly beseeching his Holiness on my behalf, by his high Wisdom to consider, what a Prince this is; the infinite and excellent grattitudes which the same hath exhibited to the Pope's Person in particular; and to the See Apostolick in the general: the magnitude and importance of this Cause; with the Consequences that may follow, by the good or ill entreating of the King's Highness in the same; wherein ye shall say, I have so largely written, so plainly for my discharge declared the truth unto his Holiness, and so humbly, reverently, and devoutly, made intercession, that more can I not add or accumulate thereunto, but only pray unto God that the same may be perceived, understood, and taken, as the exigence of the Case, and the merits of this Noble Prince doth require; trusting always, and with fervent desire, from day to day, abiding to hear from his said Holiness some such thing as I shall now be able constantly to justify and defend, the great things which I and my said Lord Legate have said and attested on his Holiness's behalf.

This, with all other such matter as may serve to the purpose, ye shall extend as well as ye can, and by that means get and attain as much to your purpose for the corroboration and surety of all things to be done here as is possible, leaving to speak any more, or also to take or admit any rescripts for exhibition of the Brief, advocacy of the Cause, or other of the former degrees, seeing that all which shall or can be done or attained there, shall hang meerly upon the Emperor's Will, Consent, and Arbitre: and therefore nothing is now or hereafter to be procured, that may tend to any Act to be done, in decision of the Cause or otherwise there, or which may bring the adverse Party to any advantage to be taken by the favour or partiality, that the same may have in that Court; but to convert and employ all your suit, to that thing which may beto the most convalidation and surety of the Process, and things to be done here, as well by attaining as ample, large, and sufficient words, clauses and sentences as ye can get, for ampliation of the new Commission; as for the defeating of any thing that may be procured to the Impeachment of the Process thereof, and the corroboration of the things to be passed, and done, by virtue of the same.

And amongst other things, whereas ye with these last Legates, sent the Pope's Pollicitation, for the non-inhibition or avoking of the Cause, the ratifying and confirming of the Sentence by us his Legates herein to be given, and other things mentioned in the same, ye shall understand, that the said Pollicitation is so couched and qualified, as the Pope's Holiness whensoever he will may refuse; like as by certain Lines and Annotations, which in the Margin of a Copy of the said Pollicitation I send you herewith, ye shall perceive more at large: And therefore after your other suits, for the ampliation of the new Commission, if any such may be attained, brought unto as good a purpose as ye can, ye shall by some good way find the mean to attain a new Pollicitation, with such, or as many of the words and additions newly devised as ye can get; which ye may do under this form and colour, that is to say, to shew unto the Pope's Holiness, by way of sorrow and dolence, how your Courier, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the said Pollicitation, so chanced, in wet and water in the carriage thereof, as the Pacquet wherein it was, with such Letters as were with the same, and amongst others the Rescripts of Pollicitation, were totally wet, defaced, and not legible; so as the Pacquet and Rescript was and is detained by him to whom ye direct your Letters, and not delivered amongst the other unto the King's hands; and unless his Holiness, of his goodness unto  
you,

you, will grant you a Double of the said Pollicitation, ye see not but there shall be some notable blame imputed unto you for not better ordering thereof, to the conservation of it from such chance. And thus coming to a new Pollicitation, and saying, ye will devise it as near as ye can remember, according to the former, ye by your Wisdoms, and namely ye Mr. *Stevens*, may find the means to get as many of the new and other pregnant, fat, and available words as is possible, the same signed and sealed as the other is, to be written in Parchment; the Politick handling whereof, the King's Highness and I commit unto your good discretions; for therein, as ye Mr. *Stevens* know, resteth a great strength and corroboration of all that shall be done there, in decision of the King's said Cause; and as ye write may be in manner as beneficial to the King's purpose, as the Commission Decretal.

And to the intent ye may the better know how to proceed in this Business, I advertise you that the King's Highness hath now received fresh Letters out of *Spain*, answering to those sent by *Curson* jointly with a Servant of the Queen's, for exhibition of the Original Brief here, of whose expedition you Mr. *Stevens* were privy before your departure. The Letters were of sundry dates, the last whereof, is the 21 of *April*, at which time the Emperor was at *Cesar Augusta*, upon his departure toward *Barselona*. In effect, the Emperor minding by his departure thither, and other his Acts, to make a great demonstration of his coming into *Italy*, who is to nothing, as the King's Ambassadors write, more unmeet and unfurnished than to that Voyage, not having any Gallies there but three, which lay on dry Land unrigged, as they have done a long time past, none assembly of the States of that Land, none order, provision of Victual, towardness in conscription of Men of War, or appearance of such thing, but that his going to *Barselona*, is chiefly under pretext to attain certain old Treasure there remaining, and to give the better reputation to his Affairs in *Italy*. As to the matter of Peace and Truce, he seemeth not so alien from it, but that he would, under colour thereof, be glad to separate and dis-join other from the sincerity of confidence that is between them, working somewhat with the *French* King, which he himself confesseth to be but abuses. On the other side, he maketh overture of Peace or Truce to be had with the King's Highness apart; and in the mean time entertaineth the Pope's Holiness as one whom, won from the residue of the Confederates, he thinketh himself most assured of: Howbeit in all this his Business, ye may constantly affirm, that his Compasses cannot prevail in any thing that may be excogitate to the separation of the King's Highness and the *French* King, who so intirely proceed together, that the Emperour coming or not coming into *Italy*, the said *French* King intendeth to prosecute him in the place where his Person shall be. To whom the King's Highness now sendeth the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the Treasurer of his honourable Household; who, if the Pope will not really and actually intend to the maintaining of the Peace, coming to the convention of his Holiness, moved as the case shall require, shall be furnished of a substantial number of Men of War out of his Realm to the assistance of the said *French* King, if the Emperor happen to descend in *Italy*. So as his things there, be not like to be in such surety as might bring the Pope's Holiness to this extremity of fear and respect. And all the Premises touching this knowledg had out of *Spain*, and the *French* King's Interest with the King's Concurrence, as afore, it shall be well done ye declare to the Pope's Holiness, whereby peradventure the same shall be removed from some part of his said overmuch respect to that part. As

As to sending of the Breve, the Emperor refusing to send it into *England*, sheweth some towardness of sending it to *Rome*, minding and intending to have the King's Matter decided there and not here; howbeit all be but vain Collusions: For as ye shall perceive by such things as be extracted out of the Letters of the King's Orators Resident in *Spain*, a Copy whereof I send you herewith, the more the said Breve cometh into light and knowledge, the more falsities be deprehended therein; and amongst other, one there is specially to be noted; making, if it be true, a clearer and manifest proof of the same falsity; which because if it were perceived by the adverse Party, or any of their Friends, Counsellors, or Adherents, it might soon by a semblable falsity be reformed, is above all other things to be kept secret, both from the Pope, and all other there, except to your selves: for in computation of the Year of our Lord is a diverse order observed in the Court of *Rome* in Bulls and Breves; That is to say, in the Bull beginning at the Incarnation of our Lord, in the Breve at the Nativity; so as the thing well searched, it is thought it shall be found, that the date presupposed to be of the Breve, which is 26. *Decemb. Anno Dom. 1503. Pontificatus Julij Anno primo*, well conferred with the manner and usages of that Court: He that counterfeited the Breve, not knowing such diversity between the Date of the Bull and the Breves, and thinking to make both Dates of one day, dated the Breve at a day before Pope *Julius* was Pope; which ye shall more plainly perceive by the said Copy, and specially if under some good colour ye ripen your selves there, whether the year in the date of Breves change upon *Christmas* day, or upon *New-years* day, wherein the King's pleasure is, that ye ensearch and certifie here what ye shall know and perceive. And if ye shall by such inquiry find matter making to the purpose, as it is not doubted but ye shall do, then for the more sure justification and proof thereof before the Judges; It shall be expedient ye in writing make mention of such a doubt, finding the means that it may be answered and declared in the same Writing, by certain expert persons of the Secretaries, and other Officers of that Court, with subscription of their Answer, and Names; whereby it may appear here before us as Judges, as a thing true and approved: Howbeit, great dexterity is to be used for the secrecy thereof; for if such Exceptions might come to the Knowledge of the Adverse Party, they might, as the said Orators write, soon reform that default by detrahing one Letter, or Title, or forging a new Breve, alledging error in the Transumpt, which might be the total disappointment of deprehension of the falsity in that chief and principal point. I pray you therefore to regard that matter substantially, and to order it by your good Wisdoms accordingly.

XXIV. *The two Legates Letter to the Pope, advising a Decretal Bull. A Duplicate.*

*Cotton Libr. Visell. B. 11.* **P**Rioribus nostris ad Sanctitatem Vestram literis quid hic ageremus, quove in statu causa hæc esset exposuimus; postea quum, & res ipsa, & desiderium Regis admodum urgeret, ut ad Cause ipsius merita agnoscenda accingeremur, quando in suspenso, non modo horum Regum vota, sed nec hujus Regni firmandi ratio, diutius haberi potest, omni suasionis genere horum animis prius adhibito, ut alterius voluntati alter cederet, eique morem gererent, cum nihil profecerimus, ad Judicij institutionem

tutionem accedentes, de modo causam ipsam pertractandi, multa longioribus colloquiis inter nos commentati sumus; qua in re, dum quæ necessaria sunt adornantur, exhibitum est per Reginam exemplum Brevis Julij 2. eodem tempore quo & Bulla super hac materia, dati & scripti, sed attentiore cura & longe consideratione mente confecti, quod, quia in substantialibus etiam ab ipsa Bulla diversum est, non modo Regium, sed nostrum quoque; animum, mire suspensum habuit, usque adeo ut de ejus veritate plurimum suspicari libeat; nam præter insperatam in tanta opportunitate ejus apparitionem, incredibile videtur, ut eodem tempore idem author, eisdem partibus, in eadem Causa, diversa admodum ratione caverit, & permanens Diplomati ejusque Decreto, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, proferendo, & plumbeo caractere excudendo dormitaverit, brevioribus vero literis molli cera comuniendis exactissimi studij & sobriæ cogitationis speciem impresserit: ne tamen Majestas hæc rem hanc damnatam priusquam exploratam habeat, quippe quæ magis in veritate quam in voto suo, Causæ hujus eventum susceptura videtur, ad ipsius Brevis exhibitionem instat, quod, quia honestum & rationi consonum videtur, à nobis etiam probatur, propterea omni studio curamus, ut breve ipsum, quod in Hispaniis esse dicitur, & à quo exemplum hoc effigiatum aiunt proferatur; atque ut hoc expeditiore cura, & majore compendio assequamur, præter primam & summam illam de Causa cognoscendi potestatem, quam à Sanctitate vestra habemus, aliam quoque ad hunc specialiter articulum habendam putamus, per quam possimus etiam per censuras, omnes etiam Regia & Imperiali Autoritate fulgentes, movere & adigere ut dictum Breve nobis exhibeant, sine quo causa hæc nedum absolvi, sed nec commode tractari queat. Atque hoc primum est, quod Majestas hæc, in tanta animi fluctuatione qua nunc æstuat, à nobis curandum putat, quo impetrato, Judicij via insistentes ad Causæ cognitionem procedemus; quod si non proferatur, vel inutile & vitiatum, & fide sua facile rejiciendum, prolatum fuerit, nihil prohibebit, hoc sublato obice, quin ex officio nostro reliqua prosequamur: sin vero exhibeatur, & veritate sua, vel adeo scite conficta fallacia, ita se tueatur ut acriori examine id inquiri debeat, patefacto jam patronorum cavillis & calumniis foro, quibus undis & judicij fluctibus non solum articulum hunc Brevis, sed universam Causam implicaturi simus, nullus non viderit; neque enim deerunt quæ suspectam ipsius Brevis fidem faciant, vel ex hoc maxime, quod cum maxime Regis & Regni hujus intersit, nihil prorsus de eo antehac auditum fuerit, nec ejus memoria aut ratio ulla extet in Scriptis Regiis, in quibus etiam minima quæque ad Regnum spectantia asservari solent: nam verisimile non est in Hispaniis majorem Anglicæ rei curam fuisse quam in ipsa Anglia, neque quempiam solerti & acri adeo ingenio fuisse, qui hujuscemodi dissidium vigesimo quinto abhinc anno suboriturum, & hac sola ratione sublatum iri posse divinaverit, nulla ut diximus apud hunc Regem, & in hoc Regno talis rei memoria extante. Porro si ex Brevi ad Bullam, & ex Bulla ad Breve transitus fiat, atque illius jejunitatem & ariditatem insectemur, hujus prægnantia verba, & ad omnes fere exceptiones tollendas, superstitionem quodammodo vigilantiam conferamus, & quæ utrinque deduci poterunt in Rescriptis Apostolicis æquo animo audiamus, periclitaturi certe sumus, ne, quod minime cupimus, Sedis Apostolicæ Autoritatem patientia nostra in discrimen rapiamus, atque dum Regno, & Regi hinc suppetias ferre volumus, rem dignitatemque nostram multo minorem faciamus, cui tum posita etiam anima, favere & adesse semper cupimus & debemus. Propterea, Beatissime Pater, non solum pro Regis & Causæ hujus commodo, sed pro dignitate quoque Ecclesiastica &

Sanctitatis Vestrae Autoritate hic tuenda & conservanda, nullo pacto committendum ducimus, ut nobis spectantibus & audientibus, de Potestate Romani Pontificis, de literarum Apostolicarum sub plumbō & sub annulo scriptarum fide, & repugnantia, deque juris divini abrogatione disceptetur, maxime in Regnum causa oppugnanda & defendenda, qui, ut sublimiore sunt fastidio collocati, ita iniquiore animo patiuntur Causae suae casum, cum qua & dignitatem & existimationem suam diminutam iri intelligunt, quae si ignobilium etiam animos quosque exulcerare, ipsa rerum experientia docti cernimus, qualiter quæso putamus Regios & generosos affectura? Itaque quoniam hanc charybdim & hos scopulos evitasse semper tutum erit, propterea hujusmodi incommoda quodammodo prætervecti, ubi ad litis molestias & incertas fori fluctuationes causam deducendam perspicimus, suadere, rogare & summis precibus parique reverentia contendere non desinemus, ut si exhibitio Brevis pura veritas ita latitaverit, quod rectumne an falsum, vitiatum seu adulterinum fuerit judicare ac decernere minime valeamus, Sanctitas Vestra Causam hanc ad se avocet, non solum ut tanto discrimine, & perplexitate nos eximat, sed ut paterno affectu, Causae & Regi huic optimo subveniat & opem ferat, atque ex potestatis suae plenitudine & summa prudentia finem huic rei optatum imponat, quae non sine magno hujus Regni & Ecclesiasticae dignitatis periculo diutius trahi potest: Speramus autem Serenissimum hunc Regem in hujusmodi avocandae Causae consilio facile quieturum, salebrosa hæc litium itinera & labyrinthos evitaturum, modo in fide Sanctitatis Vestrae chirographo manus suae testata, cognoverit, se diutius suspenso in hac re animo detinendum non fore, atque ab hujusmodi Matrimonio se tandem liberandum, in quo nec humano nec divino jure permanere se posse putat, ex causis Sanctitati Vestrae forsitan notis, & per hos suos nuntios longioribus verbis explicandis. Quod si Sanctitas Vestra commodius existimaverit, Avocatione hujusmodi posthabita, per Decretalis unius concessionem huic causae occurrere & succurrere posse, in hanc quoque rationem regis animum paratum dabimus; & propterea concepto quodam Decretalis modulo, eum per hos ipsos Majestatis suae nuntios mittimus, ex quibus abunde intelliget, quodque non absque exemplo istiusmodi auxilia proponantur, & quam non temere nec absque ratione Majestas hæc desiderio huic suo inhæreat: interea vero, dum hac vel illa ratione huic rei occurritur & Breve ipsum perquiretur, posset utique Sanctitas Vestra iterum Reginae animum tentare, & ad Religionem emolliere, curando ( ut quod maxime apud eam gratia & Autoritate esse debeant ) & literis, & precibus, & nuntiis, omnique alia ratione, hac ipsa via, sibi, suisque rebus omnibus atque aliis optime consulat. Cujusmodi multa, pro salute Regni & publica cum dignitate, tum tranquillitate animo agitamus, ut tandem optimo Regi præsidio simus, qui incredibili patientia & humanitate, nostram & Sanctitatis Vestrae opem expectat, sed tanta obsessus cura, sollicitudine & anxietate, ut nullus facile explicare possit, vix enim in hoc ipso, oculis & auribus nostris credimus; cujus usque adeo nos miseret, ut nihil ingrato magis animo audiamus quam ejus de hac re verba, querelas & cruciatum: jure, an injuria liceat nobis hoc, Beatissime Pater, cum Sanctitate Vestra tacere, ne præjudicium nobis aut aliis faciamus, sed quem non excitet tot annorum Conscientiae Carnificina, quam ut transversum & modo in has & modo in illas partes agant Theologorum disputationes, & Patrum decreta, nullus non videt, qua in re enucleanda ita ambiguo laboratur sensu, ut jam non doctioris sed melioris hominis lumine & pietate egeamus & propterea factum est cum ab utraque parte stant assertores maximi, in  
illam



illam magis Majestas sua inclinat, quæ ab offensionibus & periculis magis remota videtur. Quem præterea non moveat dulcis illa insitaque sobolis successio, in qua morientes & animam exhalaturi conquietere, natura ipsa, videmur omnes? quem insuper non accendat, Regni atque imperii propagatio, & per solos liberos continuata quædam fruitio? quem deniq; populorum fidei ac ejus curæ commissorum tranquillitas & securitas, quæ in designatis jam regibus & principibus nutritur & vivit, non sollicitet? ita ut tanti adeoq; communis boni fundamenta nulla à se jacta, non doleat & suspiret, cum in extremis ejus diebus, extrema quoque tempora eis adventare sentiat, atq; secum omnia quodammodo in ruinam trahi? Majores habet, Beatissime Pater, Causa hæc anfractus & difficultates, quam superficie tenus inspectantibus offerantur, in qua vel hæc potissima fuit quod nec moram patitur, & in alteram partem non inclinat quidem, sed contritus cogit, ni velimus ab ea præcipientes & maxima cum privatæ tum publicæ rei jactura cadere; nam qui vel Reginæ odio, vel speratæ, nec dum forsitan notæ, futuræ conjugis illecebra & titillatione Regem agi putant, ij excordes plane & toto, quod aiunt, cælo errare videntur: ut enim credere dignum est, nullis ullius quamlibet duris moribus aut injocunda consuetudine, vel ulterioris sobolis spe desperata, Regium animum tanto periculo ad odium impelli posse; ita nec in hominis bene sani mentem cadere debet, Regem hunc imbecillo adeo esse animo, ut sensum suadela eam abrumperere cupiat consuetudinem, in qua adolescentiæ suæ florentes annos exegerit persancte adeo, ut in hac quoque fluctuatione, non sine reverentia & honore versetur. Inest, credite omnes, voluntate ejus non modo divinæ legis timor, sed humani quoque juris ratio eximia, hæcq; non privata sed publica, ad quam cum ejus animum trahant, utriusq; juris peritissimi, & Regni hujus sui proceres, & principes omnes, nihil tamen suo, aut suorum tantum arbitrio constitutum habere cupit, sed Apostolicæ Sedis judicio; qua in re quanta sit pietate, maxime ostendit, quum non ex magorum carminibus, & circulatorum imposturis, aliisve malis artibus, sed Sanctissima Pontificis manu, tanto huic vulnere suo opem perat, de quo vel plura forte quam licuisset Sanctitati Vestræ subjecimus, quoniam hæc ipsa ulcera manibus nostris contrectavimus, & quantum vitales spiritus exhaleat, cognovimus: proinde Sanctitas Vestra, pij patris & peritissimi medici more, dum virtus adhuc stat, dum salus non desperatur, dum æger ipse sese sustinet & legitima petit auxilia, Regem de se & Apostolica sede optime meritum in pietatis suæ sinu foveat, illudq; ei indulgeat quod nec disputationum immortalia diffidia, nec litium immensum chaos unquam dabit, nec sine maximo discrimine unquam tractabitur; atque illud etiam secum reputet, quam injurium, & cum privatis tum publicis rebus incommodum sit, extremos juris apices consecrari, quamquam non expediat ex scripto jure semper judicari, cui, quia Pontifices & Principes miro omnium consensu, à Deo ipso præferti, censentur Spiritus & animæ vice, merito in ambiguis, & ubi multa periclitatur hominum salus, arbitrio suo ejus duritiem moderari possunt & debent, in quo Sanctitas Vestra & Regem & Regnum hoc plane servaverit. Quod si aliâ ratione vel aliunde paranda sibi fuerint auxilia, veremur ne de Regno & Rege hoc actum sit, quicquid enim aliâ manu huic vulnere impositum fuerit, nihil minus faciet quam sanitatem, seditionibus enim & tumultibus omnia exponentur, atq; imprimis Ecclesiastica Dignitas & Apostolicæ Sedis Authoritas hinc deturbabitur; quod non erit difficile, aut ingratum quibusdam, qui Rege cum Sanctitate Vestra nunc conjunctissimo, impietatis suæ verenum perbelle dissimulant;

Cujusmodi jacturam si dura hæc tempora nostra fecerunt, quod deinde sperandum sit, non videmus. Conservandus itaq; Rex est, ejusq; eximia in Apostolicam Sedem voluntas & fides, ne eo à nobis abalienato, non modo Angliæ Regem, sed Fidei quoq; Defensorem amittamus, cujus virtutes & Religionem tanto plausu orbi commendavimus. Brevitati studentes multa præterimus, & præsertim quid Regni proceres, Nobiles æque arque ignobiles dicant, qui fremunt & acerbissime indignantur, se tamdiu suspensos haberi, atque ab aliorum nutu & voluntate expectare, quid de fortunis eorum omnibus & capitibus statuunt, aut decernent: atque hæc potissimum via insistant, qui nullam aut certe diminutam hic Romani Pontificis Authoritatem vellent, quorum plerique in his disceptationibus, quibus alter alteri, ut usu venire solet, re in ambiguo posita, adversatur, ea dicunt quæ non absque horrore referri queant; nam inter cætera illud maxime in ore obvium habent, & prædicant, se nunquam satis demirari, aut ridere posse quorundam ignaviam, qui patienter audiunt, Pontificibus in Jure Divino figendo & refigendo licere, Pontifici Pontificis ceram aut plumbum conflare non permitti; nos, ut hos scopulos & has syrtes evitemus, nihil non agimus, & ne præceps, huc vel illuc, Rex hic ruat, curamus, quem in officio vix continere posse confidimus, dum à Sanctitate Vestra his literis rescribatur: quibus si ut speramus & cupimus aliquid rescriptum fuerit, per quod & Regem & horum omnium animos quietiores reddere valeamus, accedet nobis quoque vis aliqua cætera feliciter perficendi: sin minus, omnia in deterius itura non ambigimus. Quæ ut celerius Majestas sua cognoscat, præsentem hos nuntios suos per dispositos equos ad Sanctitatem Vestram mittit, ex quorum sermone plura quoque intelliget quam literæ ipsæ commode capere potuerunt. Ignoscat verò Sanctitas Vestra literarum nostrarum prolixitati, quæ tametsi modum excedunt, rei tamen hujus difficultatem & periculum majori ex parte minime attingunt.

May 21. 1529. Richmond.

XXV. *Another Dispatch to Rome. An Original.*

**R**ight well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my most hearty manner, by the Hands of *Alexander*, Messenger; I have in good diligence received your Letters of the 4<sup>th</sup> of this Month; and semblably the King's Highness hath received your other Letters, sent by the same Messenger unto his Grace: By tenour whereof it well appeareth that the King's Highness is now frustrate of the good hope and expectation that his Grace and semblably I were in of the Pope's determination, to have done for his Highness in this great and weighty Cause of Matrimony, as his Holiness by his Chamberlain promised; not only that which might be done of power ordinary, but also of absolute; and that ye be utterly in despair to consecute or attain any thing to the purpose there, to the benefit of the said Cause, with the strange demeanour that hath been used in calling you to make answer, why the supplications presented by the Emperor's Ambassador for advocation of the Cause should not proceed; and how discreetly and substantially ye have answered and ordered yourselves therein: Affirming finally, that as to that Matter, ye think it shall not serve to any purpose, but only to stop your suit in the obtaining of a new Commission, and desiring to be ascertained of the King's pleasure touching

touching the Protestation mentioned in your Instructions, and how the same is meant and understood, with many other things comprised in your said Letters, right well and substantially couched and handled; for the which the King's Highness giveth you hearty thanks, and I also thank you in most hearty manner for my part.

Ascertaining you, that by *Tbadeus*, Courier, upon receipt of your former Letters sent by him, who I trust be arrived with you long before this time; I wrote unto you the King's mind and pleasure, as well to forbear any further pursuits of the Degrees committed unto your Charge, except only the expedition of a new Commission and Pollicitation mentioned in the same, as also that you *Mr. Stevins*, and *Sir Francis Brian*, should return home, like as my said Letters purported. And forasmuch as now it appeareth, that there is no hope for you to attain the said Commission and Pollicitation, the King's Highness supposing that ye the said *Mr. Stevins* and *Sir Francis* be on your way homeward; and perceiving that it should be necessary for his Grace to have there a substantial Counsellor of his, well learned in the Laws, as well to defend all such things as shall be procured or set forth by the *Cesareans*, to the hindrance of the King's Cause, as to let and impeach any Advocations, Inhibitions, or other thing that may be dammageable thereunto, hath dispatched thither this Bearer and *Mr. Bennet*, who hath Commandment to shew unto you, and every of you, wheresoever he shall meet with or find you, his whole Instructions, by tenour whereof ye shall be advertised of the King's further mind and pleasure in that Behalf; wherefore this shall be only to signifie unto you, how his Highness will that ye now forbear any further pursuit, either for Commission, Pollicitation, or Rescript to be sent to the Emperor for exhibition of the Brief, either here or at *Rome*, but that following in every part the tenor of the said Instructions, ye *Mr. Stevins* and *Sir Francis Bryan* use all the diligence possible in your Voyage homeward, and the residue of you to intend to such things as be mentioned in the said Instructions; ascertaining you, that whereas ye were in doubt what is meant by the Protestation spoken of in my former Letters and your Instructions, it was none other thing than in the same Instructions was plainly specified and declared; That is to say, Failing of all your Requests and Pursuits touching the King's great Matter, to have shewed unto his Holiness the danger that might ensue, by losing the entire favour of this Prince, by mean of his so strange and unkind dealing with his Grace; howbeit, considering in what state the things now be, and how much the Pope's Holiness seemeth to be inclined to the Emperor's part; and yet as appeareth both by your Letters, and by such other knowledge as the King hath, his Holiness would gladly conserve the King's Love and Favour, and is loth to do any thing to the prejudice of his Cause: It is no time to come to any rigorous or extream words with his Holiness, but in gentle and modest manner to shew himself in such words as be mentioned in my said last Letters sent by *Tbadeus*; and so without irritation of him, but with conservation of his favour to entertain his Holiness in the best manner that may be, without meddling in any other Protestation, but only to look what may be done touching such Protestations apart, as is mentioned in the said Instructions given to *Mr. Bennet*, which with these Letters shall be a sufficient information of you all, what to do in the Causes to you committed, not doubting but in all other particular suits of Bulls, and other things committed unto you, ye *Mr. Stevins* and *Sir Francis Bryan*, have or will do your best to bring the same with you; the expedition  
whereof,

whereof, if they be not set already, the King's Highness committeth to the Wisdoms of such of you as shall fortune to be in the Court of *Rome* at the receipt hereof; wherein, and in all other things, his Highness trusteth, and I do the semblable, that ye will order your selves with all effectual diligence, as the special confidence that is put in you doth appertain.

And forasmuch as the greatest thing that is to be looked unto is the importune Suit of the *Casareans*, not only to stop any further things to be granted to the King's Highness, but also to revoke the Commission given to the Lord Legate *Campegius* and to me, which should be a clear disappointment and frustration of the King's Cause; ye shall therefore look substantially by all politick means to withstand, that no such thing be granted; assuring the Pope and all the Cardinals, and such other as have respect to the well of the See Apostolick, that if he should do such an high injury to the King and his Realm, and an Act so contumelious to us his Legates, and so contrarious to his Faith and Promise, he should thereby not fail so highly to irritate the King and all the Nobles of this Realm; that undoubtedly they should decline from the obedience of the See Apostolick, and consequently all other Realms should do the semblable, forasmuch as they should find in the *Head* of the same, neither justice, uprightnes, nor truth; and this shall be necessary, as the case shall require, well to be inculked and put in his head, to the intent his Holiness by the same may be preserved from granting, passing, or condescending to any such thing.

After these Letters perfected hither, and read unto the King's Highness, albeit that mention is made in sundry places heretofore, that as well ye Mr. *Stevens*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, if ye be not returned from the Court of *Rome*, as also the rest of the King's Ambassadors, which at the arrival of Mr. Doctor *Bennet* shall fortune to be there, shall forbear to make any further means or pursuit for the New Commission and Pollicitation, but clearly to use silence therein; yet nevertheless regarding, and more profoundly considering the effect of your Letters last sent, it doth plainly appear, that tho' after the overture made to the Pope's Holiness of the said New Commission, the Business chanced to be made by the Emperor's Ambassador, upon preferring a Supplication for advocacy of the Cause; which thing by your writing, Mr. *Stevens*, to *Capifuke* was well avoided; yet was there none express refusal made by the Pope's Holiness to condescend unto the said New Commission, but order given that you should consult and confer with the Cardinal *Anconitane* and *Symonette* upon the same; which Conference, by means of the said Business, was deferred and disappointed, without any final conclusion or resolution taken thereupon. Wherefore inasmuch as yet there appeareth none utter despair of obtaining the said New Commission and Pollicitation, with some more fat, pregnant, and effectual Clauses than the other hath; The King's pleasure is, That notwithstanding any words before mentioned, both ye the said Mr. *Stevens*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, if ye be not departed from the Court of *Rome*, do for the time of your demur there, which the King's pleasure is shall not be long, but only for taking of your leave; and also the rest of the King's said Orators, after your departure, shall, as ye shall see the Case require, endeavour your selves as much as may be, to obtain the said New Commission and Pollicitation, foreseeing always that you handle the matter after such manner, as thereby the Pope be not the rather induced to hearken and incline to any pursuits of the Impetials for advocacy

cation of the Cause, which were a total frustration of all the King's intent, but so to use your selves, as ye shall see to be to the benefit, and not to the hindrance thereof: Which done, the King's Grace doth refer the good handling of this thing to your wisdoms and discretions, neither to leave the pursuit for the said Commission and Pollicitation, if it may without damage be followed; nor to follow it, if thereby you shall see apparent danger of any such Advocation, or advantage to ensue to the purpose of the *Imperialists*, like as his Highness doubteth nor, knowing now the King's mind and pleasure, you will with wisdom and dexterity, order your selves herein accordingly.

And furthermore, you shall in any wise dissuade the Pope for sending either by his Nuntio, to be sent unto *Spain*, or otherwise, for the Original Brief: And if the Nuntio be already passed, having charge to speak for sending the same to the Court of *Rome*, then to find the means that a Commandment be by the Pope's Holiness sent after him, not to make any mention thereof: Which done to you, the King's said Ambassador shall have a good colour to induce the Pope's Holiness, saying, as of your self, That you have well considered your own pursuits for producing the Brief at *Rome*; and because the Emperor might perchance think that the Pope were about to avert unto him the falsity of the said Brief, therefore you can be contented that that matter be put off, and no mention to be made thereof by his Nuntio, or otherwise; whereunto it is not to be doubted but the Pope's Holiness will have special regard, and facilly condescend to your desires in that behalf.

Finally; It appeareth also by certain your Letters sent, as well to the King's Highness as to me, that the Pope's Holiness is much desirous to study and find a mean and way to satisfie the King's Highness in this behalf: Amongst which one clause in his Letters to me is this; *Tamet si enim jurisperitorum consilium quaesiverimus, sed nihil reperimus, quod bonis oratoribus simul & justitiae ac honori nostro satisfaceret; sed tamen agimus omnia & tentamus omnes modos Regiae suae Serenitati, ac circumspeditioni tuae satisfaciendi.* (And it is added in the Margin, with *Wolfey's* hand;

*Mi Petre, referas tuis literis pervelim quid tibi & mihi Pontifex dixerit de modis excogitandis, & quomodo subridens dicebat, In nomine Patris, &c.)*

Wherefore since his Holiness so plainly declared, that he seeketh the ways and means to satisfie the King's Highness, it shall be in any wise expedient, that you the said Orators perceiving any towardness of Advocation, lay this to the Pope's Holiness, saying, That that is not the way to satisfie his Grace; and yet besides that, by your Wisdoms to find the means to understand and know of his Holiness what be the ways and means, which his Holiness hath studied or can study to satisfie the King according to his writing in this behalf, whereof they shall say his Grace is glad, and is very desirous to know and understand the same; and as you shall perceive any towardness or untowardness in the Pope in that behalf, so to set forth your pursuits to the best purpose accordingly. And thus heartily fare you well. From *Richmond*, the 21 day of *May*.

Your loving Friend,

*T. Cardin. Eborac.*

*May*

May 31. Romæ 1529.

XXVI. A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal:  
An Original.

*Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ tituli Sanctæ Cecilie Presbytero,  
Cardinali Eboracensi, nostro & sedis Apostolicæ Legato de latere,*

*Clemens manu propria.*

**D**ilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum Angliæ Rex ac Circumspectio vestra, vetera vestra erga nos & Sedem Apostolicam merita novis officiis augetis, optabimus occasione, in qua & vos nostrum amorem cognoscere possitis; sed molestissime tulimus eam primum esse oblatam, in qua circumsepti angustiis terminis Justitiæ, non possemus progredi quantum vellemus, studio vobis gratificandi, multis ac rationabilibus Causis desiderium vestrum impredientibus, quod quidem Regijs Oratoribus istuc redeuntibus demonstrare conati sumus. Sed super his & publicis negotijs copiosius vobiscum loquetur Dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis Campegius. Datum Romæ die ultima Maij, 1529.

J.

April 6. 1529.

XXVII. *The King's Letter to his Ambassadors, to hinder an  
Avocation of the Suit. An Original.*

By the King.

*Henry Rex.*

Cotton Libr.  
Vitell. B. II.

**T**Ruffy and right well-beloved we greet you well. Since your departure from hence, we have received fundry your Letters to us directed, wherof the last beareth date at Rome, the 4th day of the last month; and have also seen such other as from time to time ye have sent to the most Reverend Father in God, our most entirely well-beloved Counsellor the Lord Legate, Cardinal, Arch-Bishop of York, Primate of England, and our Chancellour: By continue whereof, we have been advertised of the Successes, as well of your Journey thitherwards, as of such things as ye to that time had done in our Causes to you committed; for the which your diligent advertisement, and good acquittal, we give unto you condign thanks: ascertaining you, We do not a little marvel, that in your said last Letters you shew so much desperation of any great favour to be had at the Pope's hand in our said Causes; considering that neither ye then had spoken with his Holiness in the same, nor by such Conferences as ye had had with Mr. *Jacobo Salsati*, or other on his behalf, we can perceive

perceive but all good favour and towardness; tho' per-case the superiority of the Imperials, and the common fame, led you to think the contrary: Howbeit as you know no credence is to be given unto such common report, nor we trust the same shall prove more true, than hath done the Opinion that was of the Lord Legate *Campegius* now here Resident, whom we find and certainly know to be of a far other sort in his love and inclination towards us, than was spoken, not having such affection towards the Emperor, as in him was suspected. And to be plain with you, if ever he had been of other mind, we have said somewhat to him after such manner as might soon change that intention. So that little faith is to be given to the outward Sayings and Opinions of such People as measure every thing at their pleasure; which we doubt not but ye right wisely do consider, and that ye have before this time, by your diligent sollicitation made to speak with the Pope's Holiness for declaration of your Charge, proved the contrary. Whereof we shall be glad and joyous to hear; willing and desiring you therefore, according to the great and special confidence that we have in you, to pretermitt no time in the diligent handling and execution of your said Charge, but by one good way or other to find the mean, if you have not already done it, to declare the same unto the Pope, wherein the good advice and address of the Bishop of *Verone* shall, We trust, do you great furtherance; and by whose means, if ye for the Pope's extreme debility or sickness, might in no wise be often admitted unto his presence, ye may signifie unto him at great length, our whole Mind, Desire, and Intent, after such form as your Instructions and Letters given and sent unto you in that behalf do purport: For sure ye may be, it shall highly confer unto the benefit of our Causes, that ye have there present one so fast and assured Friend unto us, as we trust the Bishop of *Verone* is, who shall be able right largely to countervail, and meet with the malicious practices of the Arch-Bishop of *Capua*, who is thought to be one of the chief Authors and contrivers of the Falsities, Crafts, and Abuses, set forth to the hindrance of our said Causes; which no Man shall more politicly and facilely deprehend, than the said Bishop of *Verone* may do: And therefore he is by you, with all good means and ways possible, to be entertained; as we doubt not but you will have special eye and regard to the making, winning, and conservation of as many Friends to our purpose as ye can possibly obtain; so handling your self, as now may appear your dexterity and perfect endeavour to conduce, with your diligent labour and policy, our Matters to the speedy, indelayed, and desired end and effect, which ye may be sure we shall not put in oblivion, but will have the same in remembrance accordingly. Marvelling nevertheless, that though ye Mr. *Stevens* could not bring hitherto our great Causes to perfection, ye had not in the mean season advertised us what is done touching such Bulls as were to be sped for our other particular Matters, whereof no mention is made in your said Letters; willing and desiring you therefore, by your next Letters, to advertise us in what state and train the same be; knowing right well that ye, being not only by the former Letters and Writings, but also by such as be sent unto you at this time, sufficiently and amply instructed of our Mind and Pleasure, will now so acquit your self, as shall correspond to the perfect expectation, and firm opinion that we have of you, which we shall not fail to have in our tender consideration to your well, as is aforesaid. You shall also, in your Conferences with the said Bishop of *Verone*, understand and know of him, by what ways and means ye may best further his advancement

to the Cardinality; exhorting him, for the manifold good effects that thereof may ensue, to conform himself to the acceptation thereof, if it may be obtained; for doubtless his Vertue, Wisdom, Experience, Fidelity, and other great and commendable merits well considered, we think no Man more meet at this time to be preferred thereunto than him: And therefore our express Mind and Pleasure is, that ye do it by all the ways and means to you possible. And finally we will that ye show unto him how effectually we have written unto you in that behalf, to the intent, being advanced thereunto, he may give us the better thanks, and in every way bear to us the more perfect affection. And by your next Letters, we will that ye advertise us what Advocates ye have on our part, with their Names and Qualities; finding the means also, if it be possible, to retain some notable and excellent Divine, a Frier, or other that may, can, or will firmly stick to our Causes, in leaning to that, *Quod Pontifex ex Jure Divino non potest dispensare, &c.* and of all the Successes to advertise us, as our special trust is in you. Given under our Signet, at our Manor of *Greenwich*, the 6th of this *April*.

XXVIII. The King's Letter to his Ambassadors, about his Appearance before the Legates. An Original.

June 23. 1529.

To our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Mr. William Bennet, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Knight; and Mr. Peter Vannes, our Secretary for the Latine Tongue, our Ambassadors, resident in the Court of Rome, and to every of them.

By the KING.

Henry R.

Cotton Libr. Titel. B. 11. **T**Rusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. By former Letters and Writings sent to you, Sir Gregory and Mr. Peter, with other of your Collegues then being at Rome, and by such conference as was had with you Mr. Bennet before your departure, you were advertised in what state then stood our Cause and Matter of Matrimony, and how it was intended that the Process of the same should with diligence be commenced before the Pope's Legates here, being authorized for that purpose. Since that time, ensuing the deliberation taken in that behalf, the said Legates, all due Ceremonies first observed, have directed Citations both to us and to the Queen, for our and for her appearing before them the 18th of this Month: which appearance was duly on either Party kept, performed, and all requisite Solemnities accomplished: At which time the Queen trusting more in the Power of the Imperialists, than in the justness of her Cause, and thinking of likelihood, by frustratory allegations and delays, to tract and put over the matter to her advantage, did protest at the said day, putting in Libels, Recusatories of the Judges; and also made a Provocation, alledging the Cause to be avoked by the Pope's Holiness,



*Et litis pendentiam coram eodem* ; desiring to be admitted for probation thereof, and to have a term competent for the same : Whereupon day was given by the Judges till the 21 of the same month, for declaration of their minds and intentions thereunto ; The Queen in Person, and we by our Proctor enjoined to appear the same day, to hear what the said Judges should determine in and upon the same. At which time both we and the Queen appeared in Person ; and notwithstanding that the said Judges amply and sufficiently declared, as well the sincerity of their minds directly, justly to proceed without favour, dread, affection, or partiality ; as also that no such Recusation, Appellation, or term for proving of *Litis pendentiam*, could or might be by them admitted : yet she nevertheles persisting in her former wilfulness, and in her Appeal, which also by the said Judges was likewise refused : And they minding to proceed further in the Cause, the Queen would no longer make her abode to hear what the said Judges would fully discern, but incontinently departed out of the Court ; wherefore she was thrice preconnisate, and called est-soons to return and appear ; which she refusing to do, was denounced by the Judges *Contumax*, and a Citation decreed for her appearance on *Friday* next, to make answer to such Articles and Positions as should be objected unto her : So as now it is not to be doubted, but that she will use all the ways and means to her possible, to impetrate and attain such things as well by her own pursue, as by her Friends, as may be to the impeachment of the rightful Procefs of this Cause, either by Advocation, Inhibition or otherwise : Wherefore seeing now in what state this our Matter standeth and dependeth, necessary and requisite for the great Consequences hanging upon the same, not only for the exoneration of our Conscience, but also for the surety of our Succession, and the well of this our Realm and People, to be with all celerity perfected and observed ; It was thought convenient to advertise you of the Premisses, to the intent ye being well and sufficiently instructed in all things concerning the same, shall by your wisdoms and diligences have special regard that nothing pass or be granted there by the Pope's Holiness, which may either give delay or disappointment to the direct and speedy Procefs to be used in this Cause, neither by advocation of the Cause, Inhibition or otherwise ; but that if any such thing shall, by the *Cæsareans*, or by her Agents, or other, be attempted, or desired, the like Men of Wisdom, good Zeal, Learning, and Experience, diligently procure the stopping thereof, as well upon such Reasons and Considerations as before have been signified unto you, as by inferring the high and extream dishonour, and intolerable prejudice that the Pope's Holiness thereof should do to his said Legates ; and also the contrariety both of his Bull and Commission, and also of his Promise and Pollicitation passed upon the same ; beside the notable and excellent displeasure thereby to be done by his Holiness to us, and our Realm, clear contrary to our merits and deserts ; extending also the other dangers mentioned in the said former Writings, apparent to ensue thereby to his Holiness, and the See Apostolick, with the manifold, and in manner, infinite inconveniencies like to follow of the same to all Christendom, and all other such reasons, introductions and perswasions ye can make and devise for that purpose : putting him also in remembrance of the great Commodity coming unto his Holiness herein, by reason that this Cause being here decided, the Pope not only is delivered from the pains that he should in this time of Disease and Sickness, to the extream peril of his Life, sustain with the same, seeing that it is of such moment and importance, as suffereth no tract or delay ; but also his Holiness shall by such decision here eschew and avoid all displeasure that he should not fail to have, if it were or should

be passed elsewhere : which matter is no little wisdom well to foresee and consider, and not only to forbear to do or pass any thing derogatory or prejudicial to his said Commission, but also by all means possible to corroborate and fortifie the same, and all such Acts judicial as shall pass by his said Legates by virtue thereof. Like as we doubt not but that the Pope's Holiness, of his Uprightness, Vertue, and perfect Wisdom will do ; and rather like a most loving Father and Friend, tender and favour our good, just and reasonable Causes and Desires, putting thereunto all the furtherance he may do, than to do or consent to be done any thing hurtful, prejudicial, dammageable, or displeasent unto us, or this our said Cause. And finally ; if need shall be, we will ye also infer, as the case shall require, how inconvenient it were this our matter should be decided in the Court of *Rome* ; which now dependeth totally in the Emperor's Arbitre, having such puissance near thereunto, that, as hath been written by the Pope's own Letters, their State and Life there is all in the Emperor's hands, whose Armies may famish or relieve them at their pleasure. And semblably ye shall not forget the prerogative of our Crown and Jurisdiction Royal, by the ancient Laws of our Realm, which admitteth nothing to be done by the Pope to the prejudice thereof, and also what danger they should incur that would presume to bring or present any such thing unto the same, as in our last Letters sent by *Alexander* was touched at good length. Wherein since ye be already so well and amply instructed, knowing also how much the Matter imports and toucheth us, and what profit and agreable service ye may do unto us herein, with the high thanks that ye may deserve for the same ; We shall not be more prolix, but refer the substantial, perfect, and assured handling hereof to your circumspections, fidelities, and diligences, not doubting but that ye will now above all other things, look vigilantly hereunto, and so acquit your selves in the same, as it may well appear that your Acts shall be correspondent to our firm trust and expectation, and no less tender this thing than ye know it to be imprinted in the bottom of our Heart, nor than as ye know both the importance and high moment, and also the very necessity of the Matter doth require. In which doing, beside the laud and praise that ye shall consecute thereby of all good Men, we shall so have your acquitals in our remembrance, as ye shall have cause to think your travels, pains, and studies herein, in the best wise collocate and employed. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of *Bridewel*, the 23<sup>d</sup> day of *June*.

Rome 9. July 1529.

XXIX. *Doctor Bennet's Letter to the Cardinal, shewing how little they might expect from the Pope. An Original.*

*Cotton Libr. B. II.* **P**lease it your Grace to understand, that the 6<sup>th</sup> day of this month the Pope's Holiness sent for us : Albeit we had made great sute for Audience before to his Holiness, soon after that we had understanding that his Holiness was recovered of this his last Sickness, into the which he fell the second day, after I had my first audience of his Holiness, which was the 21. day of the last month : And after our long communication and reasoning in the King's Highness Cause, which at length, we have written to your Grace in our common Letter, for a confirmation of many in-

conveniences and dangers which we perswaded to his Holiness, to follow both to himself and to the See Apostolick. in case his Holiness should avoke the cause; I thought much convenient at that same time to deliver the King's familiar, and likewise your Grace's Letter, and so to shew your Grace's Credence to his Holiness. After the foresaid Letters delivered, and by his Holiness read, his Holiness shewed me, that he perceived by your Grace's Letters, that I had certain Credence to shew unto him of great moment and importance, concerning him and the See Apostolick. I shewed to his Holiness your Grace's Faith and observance, his Holiness doth best know; most humbly besought his Holiness to beleive these undoubtedly to follow, That if his Holiness should, at the labours of the *Cesareans*, avoke the Cause, he should not alonly offend the King's Highness, which hitherto hath been a stay, a help, and a defence of the See Apostolick; but also by reason of this injury, without remedy, shall alienate his Majesty and Realms, with others, from the devotion and obedience of the See Apostolick. This I shewed his Holiness, that your Grace doth evidently perceive to follow, in case his Holiness should incline to the *Cesareans* desire on this behalf: Yea further, I said, that your Grace most clearly perceiveth also by that Act, the Church of *England* utterly to be destroyed, and likewise your Person; and that these your Grace, with weeping tears, most lamentably committed unto me to shew to his Holiness. Furthermore I shewed to his Holiness, that your Grace, howsoever you should proceed in this Cause, did intend to proceed so sincerely, indifferently, and justly, that you would rather suffer to be jointed, Joint by Joint, than either for affection or fear, do any act either against your Conscience or Justice. Furthermore I said, that seeing his Holiness may be so well assured, that your Grace will do nothing but according to Justice in this Cause, he may the more boldly deny Avocations to the *Cesareans*, seeing that the Queen and the Emperor can desire but Justice, which they may have at your Grace's hand, and my Lord *Campegius*, as well there as here; and by this means his Holiness should deliver himself from great pains and inquietness of mind, which he should sustain in case the cause should be known here, where he should have the King's Highness on one part, and the Emperor on the other side, daily calling upon his Holiness. To this his Holiness most heavily, and with tears, answered and said, That now he saw the destruction of Christendom, and lamented that his fortune was such to live to this day, and not to be able to remedy it, (saying these words) For God is my Judge, I would do as gladly for the King, as I would for my self; and to that I knowledge my self most bounden, but in this case I cannot satisfie his desire, but that I should do manifestly against Justice to the Charge of my Conscience, to my rebuke, and to the dishonour of the See Apostolick; affirming, that his Counsel shews him, that seeing the *Cesareans* have a Mandate or Proxie of the Queen, to ask the Avocations in her Name, he cannot of Justice deny it, and the whole Signature be in that same opinion; so that though he would most gladly do that thing that might be to the King's pleasure; yet he cannot do it, seeing that Signature would be against him whensoever the Supplication should be up there: And so being late, we took our leave of his Holiness, and departed, seeing that we could obtain nothing of the Pope for stopping the Avocation, we consulted and devised for the deferring of it, till such time as your Grace might make an end in the Cause there. And so concluded upon a new Device, which at length we have written in our

common Letter, wherein I promise your Grace, Mr. *Gregory* has used great diligence, and taken great labours at this time, we can do no more for our lives: And if your Grace saw the importune labour of the Ambassadors of the Emperor's and *Ferdinandoes*, you would marvel, I promise your Grace they never cease; wherefore in staying hitherto, as we have done, it is marvel, as God knoweth, whom I pray to preserve your Grace in health and prosperity *ad multos annos*. I beseech your Grace most humbly to commend me to the King's Highness; and likewise I beseech your Grace to pardon my ill writing. At *Rome* the 9th day of *July*.

Your daily Beadman

and Servant,

*W. Benet.*

XXX. *A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal concerning the Avocation. An Original.*

19: *Julij*, 1529.

*Cotton Libr.*  
*Vitell. B.11.*

**D**ilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Difficile est nobis explicare literis, qua nostra molestia seu potius dolore fuerimus coacti ad Avocationem Cause istic commissæ concedendam; nam etsi res ita fuit iusta ut tanto tempore differri non debuerit, tamen nos qui isti Serenissimo Regi pro ejus singularibus erga nos & Apostolicam sedem meritis placere in omnibus cupimus, sicut consuevimus, ægre nunc adducti sumus, ut quamquam iustitia cogente, quicquid contra ejus voluntatem concederemus. Nec vero minus, Fili, doluimus tua causa cui rem hanc tantæ curæ esse perspeximus quantum tua erga dictum Regem fides & amor postulat; sed tamen quod datur iustitiæ minus esse molestum debet, cum præsertim id fuerit tam dilatum à nobis, omniaq; antea pertentata ne ad hoc descenderemus. Itaq; optamus in hoc adhiberi à te illam tuam singularem prudentiam & æquitatem, persuadereq; te tibi id quod est, nos, qui semper vobis placere quantum nobis licuit studuimus, id quod vestro maximo merito fecimus, & semper facturi sumus, nunc non nisi invitos & iustitia coactos quod fecimus, fecisse: Teq; omni studio & amore hortamur, ut dictum Regem in solita erga nos benevolentia retinere velis, eique persuadere, nihil ex hoc apud nos de benevolentia erga se veteri imminutum unquam fore, quod recipiemus à Circumspectione tua longe gratissimum. Quemadmodum plenius dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis *Campegius* hæc Circumspectioni tuæ explicabit. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 19. Julij 1529. Pont. nostri anno sexto.

*Blosius.*

Act 26. Anno Regni 21. Henr. 8.

XXX. *An Act for the releasing unto the King his Highness of such Sums of Money as was to be required of him, by any his Subjects, for any Manner of Loan, by his Letters Missives, or other ways or manner whatsoever.*

**I***tem quedam alia billa formam cuiusdam actus in se continens, exhibitæ est præfato Domino Regi in Parlamento prædicto, cujus quidem billæ tenor sequitur in hæc verba.* The King's humble, faithful, and loving subjects the Lords Spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, considering and calling to their remembrances, the inestimable Costs, Charges, and Expences, which the King's Highness necessarily hath been compelled to support and sustain, since his assumption to his Crown, Estate, and Dignity Royal; as well first for the extinction of a right dangerous and damnable Schism sprung and risen in the Church; which by the providence of Almighty God, and the high prudence, and provision, and assistance of the King's Highness, was, to the great honour, laud, and glory of his Majesty, repressed; the Enemies then being of the Church reformed, returned, and restored to the unity of the same, and peace over all composed and concluded, as also for the modyfying of the insatiable and inordinate ambition of those which do aspire unto the Monarchy of Christendom, did put universal trouble and divisions in the same, intending, if they might, not only to have subdued this Realm, but also all the rest unto their Power and Subjection: For the resistance whereof, the King's Highness was compelled, after the Universal Peace, by the great study, labour, and travel of his Grace conduced, and the same by some of the Contrahents newly violate and infringed; in shewing the form of the Treatise thereupon made again, to take Armour. And over and besides the notable and excessive treasure and substance which his Highness in his first Wars had employed for the defence of the Church, the Faith Catholick, and this his Realm, and of the People and Subjects of the same was est soon brought of necessity to new, excellent, and marvellous Charges, both for the supportation of sundry Armies by Sea and by Land; and also for divers and manifold Contributions outward, to serve, keep, and contain his own Subjects at home in rest and repose; which hath been so politickly handled and conduced, that when the most part of all Religious Christians have been infested with cruel Wars, Discords, Divisions, and Dissentions, the great Heads and Princes of the World brought unto Captivity; Cities, Towns, and Places, by force and sedition, taken, spoiled, burnt, and sacked; Men, Women, and Children found in the same slain and destroyed; Virgins, Wives, Widows, and Religious Women, ravished and defloured; Holy Churches and Temples polluted, and turned unto prophane use; the Reliques of the Holy Saints irreverently treated; Hunger, Dearth, and Famine, by mean thereof in the said outward Regions, insuing and generally over all, was depopulation, destruction and confusion; the King's said Subjects in all this time, were by the high providence and politick means of his Grace nevertheless preserved, defended, and maintained, from all these inconveniences and dangers; and such provisions taken, by one way or other, so as reasonable commodity

dity was always given unto them to exercise their Traffiques of Merchandise, and other their Crafts, Mysteries, and Occupations for their living; which could not possibly have been brought about, unless then the King's Highness, with continual studies, travels, and pains, and with his infinite Charges and Expences, had converted the peril and danger of the Enterprises and Exploits, set forth for the reduction of the Enemies unto Peace, from his own Subjects unto Strangers: Whereof finally such Fruit and Effect is ensued, as by the King's policy, puissance, and means, general and universal Peace is established amongst all Christian Princes; and this Realm now, thanked be God, constitute in free, better, and more assured and profitable Amity with all outward Parties, than hath been at any time whereof is memory or remembrance. Considering furthermore, That his Highness, in and about the Premisses, hath been fain to imploy, not only such sums of Money as hath risen and grown by any manner of contribution made unto his Grace by his said loving Subjects; but also over and above the same, sundry other notable and excellent Summs of his own Treasure, and yearly Revenues; which else his Grace might have kept and reserved to his own use; amongst which manifold great Summs so employed, his Highness also, as is notoriously known, and as doth evidently appear by the accompts of the same, hath to that use and none other, converted all such Money, as by any his Subjects and People Spiritual and Temporal, hath been advanced unto his Grace by way of Prest and Loan, either particularly, or by any Taxation made of the same, being a thing so well collocate and bestowed, seeing the said high and great Fruits and effects thereof ensued, to the honour, surety, well, perfect commodity, and perpetual tranquillity of this said Realm, as nothing could better nor more to the comfort of his said Subjects be desired, studied, or imagined; Of one mind, consent and assent, and by Authority of this present Parliament, do for themselves, and all the whole body of the Realm whom they do represent, freely, liberally, and absolutely, give and grant unto the King's Highness, by Authority of this present Parliament, all and every Sum and Sums of Money, which to them, and every of them, is, ought, or might be due, by reason of any Money, or any other thing, to his Grace at any time heretofore advanced, or payed, by way of Prest or Loan, either upon any Letter or Letters under the King's Privy Seal, general or particular, Letter Missive, Promise, Bond, or Obligation of payment; or by any Taxation, or other assessing, by vertue of any Commission or Commissions, or by any other mean or means whatsoever it be heretofore passed for that purpose, and utterly, frankly, liberally, and most willingly and benevolently, for them, their Heirs, Executors, and Successors, do remit, release, and quit claim, unto his Highness, his Heirs, and Successors for ever, all and every the same Sums of Money, and every parcel thereof, and all and singular Suits, Pctitions, and demands, which they, or any of them, their Heirs, Successors, or Executors, or the Heirs, Executors or successors of any of them, have, had, or may have for the same, or any parcel thereof; most humbly and lovingly beseeching his Highness, for the more clear discharge for the same, that it may be ordained and enacted by the King, our said Sovereign Lord, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, that all Promises, Bonds, Writings, Obligatory Letters, under the King's Privy Seal, Signet, Sign Manual, or Great Seal passed, and other Bonds or Promises, whatsoever they be, had, made, to any Person or Persons, Spiritual or Temporal, Shire,

City,

City, Burrough, Waxentale, Tranſhip, Hamlet, Village, Monaftery, Church, Cathedral, or Collegiate, or to any Guild, Fraternity, or Body Corporate, Fellowship, or Company, or other whatſoever, having capacity to take any Bond eſpecially and generally, jointly or ſeverally, touching or concerning the ſame Preſt or Loan, or every of them, or the repayment of any Sum or Sums of Mony for the ſame, be from henceforth void and of none effect. *Cui quidem billa probe & ad plenum intellectum per dictum Dominum Regem ex aſſenſu & Auctoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter eſt reſponſum. Le Roy remercie les Seigneurs & ſes communes de leur bonne cœurs en faiſant ceſt graunt, & icelle ſa Majeſte accepte & tout le contenu, & ceſt eſcriture a graunt & aprobe avecques tous les articles en ceſte eſcriture ſpecifices.*

XXXII. *A Letter from Gardiner and Fox, about their Proceedings at Cambridg. An Original.*

Feb. 1530. from Cambridg by Stephen Gardiner.

*To the King's Highneſs.*

**P**leaſeth it your Highneſs to be advertiſed, That arriving here at Cotton Libr. Cambridge upon Saturday laſt paſt at noon, that ſame night, and Sunday in the Morning, we deviſed with the Vice Chancellor, and ſuch other as favoureth your Grace's Cauſe, how and in what ſort to compaſs and attain your Grace's Purpoſe and Intent; wherein we aſſure your Grace, we found much towardneſs, good will, and diligence, in the Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Edmunds, being as ſtudious to ſerve your Grace as we could wiſh or deſire: Nevertheleſs there was not ſo much care, labour, ſtudy, and diligence imployed on our Party, by them, our ſelf, and other, for attaining your Graces Purpoſe, but there was as much done by others for the lett and empeachment of the ſame; and as we aſſembled, they aſſembled, as we made Friends they made Friends, to lett that nothing ſhould paſs as in the Universities Name; wherein the firſt day they were Superiors, for they had put in the ears of them, by whoſe Voices ſuch things do paſs, *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your Grace. Upon Sunday at afternoon were aſſembled, after the manner of the University, all the Doctors, Batchellors of Divinity, and Maſters of Art, being in number almoſt two hundred: In that Congregation we delivered your Grace's Letters, which were read openly by the Vice-Chancellor. And for answer to be made unto them, firſt the Vice-Chancellor calling apart the Doctors, asked their Advice and Opinion; whereunto they answered ſeverally, as their Affections led them, *& res erat in multa confuſione*. Tandem they were content Answer ſhould be made to the Questions by indifferent Men: But then they came to Exceptions againſt the Abbot of St. Benets, who ſeemed to come for that purpoſe; and likewise againſt Dr. Reppes, and Dr. Grome; and alſo generally againſt all ſuch as had allowed Dr. Cranmer's Book, inasmuch as they had already declared their Opinion. We ſaid thereunto, That by that reaſon they might except againſt all; for it was lightly, that in a Queſtion ſo notable as this is, every Man Lenned hath

said to his Friend as he thinketh in it for the time ; but we ought not to judge of any Man, that he setteth more to defend that which he hath once said, than Truth afterward known. Finally, The Vice-Chancellor, because the day was much spent in those altercations, commanding every Man to resort to his Seat apart, as the manner is in those Assemblies, willed every Man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with such an Order as he had conceived for answer to be made by the Univerſity to your Grace's Letters; whereunto that night they would in no wise agree. And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the Vice-Chancellor continued the Congregation till the next day at one of the Clock ; at which time the Vice-Chancellor proponed a Grace after the form herein inclosed ; and, it was first denied : When it was asked again, it was even on both Parties, to be denied or granted ; and at the last, by labour of Friends to cause some to depart the House which were against it, it was obtained in such form as the Schedule herein enclosed purporteth ; wherein be two Points which we would have left out ; but considering by putting in of them, we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the Determination for your Grace's part, we were finally content therewith. The one Point is that where it was first, that *quicquid major pars* of them that be named *decreverit*, should be taken for the Determination of the Univerſity. Now it referred *ad duas partes*, wherein we suppose shall be no difficulty. The other Point is, That your Grace's Question shall be openly disputed, which we think to be very honourable ; and it is agreed amongst us, That in that Disputation, shall answer, the Abbot of *St. Benets*, *Dr. Reppes*, I and *Mr. Fox*, to all such as will object any thing or reason against the conclusion to be sustained for your Grace's part. And because *Mr. Doctor Clyffs* hath said, That he hath somewhat to say concerning the Canon-Law ; I your Secretary shall be adjourned unto them for answer to be made therein. In the Schedule which we send unto your Grace herewith, containing the Names of those who shall determine your Grace's Question, all marked with the Letter A. be already of your Grace's Opinion ; by which we trust, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part of the rest. Thus We beseech Almighty God to preserve your most Noble and Royal Estate. From *Cambridge* the day of *February*.

Your Highness's most humble

Subjects and Servants

*Stephen Gardiner,*

*Edward Foze.*

The



The Grace purposed and obtained, Feb. 1530.

*Placet vobis ut*

A. Vicecancellarius.

*Doctores.*

A. Salcot. *The Abbot of St. Benets.*

Watson.

A. Repps.

Tomson.

Venetus, *de isto bene speratur.*

A. Edmunds.

Downs.

A. Crome.

A. Wygan.

A. Boston.

*Magistri in Theologia:*

Middleton.

A. Heynes.

Myllent, *de isto bene speratur.*

A. Shaxton.

A. Latimer.

A. Simon.

Longford, *de isto bene speratur.*

Thyxtel.

Nicols.

Hutton.

A. Skip.

A. Goodrich.

A. Heth.

Hadway, *de isto bene speratur.*

Dey.

Bayne.

A.A. Duo Procuratores.

**H**Abeant plenam facultatem & Authoritatem, nomine totius Universitatis, respondendi Literis Regiæ Majestatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Universitatis definiendi & determinandi quæstionem in dictis literis propositam: ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum præsentium inter se decreverint, respondendi dictis literis, & definierint ac determinaverint super quæstione proposita, in iisdem habeatur, & reputetur pro Responsione, Definitione & Determinatione totius Universitatis, & quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus & Scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium definitione & determinatione concipienda sigillum commune Universitatis apponere: sic quod disputetur Quæstio publice & antea legatur coram Universitate absq; ulteriori gratia desuper petenda aut obtinenda.

*Your Highness may perceive by the Notes, that we be already sure of as many as be requisite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four; of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be absent, it is sufficient for our purpose.*

July 1. 1530.

XXXIII. A Letter from Crook out of Venice, concerning the Opinions of Divines about the Divorce. An Original.

Cotton Libr.  
Virell. B.13.

PLEASE it your Highness to be advertised, That as this day I obtained the Common Seal of the University of *Padua*, in substantial and good form; for all the Doctors were assembled upon *Sunday*, and the Cause was amongst them solemnly and earnestly disputed all *Monday*, *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*, and *Thursday*, and this present *Friday* in the morning again: and thereupon they concluded with your Highness, and desired a Notary to set his Sign and Hand unto an Instrument, by *Leonicus* and *Simonettus* devised, in corroboration of your Cause, and thereby to testify that this Instrument was their Deed, Device, Act, and Conclusion; and for the more credence to be given to the said Instrument, they caused the Chancellor of the *Potestate* here to set his hand and Seal for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Copy of all the which things I send unto your Highness by this Bearer, in most humble wise beseeching the same to be advertised, that the General of the Black-Friers hath given a Commandment, That no Black-Frier dispute the Pope's Power; Notwithstanding Prior *Thomas Omnibonus* procureth daily new Subscriptions, and will do till the Brief of contrary Commandment shall come unto his hands.

My fidelity bindeth me to advertise your Highness, that all *Lutherans* be utterly against your Highness in this Cause, and have letted as much with their wretched Power, Malice, without reason or Authority, as they could and might, as well here, as in *Padua* and *Ferrara*, where be no small Companies of them. I doubt not but all Christian Universities, if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highness. And to obtain their assent, as well through *Italy*, *France*, *Almogn*, *Austrick*, *Hungary* and *Scotland*, I think it marvelous expedient, for the preferment of this your most honourable and high Cause; As from the Signiory and Dominion of *Venice* towards *Rome*, and beyond *Rome*, I think there can be no more done than is done already. Albeit, gracious Lord, if that I had in time been sufficiently furnished with Money, albeit I have beside this Seal procured unto your Highness an hundred and ten Subscriptions, yet it had been nothing in comparison of that that I might easily and would have done; and at this hour I assure your Highness, that I have neither Provision nor Money, and have borrowed an hundred Crowns, the which also are spent about the getting of this Seal; of the which my need, and divers impediments in your Highness's Cause here, I have advertised your Highness by many and Sundry Letters, and with the same sent divers Books and Writings, part to *Hierom Molins* a *Venetian*, and Factor to *Mappheus Bernardus* by the hands of your Subject *Edmund Harvel*, part directed to Mr. *Toks*, whereof I am nothing ascertained whether they be exhibited unto your Highness or not, to no little discomfort unto me; notwithstanding I have reserved a Copy of all things, Letters, and other, and herein inclosed a Bill, specifying by whom and to whom I directed my said Letters, in most humble wise, beseeching your most Royal Clemency, to ponder my true, sure, and good endeavours, and not to suffer me to be destitute of Money, to my undoing, and utter loss of your most high Causes here: for of my self I have nothing whereby to help my self. And thus  
the

the most Blessed Trinity keep and preserve your Highness in his most Royal Estate. At *Venice*, the first day of *July* at night, *Anno* — 30.

*R. Crook.*

XXXIV. The Judgment of the Universities concerning the King's Marriage; taken from the Printed Edition of them. *London*, 1532.

*Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.*

**D**Ecanus & Facultas Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Universitatis Parisiensis, omnibus, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in eo qui est vera Salus. Cum nuper suborta magnæ difficultatis controversia super invaliditate Matrimonij, inter Serenissimum Henricum Octavum Angliæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem, & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Illustrissimam Dominam Catharinam Angliæ Reginam, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Regis Catholici Filiam contracti, & carnali copula consummati, illa etiam nobis Quæstio in justitia, & veritate discutienda & examinanda proposita fuerat, videlicet, An ducere relictam fratris mortui sine liberis sic esset jure divino & naturali prohibitum, ut interveniente summi Pontificis Dispensatione, non posset fieri licitum, ut quis Christianus relictam fratris ducat, & habeat in Uxorem; Nos Decanus & Facultas antedicta, cogitantes, quam esset pium & sanctum, nec-non debito charitatis, & nostræ Professioni consentaneum, ut his, qui in lege Domini secura, tranquillaq; conscientia vitam hanc ducere, & transigere cupiant, viam justitiæ ostenderemus, nolimus tam justis & piis votis deesse. Hinc more solito, apud ædem S. Mathurini per juramentum convenientes, & solemni Missa cum Invocatione Spiritus Sancti ob hoc celebrata, nec non præstito juramento de deliberando super præfata quæstione, secundum Deum & Conscientiam; Post varias & multiplices Sessiones, tam apud ædem S. Mathurini, quam apud Collegium Sorbonæ, ab octava Junij usq; ad secundum Julij habitas, & continuatas, perscrutatis prius excussisq; quam diligentissime, ac ea qua decuit reverentia & Religione, Sacræ Scripturæ Libris eorumq; probatissimis interpretibus, nec-non Sacro-sanctæ Ecclesiæ generalibus ac Synodalibus Concilij Decretis & constitutionibus longo usu receptis & approbatis: Nos prædicti Decanus & Facultas de prædicta Quæstione differentes, & ad eam respondentes, sequentes unanime judicium & consensum Majoris partis totius Facultatis, Afferimus & determinavimus, prout & in his Scriptis per præsentis Afferimus & Determinamus, quod prædictæ nuptiæ cum relictis fratrum decedentium sine liberis, sic naturali jure pariter & divino sunt prohibitæ, ut super talibus Matrimoniis contractis, sive contrahendis, Summus Pontifex dispensare non possit. In cujus nostræ Assertionis & Determinationis fidem & testimonium, sigillum nostræ Facultatis cum signo nostri Notarij, seu Bedelli præsentibus apponi curavimus. Datum in generali nostra Congregatione per juramentum celebrata apud S. Mathurinum. Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo, Mensis vero Julij die secundo.

*Censura*

*Censura Facultatis Decretorum almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.*

**I**N Nomine Domini Amen. Cum proposita fuisset coram nobis Decano & Collegio Consultissimæ Facultatis Decretorum Parisiensis Universitatis Quæstio; An Papa possit Dispensare, quod Frater possit in Uxorem ducere, sive accipere relictam Fratris sui, Matrimonio consummato per Fratrem præmortuum? Nos Decanus & Collegium præfatæ Facultatis, post multas Disputationes & Argumenta hinc inde super hac materia facta ac habita, cum magna & longa librorum, tam divini, quam Pontificii & Civilis, jurium revolutione consulimus, & dicimus, Papam non posse in facto proposito dispensare. In cujus rei testimonium, has præsentis Sigillo nostræ Facultatis, & signo nostri scribæ primi Bedelli muniri fecimus. Datum in Congregatione nostra apud Sanctum Joannem Lateranensem, Parisiis die vicesima tertia mensis Maij, Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo trigésimo.

*Censura almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis.*

**C**UM ab hinc aliquod tempus nobis Collegio Doctorum Regentium almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis propositæ fuerint, quæ sequuntur Quæstiones, videlicet; Si jure divino liceat fratri Relictam fratris (quam Fratrem vocant) accipere Uxorem? Item & si hoc sit eo jure vetitum, utrum divinæ Legis prohibitio Pontificali Dispensatione remitti possit? Nos prædictum Collegium, post multas ad prædictorum dubiorum Disputationem, (de more nostro) factas Sessiones & Congregationes, postque Juris tum Divini tum Canonici locos (quod facere potuimus) examinatos, & omnibus mature atq; exacte pensatis & consideratis: Definivimus, prædictas nuptias citra divinæ legis injuriam attentari non posse, etiam si summi Pontificis accedat indulgentia, vel permissus. In cujus rei testimonium præsens publicum Instrumentum à Scriba præfatæ almæ Universitatis subignari fecimus, ejusdemq; Sigillo communiri. Actum in Sacello Beate Mariæ Boninuntij Aurelianensis. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo vigésimo nono, die quinto Mensis Aprilis.

*Censura Facultatum Juris Pontificij & legum Almæ Universitatis Andegavensis.*

**C**UM certo ab hinc tempore nobis Rectori & Doctoribus Regentibus in Pontificia & legum disciplina almæ Universitatis Andegavensis sequentes Quæstiones propositæ fuerint, scilicet, Utrum Jure Divino pariter & naturali illicitum sit homini Christiano Relictam fratris sui, etiam absq; liberis, sed Matrimonio jam consummato defuncti, ducere Uxorem? Et an Summo Pontifici liceat super hujusmodi nuptiis dispensare? Nos præfati Rector & Doctores, post plures ad Disputationem hujusmodi quæstionum, & veritatem comperiendam factas, ex more, Congregationes & Sessiones, postq; varios Juristam Divini, quam humani locos, qui ad eam rem pertinere videbantur, discussos, multas quoque rationes in utramque partem adductas & examinatas, omnibus fideliter consideratis, & matura deliberatione præhabita, Definivimus neque Divino neque Naturali Jure permissi homini Christiano, etiam cum Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate seu Dispensatione super hoc adhibita, Relictam fratris, qui etiam sine liberis post consummatum Matrimonium decesserit, Uxorem accipere vel habere.

In quorum omnium supradictorum fidem, præfens publicum Instrumentum à Scriba seu Notario præfatæ Almæ Universitatis subsignari jussimus, ejusdemque Universitatis Magno Sigillo muniri. Actum in æde sacra Divi Petri Andegavensi, in Collegio nostro, Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo, die septimo Maij.

*Censura almæ Universitatis Bituricensis.*

**N**OS cum Decano Theologiæ, Facultas in Universitate Bituricensi (ut Doctoris Gentium Pauli exemplo plerisque locis auspicemur scriptum nostrum à precatione) omnibus dilectis Dei in quibus vocati estis, Lectores Charissimi, qui; ad quos scribimus, Gratia vobis & pax à Deo Patre & Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Dum complerentur dies inter Octavas Pentecostes, & essemus omnes pariter in eodem loco, corpore & animo congregati, sedentesque in domo dicti Decani; facta est nobis rursus Quæstio eadem, quæ sæpius antea, non quidem parva hunc in modum: An rem faciat illicitam necne, frater accipiens Uxorem à præmortuo fratre relictam, consummato etiam Matrimonio? Tandem rei ipsius veritate disquisita & perspecta, multo singulorum labore, & Sacrorum iterata atque iterata revolutione codicum, unusquisque nostrum non fascinatus, quo minus veritati obediret, cœpit, prout Spiritus Sanctus dedit, suum hoc unum arbitrium eloqui, absque personarum acceptione in veritate comperi, personas memoratas in Capite Levitici octavo supra decimum prohibitas esse jure ipso naturali, autoritate humana minime relaxabili, & veritas, ne invicem Matrimonium contrahant, quo sit fraternæ turpitudinis abominabilis Revelatio. Et hoc nobis signum nostri Bedelli Notarij publici, cum Sigillo dictæ supra nostræ facultatis præsentibus appenso, Die decimo Junij, Anno vero à Christi Nativitate, Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo. Ut autem nostræ scriptionis pes & caput uni reddantur formæ, quemadmodum sumus auspicari à precatione, ita claudamus illius quo utimur exemplo. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, charitas Dei, & communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

*Censura Almæ Universitatis Tholosanæ.*

**T**Ractabatur in nostra Tholosana Academia perquam difficilis Quæstio, Liceatne fratri eam, quæ jam olim defuncto fratri Uxor fuerat (nullistamen relictis liberis) in Matrimonio sibi conjungere? Accedebat & alius scrupulus, qui nos potissimum torquebat, Si Romanus Pontifex, cui est commissa gregis Christiani cura, id sua, quam vocamus, Dispensatione permittat, tunc saltem liceat? Ad utramque Quæstionem agitandam Doctores omnes Regentes, qui tunc Tholosæ aderant, coegit Rector in Concilium, neque id semel tantum sed etiam iterum: Quippe existimavit præcipitari non oportere Consilia, indigereque nos tempore, ut aliquid maturius agamus. Demum, cum in unum locum convenissent omnes, tum Sacrarum Literarum disertissimi Interpretes, tum utriusque Censuræ Consultissimi, denique qui quavis in re & judicio & oratione viri fœlicibus ingeniis non mediocriter exercitati essent, ac sese Sacrosanctis Conciliis parere velle, Sanctorumque Patrum haudquaquam piis animis violanda Decreta imitari jurassent, & unusquisque suam sententiam protulisset, atque in utramque partem diffuse decertatum esset; tandem in eam Sententiam sic frequentius itum est, ut uno omnium ore Alma nostra Universitas animis sincerissimis ut nulloque fermento vitiatas censue-

rit, Jure divino pariter & Naturali Uxorem relictam fratris sui nemini licere accipere. At postquam id lege eadem non licet, responsum est, non posse Pontificem aliquem ea lege solvere. Nec huic sententiæ refragari potest, quod cogeretur olim frater Uxorem demortui fratris accipere. Nam hoc figura erat, atque umbra futurorum, quæ omnia adveniente Luce & veritate Evangelij evanuerunt. Hæc quoniam ita se habent, in hanc formam redegitur, & per Notarium, qui nobis est à Secretis, signari, sigillique autentici ejusdem nostræ Almæ Universitatis jussibus Appensione communiri. Tholosæ Kal. Octob. Ann. à Christo nato M D X X X.

*Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Universitatis Bononiensis.*

CUM Deus Optimus Maximus veterem Legem ad morum vitæque informationem ac institutionem ore suo tradiderit, idemque humanitate sumpta, mortalium Redemptor Deus novum condiderit Testamentum, sed ad dubia, quæ in multis emergebant, tollenda declarandaque contulerit, quæ ad hominum perfectionem elucidata nonnihil conferunt; nostras partes semper fore duximus hujusmodi sanctissima Patris æterni documenta sectari, & in rebus arduis ac dubitabilibus, superno illustratos lumine, nostram ferre sententiam ubi causa mature consultata, multisque hinc inde rationibus, scriptisque Patrum dilucidata fuerit, nihil quod possumus, in aliquo temere ferentes. Cum itaque nos, præstantes quidam & clarissimi viri obnixè rogarint, ut subsequenter casum maxima diligentia perscrutaremur, nostrumque subinde in eum judicium ferremus æquissime, soli veritati innitentes in unum omnes Almæ Universitatis hujus Doctores Theologi convenimus, casu prius per unumquemque nostrum sigillatim domibus propriis examinato, summaque solertia per dies plurimos contracto: Illud una mox vidimus, examinavimus, contulimus, ad amissimque singula quæque pertractantes ponderavimus, rationes quascunque contrarias, quas fieri posse censuimus, in medium afferentes atque solventes, etiam ipsius Reverendissimi D. D. Card. Cajetani, necnon Deuteronomiam Dispensationem de fratris suscitando semine, & reliquas tandem omnes sententias oppositas, quæ ad id negotij facere viderentur. Quæsitum est igitur à nobis, An ex sola Ecclesiæ institutione vel etiam Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam à fratre sine liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utraque lege ne fieri possit, cautum est, An quenkquam possit Beatissimus Pontifex super ejusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio dispensare? Qua diligentissime (ut diximus) ac exactissime seorsim palamque examinata, ac pro viribus nostris, optime discussa Quæstione, Censemus, Judicamus, dicimus, constantissime Testamur & indubie affirmamus, hujusmodi Matrimonium, tales nuptias, tale conjugium horrendum fore, execrabile, detestandum, viroque Christiano, immo etiam cuilibet infideli prorsus abominabile, atque à Jure naturæ divino & humano diris ptenis prohibitum. Nec posse Sanctissimum Papam (qui tamen fere omnia potest) cui collatæ sunt à Christo claves Regni Cælorum; Non inquam posse aliqua ex causa super hujusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio, quenkquam dispensare. Ad hujus Conclusionis veritatem tutandam, omnes in omnia loca & tempora parati sumus. In quorum fidem has scripsimus, almaque nostræ Universitatis ac Sacri venerabilium Theologorum Collegij Sigillo munivimus, solita nostra generali subscriptione Signames. Bononiæ in Ecclesia Cathedrali, decima Junij, Anno Dom. M. D. X X X. sub Divi Clementis 7. Pontificatu.

*Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Almæ Universitatis  
Pataviensis.*

**T**Estantur, qui Catholicam fidem astruunt, Deum Optimum Maximum legis veteris præcepta filiis Israel ad exemplar vitæ ac morum nostrorum institutionem ore proprio tradidisse, eundemq; trabea humanitatis indutum, Redemptorem omnium factum, Novum Testamentum condidisse, & nedum propter hoc, sed ad dubia quæcunq; emergentia removenda, dilucidandaq; nobis misericorditer condonasse, quæ ad nostri perfectionem enucleata fructus uberes conferunt & salutare. Nostrum semper fuit eritque per secula (uti Christicolæ decet) hujusmodi celebratissima Summi Pontificis instituta sectari, & in quibusq; dubitationibus, ac arduis Quæstionibus supernaturali lumine freti, nostrum proferre Judicium, ubi res ipsa optime considerata, multisq; hinc inde demonstrationibus, atq; Patrum Authoritatibus mature declarata fuerit, temere quoad possumus nihil omnino judicantes. Cum igitur nos, quidam oratores clarissimi suppliciter exorarint, ut subsequenter casum diligentissime perscrutari dignaremur, atque nostram ferremus exinde sententiam, soli veritati simpliciter attendentes: Qua ex re omnes hujus Almæ Universitatis Doctores Theologi in simul convenimus, re ipsa prius per nostrum quemlibet particulariter propriis domibus examinata, summaque cum solertia enucleata, mox in unum redacti cuncta consideravimus, examinavimus, omniaq; sigillatim ponderavimus, Argumenta quæcunq; contraria, quæ fieri quoquo modo posse putavimus, adducentes, atq; integerrime dissolventes, necnon Deuteronomicam Dispensationem de Fratris suscitando semine, & reliquas omnes rationes atque sententias oppositas, quæ ad id facere videbantur: Quæstio igitur talis fuit exposita, An ex sola Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ institutione, vel etiam de Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam fratris absq; liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utrobique fieri nequeat cautum est, An Beatissimus Pontifex super hujusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio quenquam dispensare legitime possit? Quo exactissime (ut dictum est) seorsim publiceq; discussio, ac pro viribus dilucidato quæsito, Dicimus, Judicamus, Decernimus, Attestamur, atq; veridice Affirmamus, Matrimonium hujusmodi, tale conjugium & tales nuptias nullas esse, immo detestabiles, atq; execrandas Christiano cuilibet esse, prophanas, & ut scelus abominandas, crudelissimis pœnis, jure naturæ, divino & humano clarissime esse prohibitas. Nec Beatissimum Pontificem, cui claves Regni cœlestis à Christo Dei Filio sunt collatæ, ulla ex causa posse super tali Matrimonio contrahendo quenquam juridice dispensare. Cum illa quæ sunt à Jure Divino prohibita, non subsint ejus potestati, nec in illa gerit vicem Dei, sed solum super ea, quæ sunt commissa jurisdictioni hominum. Ad cujus Sententia ac conclusionis veritatem tutandam & ejusdem certissimam defensionem, Nos omnes unanimes semper & ubique parati sumus. In quorum fidem has nostras fecimus, Almæ Universitatis nostræ, ac Sacri Reverendorum Theologorum Collegij Sigillo solito communivimus. Datum Paduæ in Ecclesia Hermitarum S. Augustini, die primo Julij, M. D. XXX.

XXXV. *The Judgment of the Lutheran Divines about the King's Marriage, ex MSS. R. Smith, London.*

**E**X hac Collatione in qua audivimus Argumenta de Controversia Divortij Serenissimi & Illustrissimi Regis Angliæ, Franciæ, &c. proposita & diligenter agitata à Reverendo D. D. Edwardo Hereford. Episcopo, D. Nicolao Archidiacono & D. D. Barnes, intelleximus Serenissimum Regem maximis & gravissimis Causis adductum, superatum & conclusum esse, ut in hoc negotio Matrimonij sui faceret quod fecit: Nam hoc manifestum est & negare nemo potest, quod Lex Levit. tradita Lev. 18. v. 20. prohibet ducere fratris Uxorem, &c. sed divina, naturalis, & moralis Lex est intelligenda tam de vivi quam de mortui fratris Uxore, & quod contra hanc legem nulla contraria lex fieri aut constitui possit, sicut & tota Ecclesia semper hanc Legem retinuit, & judicavit hujusmodi nuptias incestas esse, sicut testantur Synodorum Decreta & Sanctissimorum Patrum Clarissimæ Sententiæ, & has nuptias prohibent & vocant incestas etiam jura Civilia. Proinde & nos sentimus, & hanc Legem de non ducenda Uxore fratris in omnibus Ecclesiis servandam esse veluti divinam, naturalem, & moralem Legem; Nec in nostris Ecclesiis vellenus dispensare aut permittere, præsertim aut factum, ut ejusmodi nuptiæ contraherentur, & hanc doctrinam possumus & volumus Deo volente facile defendere. Cæterum quantum ad Divortium pertinet, nondum sumus plene persuasi ut sententiam nostram ferre possumus, An post Contractum Matrimonium in hoc casu Serenissimi Regis debuerit fieri Divortium. Rogamus igitur Seren. Regem ut æquo animo ferat, differri nostram Sententiam in hac re donec erimus certiores.

XXXVI. *An Abstract of the Grounds of the Divorce.*

*Written in the beginning, Thomas Cantuarien.*

*Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonstratur Divortium inter Hen. 8. Angliæ Regem Inviçtiss. & Serenissimam Catharinam necessario esse faciendum.*

Cotton Libr.  
Vesp. B. 5.

1. **A**ffinitas quæ Divino & Naturali Jure impedit ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum dirimit, solo nuptiali fœdere inducitur.
2. Substantia Matrimonij, verum perfectumq; conjugium, sola conjugali pactione, & non carnali copula efficitur.
3. Vir & Uxor solo fœdere conjugali, Deo imprimis operante, una mens & una caro fiunt.
4. Carnalis Copula affinitatem solo Jure Ecclesiastico repertam inducit.
5. Affinitas sola Carnis concubitu orta Sanctione humana solum impedit, ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum dissolvit.
6. Carnalis Copula Matrimonium necessario reddit consummatum.
7. Potest Matrimonium Carnali Copula consummari, etiam Uxoris Virginitate irrecuperabili non amissa.

8. Sere-



8. Serenissimam Catharinam ab Illustrissimo Principe Arthuro relictam Virginem non fuisse affirmamus.

9. Sereniss. Catharinam ex Judiciis quam plurimis attestantibus, & violentam præsumptionem inducentibus, ab eodem Illustrissimo Principe Arthuro corruptam, atq; Matrimonium inter eos consummatum fuisse non dubitamus.

10. Serenissima Catharina, Præsumptione violenta hujusmodi constante, Virginitatem suam Juramento præsertim publico probare nequit.

11. Judex eandem Serenissimam Catharinam, super ea causa jurare volentem, ad juramentum jure quidem admittere non potest.

12. Henrici octavi Angliæ Regis Invictissimi & Serenissimæ Catharintæ prætenfum Matrimonium, lege Divina & naturali prohibente, nullum omnino fuisse neque esse posse Censemus.

XXXVII. *A Bull sent to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, against the Statutes of Provisors.*

**M**artinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabili Fratri Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Ex MS. D. Petyt.  
 Si quam districto Dei Judicio de commissis tibi ovibus rationem redditurus es, aliquando cogitares, si meminisses & tu quæ pastoralis officij cura esse debet, quantumq; Ecclesiæ Romanæ, à qua dignitatem & auctoritatem vendicas, jus atq; honorem tueri obligatus es, in considerationem duceres; profecto non usq; adeo dormitares neq; negligeres: Surrexisses jamdudum, & post oves jam longe aberrantes inclamares, ac pro viribus resisteres ijs, qui jura ac privilegia à summo Ecclesiarum capite omnium Christo, Ecclesiæ Romanæ tradita, sacrilego vel ausu violant atq; contemnunt. Numquid ideo Pontificalis Dignitas tibi commissa est ut hominibus præsis, opes cumules, & quæ tua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi quærere debeas? Si id existimas vehementer erras, & à Christi intentione longe abes, qui cum Beato Petro oves suas committeret, nil ei aliud nisi ut illas pasceret indixit, priusq; non semel, sed bis ac tertio, an ab eo diligeretur exostulans, Estne hæc in Christum dilectio quam habes? Estne hoc amare ac pascere oves? Itane debitum quo Ecclesiæ Romanæ astringeris, recte exsolvis? En ante oculos tuos ab ovili errantes in præcipitium labuntur oves, nec illas revocas neq; reducis. In conspectu tuo herbas pergunt pestiferas pascere, nec illas prohibes, immo (quod abominabile est) tuis quasi manibus hujusmodi præbes mortiferum cibum. Te vidente, lupus illas dispergit, & taces tanquam canis mutus non valens latrare. Aspicias simul & Christi & Ecclesiæ & sedis Apostolicæ mandata, auctoritatem, reverentiamq; contemptui haberi, nec semel unum murmuratum verbum, clanculum saltem, si nolles palam. An ignoras ante æterni tribunal judicis hujusmodi reatus & culpæ usq; ad minimum quadrantem redditurum te rationem? num credis, si qua tuo neglectu perierit ovium (pereunt autem multæ) de tuis manibus sanguis earum exigetur? Quid per os Ezechielis Dominus comminatur, memorare & extimesce. Ipse, inquit, Speculatore Domini posuit te Deus, si videris gladium venientem, & non insonueris buccina, & aliquis perierit, sanguinem ejus de manibus tuis requiram; hæc dicit Dominus. Qualis autem & qualis iniquitatis & abominationis gladius in Angliæ Regnum atq; oves tuas descenderit, tuo judicio (si ratione uteris) relinquimus. Perlege illud Statutum Regium, si tamen

Statutum, si tamen Regium dici fas est. Nam quomodo Statutum, quod Statuta Dei & Ecclesiæ destruit? Quomodo Regium? quod Instituta peremit? contra illud quod scriptum est, Honor Regis Judicium diligit. Et judica, venerabilis Frater & Christiane Episcopo, ac Catholice Præful, si justum, si æquum, si à Populo Christiano fervari est. Imprimis per illud execrabile Statutum ita Rex Angliæ de Ecclesia cum Provisionibus & Administrationibus disponit, quasi Vicarium suum Christus cum instituisset. Legem condit super Ecclesias, beneficia, Clericos & Ecclesiasticum statum, ad se suamq; laicalem Curiam nonnullas causas Spirituales & Ecclesiasticas jubet introduci; & ut uno verbo concludamus, ita de Clericis statuit, de Ecclesiis & Ecclesiastico Statu, quasi Ecclesiæ claves in manibus haberet, & non Petro, sed sibi hujusmodi cura commissa foret. Præter hanc nefandam Dispositionem, vipereas quasdam contra Clericos adjecit pœnas, quæ ne quidem contra Judæos vel Saracenos, per ullum de statutis suis, promulgatæ inveniuntur. Possunt ad Angliæ Regnum cujuslibet generis homines libere proficisci; soli acceptantes beneficia Auctoritate Summi Pontificis, Vicarij Jesu Christi, jubentur exulari, capi, incarcerari, omnibusq; bonis exui, executoresq; literarum Apostolicarum, Procuratores, Notarij, ac quicumq; alij Censuram seu Processum ab Apostolica sede in Regnum mittentes aut deferentes, ultimo supplicio deputantur, projectiq; extra protectionem Regis exponuntur ab omnibus captivandi. Vide si audita est unquam similis Statuti iniquitas: Consideret prudentia tua, si Regem aut Regnum hujusmodi Statuta decent: Cogita si te talia inspicientem silere oporteat, & non magis clamare, contradicere, & pro viribus resistere. Estne ista filialis Reverentia? Estne ista Christiana devotio quam Regnum Angliæ suæ Matri Ecclesiæ ac Sedi Apostolicæ exhibet? Potestne Catholicum Regnum dici, ubi hujusmodi statuuntur profanæ leges & observantur, ubi prohibetur adiri Vicarius Christi, ubi oves suas Successor Apostoli Petri pascere juxta mandatum Domini non permittitur? Christus dixit Petro suisq; Successoribus, Pasce oves meas: Statutum autem Regni pascere ipsas non finit, sed vult ut Rex ipse pascat, devolvendo ad eum in certis casibus Apostolicam Auctoritatem. Christus edificavit supra Petrum Ecclesiam; sed Regni Statutum id prohibet: Nam non patitur Petri Cathedram de Ecclesia prout judicaverit, expedire, ordinare vel disponere. Christus voluit quod quicquid summus Pontifex in terris solverit aut ligaverit, solutum ligatumve esset in cœlis; Statutum huic divinæ voluntati non assentit: Nam si quos Sacerdotes ad ligandum solvendumq; animas Christi Vicarius in Regnum contra Statuti tenorem destinaret, non modo ipsos non admittit Statutum, sed exulare jubet, bonis privari, aliisq; pœnis affligi, & censuram seu Processum Apostolicum in Regnum deterens, tanquam Sacrilegus capite punitur. Quid ad hoc tua Discretio respondebit? Estne hoc Catholicum Statutum? Potestne sine Christi injuria, sine Evangelij transgressione, sine animæ interitu tolerari aut observari? Cur igitur non clamas, & quasi tuba exaltas vocem tuam, annuncians populo tuo peccata sua, Domui Israel scelera eorum, ne sanguis eorum de manibus tuis requiratur? Quod & si omnes quibus populorum cura commissa est, facere teneantur, quanto magis id tibi erit necessarium exequi, cui populos & populorum ministros, oves & ovium pastores, tuæ sollicitudini Romana deputavit Ecclesia, à qua & primatum & Sedis Apostolicæ legationem super Anglicanas Ecclesias suscepisti, & ipsius gloriosissimi Martyris Beati Thomæ olim Cantuariæ Archiepiscopi Successor effectus es, qui adversus similia decertans Statuta, holocaustum se Deo offerens pro libertate Ecclesiastica occubuit.

cubuit. Tu certe ob hæc, omnium primus qui vexillo assumpto in aciem prodire deberes, & fratres Co-episcopos tuos tuo exemplo in certamine sistere, primus omnium terga vertis, & aliquos qui forte resistendi impetum caperent, tua sive pusillanimitate, sive dissimulatione, sive (ut omnes attestantur) evidenti prævaricatione à bono proposito dejicis. Itaque si de te queritur Ecclesia, si in te omnis culpa transfertur, non mirari sed dolere, inuno potius teipsum corrigere debes, & debitum quo ovium jure astrictus es audacter exolvere: pro qua re efficienda, si velis quam potes operam adhibere, non magnum certamen subeundum est. Persuade tuo pro officio & Auctoritate tua, secularibus, & eos veritatem instrue. Ostende eis peccatum quo observantes prædictum Statutum illaqueantur: Et erunt (ut omnes asserunt) prava in directa, & aspera in vias planas. Ne ergo, si tacueramus & nos, tuam aliorumq; desidiam dissimulantes similis apud omnipotentem Deum culpæ reos efficiat, neve ovium nostrarum sanguis (si neglexerimus) de manibus nostris exigatur, tuam fraternitatem qua possumus instantia, toto corde, totoq; affectu hortamur, monemus, requirimus, & in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, & sub Excommunicationis pœna cui (si neglexeris) ipso facto te subjicimus, directe præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus quamprimum ad locum ubi Consiliarij Charissimi in Christo Filij nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illustris conveniunt, personaliter accedas, eosq; tam Ecclesiasticos quam Seculares pro sapientia tua, quam tibi Dominus inspiraverit, rationibus ac monitionibus reddas instructos, ut prædictum Statutum in proximo Parlamento tollant penitus & aboleant: Cum enim Divinæ & Humanæ rationi, Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, Summorum Pontificum Decretis, ipsius denique Universalis Ecclesiæ observantiæ evidentissime contradicat, nec sine interitu salutis æternæ quovis modo servari possit. Illudque inter alia dicere non omittas, qualiter Ecclesiasticæ libertatis violatores, facientesque Statuta aut consuetudines contra libertatem servari, Officiales, Rectores & Consiliarij locorum ubi hujusmodi Statuta vel consuetudines editæ fuerunt vel servatæ; Ac etiam qui secundum prædicta judicaverint, ipso jure Excommunicationem incurrunt, quæ quantum sit Christi fidelibus metuenda, ipsis plene poteris declarare. Idem sub pœna eadem te facere volumus cum Parliamentum inchoabitur, tam erga prædictos Consiliarios quam Communitates, & alios qui vocem in ipso habuerint Parlamento. Insuper ut pluribus vijs honori Dei & Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, & animarum saluti provideatur, sub simili pœna mandes ac præcipias omnibus tam Rectoribus Ecclesiarum, quam alijs officium prædicationis obtinentibus, Secularibus & Religiosis, ut frequenter in sermonibus suis populos de prædicta materia instruere non omittant. Volumus autem ut quicquid super prædictis feceris per tuas literas (quibus saltem duæ graves personæ, quæ ipsis requisitionibus per te faciendis interfuerint, se subscribant) nos certiores efficias. Dat. Rom. apud Sanctos Apostolos quinto die Decembris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXVIII. *A Letter to King Henry the Sixth for Repealing that Statute.*

**M**artinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo Filio Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quam post multos nuncios ad tuam Serenitatem pro aboliti-  
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one illius detestabilis Statuti contra libertatem Ecclesiasticam editi olim transmisso, postremo dilectum filium Magistrum Julianum causarum curiæ Camerae Apostolicæ Auditorem, pro eadem causa destinasset; per ipsum tua Celsitudo tunc nobis respondit, quod quamprimum commode possit, Parliamentum, sine quo idem nequit aboleri Statutum, convocaret, & in eo quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ requisitionis implemento faceret, protestans quod Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sedisq; Apostolicæ Juribus ac Privilegijs nullo modo detrahere aut derogare intendebat: Nos ob hoc, sicut deinde alijs literis tibi significavimus, usq; ad id tempus cum patientia expectare decrevimus, sperantes quod in verbo Regio nobis pollicitus fueris, id tempore suo exequi non differres: itaque quicquid ex parte nostra hæcenus faciendum fuit, omnem mansuetudinis & patientiæ modum experientes jam fecimus. Et licet gravibus interim per aliquos de Regno tuo lacerati sumus injurijs, volumus tamen (ne quid contra promissum fieri videretur) usque ad id tempus (non sine rubore Sedis Apostolicæ) expectare, ut merito illud verbum Evangelicum jam dici possit, Quid debui huic vineæ facere & non feci? Tu vero, Fili Charissime, cum ipsius Parliamenti jam tempus instet, quod ex tua parte agendum restat, juxta promissionem tuam ac verbum Regium implere non omittas, ad quod & Jure Divino & Humano tanquam Christianissimus Princeps obligatus, sine cujusvis requisitione pro tua & tuorum subditorum salute & honore facere teneris: præsertim quum talia obtuleramus, ob quæ nec tibi nec dicto Regno ex prædicti Statuti abolitione præjudicium ullum redundare possit; providere enim ijs omnibus quæ causam Statuto dedisse dicuntur, jam sæpe nostro nomine oblatum est, & nunc de novo offerimus. Jam igitur cum nulla quævis contradicendi occasio prætendi possit, speramus in dicto Parlamento tuam Serenitatem ita facturam, ut prædictum tam execrabile Statutum penitus de eodem Regno tollatur. Quod si feceris, salvabis primum, tuam, tum vero multorum animas, quæ ob dictum Statutum gravi crimine illaqueatæ tenentur: Providebis deinde tuo & ipsius Regni honori, quod utique propterea non modicum est notatum: Demum nos ac sedem ipsam semper tuis justis desiderijs obligabis. Super ijs autem omnibus & de nostra intentione plene per literas nostras instructo, dilecto Filio magistro Joanni de Obizis in dicto Regno Nuncio & Collectori nostro, dabis credentiæ fidem plenam. Dat. Rom. die decimo tertio Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXIX. *A Letter to the Parliament upon the same Occasion.*

**M**artinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabilibus Fratribus & dilectis Filijs, Nobilibus viris Parliamenti Regni Angliæ, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Multis nuncijs ac frequentibus exhortationibus, pro debito pastoralis officij, vos ac Regnum vestrum hæcenus admonuimus, ut pro salute animarum vestrarum, & ipsius Regni honore quoddam detestabile Statutum contra Divinum & Humanum Jus editum, quod sine interitu salutis æternæ nullatenus servari potest, aboleretur. Et quoniam id sine Parlamento tolli non posse, ex parte Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Regis Angliæ illustris, Dilecto Filio Magistro Juliano Casarum curiæ Camerae Apostolicæ Auditori, tunc Nuncio nostro, responsum extitit, in quo (quam primum posset) convocato, quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ Requisitionis executione se facturum, idem

Rex

Rex pollicitus est. protestans Juribus ac Privilegijs Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ & Sedis Apostolicæ in nullo velle detrahare aut derogare. Nos volentes solita erga vos mansuetudine uti, decrevimus usq; ad ipsius Parliamenti tempus expectare, sperantes quod tam Rex juxta suam Regiam Promissionem, quam vos pro salute animarum vestrarum, Sancte ac Catholice secundum nostram Requisitionem concludetis. Itaq; cum Parliamentum (ut fertur) jam instet, vos omnes quorum animas nostræ curæ Dominus noster Jesus Christus commisit, hortamur, monemus, obsecramus, ut unanimes vestrarum animarum salutem, ac conscientiarum puritatem præ cæteris rebus amantes, prædictum abominabile Statutum (quod qui observat vel observari faciat salvari non potest) penitus tollatur, & de Regno in perpetuum aboleatis. Quod si quis forsitan vobis contrarium persuadere audeat, quicumq; ille sit, Sæcularis vel Ecclesiastici Status, tanquam hostem animarum vestrarum & honorum, nullatenus audite; nec eum virum Catholicum reputetis, qui adversus Romanæ Ecclesiæ Auctoritatem, Juraque & Privilegia Sedi Apostolicæ Divinitus concessa, aliquid machinari præsumperit, quibus ipse Rex vester Illustris nolle ullatenus derogare publice protestatus est. Nos quidem ipsi sumus ab omnipotenti Deo Jesu Christo super vos & Universalem Ecclesiam constituti, cujus Doctrinæ ac persuasioni sine ulla contradictione omnimodam fidem vos & quilibet Christianus habere debetis: Nos tamen, etsi indignos, oves suas pascere Christus voluit, clavesq; aperiendi ac solvendi Cælos tradidit. Et si quis nos audir, servi Christi testimonium Christianum audit; & si quis nos spernit, Christum spernere convincitur. Et quoniam de vobis ac singulis Christianis in districto Dei Judicio rationem reddituri sumus, ideo vos pro salute vestra tam sæpe tamque efficaciter admonemus; & ne quisquam sub alicujus damni temporalis prætextu vos ab hac nostra Catholica Doctrina submoveat, ecce nos promptos paratosq; offerimus, omnibus causis, propter quas dictum Statutum conditum esse prætenditur, salubriter providere, ita ut nec Regno nec cuiquam privatæ personæ præjudicium aliquod ex ipsius Statuti abolitione possit accidere. Super his omnibus & nostra intentione plene instructo dilecto Filio Magistro Joanni de Obizis, in dicto Regno Nuntio & Collectori nostro, dabitis Credentiæ plenam fidem. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctos Apostolos tertio die Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

*XL. An Instrument of the Speech the Archbishop of Canterbury made to the House of Commons about it.*

**D**IE veneris penultimo mensis Januarij, Anno Domini secundum cursum & computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quadringentesimo decimo septimo, indictione sexta, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Martini Divina Providentia Papæ quinti Anno undecimo, Reverendissimi in Christo Patres & Domini Domini, Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuariensis & Johannes Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, nec non Reverendiss. Patres W. Londinensis, Benedictus Menevensis, Philippus Eliensis, Jochen & W. Norvicensis, Episcopi, & cum eis venerabiles Patres & viri religiosi Westmonasterij & Radingæ Abbates de palatio regio Westmonasteriensi de Camera, viz. Ubi tam Domini Spirituales quam Temporales in Parlamento ad tunc tento negotia Regni tractaverint & tractare solebant, recedentes, & dimissis ibi Dominis Temporalibus, in simul tran-

sierunt

fierunt ad viros illos qui pro communitate Regni ad Parliamentum hujusmodi venerant in loco solito, viz. in Refectorio Abbatiae Westmonasteriensis praedictae personaliter existentes, & incontinenter eisdem Dominis Spiritualibus cum reverentia debita, prout decuit à viris hujusmodi communitatem Regni facientibus & repraesentantibus, receptis: Praefatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis causam adventus sui & confratrum suorum ad tunc exponere coepit in vulgari; Protestando primitus, & protestabatur idem Dominus Cantuariensis vice sua & Confratrum suorum praedictorum, quod pro dicendo tunc ibidem non intendebat ipse Reverendissimus Pater, aut aliquis confratrum suorum, Domino Regi Angliae aut Coronae suae vel communitati Regni in aliquo derogare, & sic adherendo Protestationi suae hujusmodi, idem Reverendissimus Pater prosequeretur & exposuit solemniter causam adventus sui & confratrum suorum, sumpto quasi pro themate, Reddite quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari, & quae sunt Dei Deo. Super quo procedendo, ea quae ad Jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam, & ea quae ad Caesaream pertinebant, notabiliter & ad longum declaravit, materiam Provisionis & pro Statuti illius contra Provisores editi abolitione, cum bona & matura deliberatione prosequendo, & in processu declarationis hujusmodi jura nonnulla & Sacrae scripturae Auctoritates convenientes allegavit, pro jure Domini nostri Papae in Provisionibus habendis, sicut Sancti Praedecessores sui summi Pontifices in Regno Angliae & alibi per Universalem Christianitatem habuerunt, ipseque Dominus Papa modernus in caeteris Regnis habet & possidet in praesenti: Unde praemissis, Bullisq; & literis Apostolicis, quas pro hac re idem Dominus Papa jam tarde ad Regnum transmiserat, diligenter consideratis, & quod dictus Dominus noster Papa tot Ambassiatas & nuncios solennes ad prosequendum jus suum & Ecclesiae libertatem in praemissis, non absq; laboribus magnis, periculis & expensis, de Curia Romana ad Regnum Angliae destinavit, idem Reverendissimus Pater Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, nomine suo & confratrum suorum ad tunc ibidem praesentium, & absentium in dicto Parlamento per procuratores comparentium, ad quos ut asseruit divisim saltem principalis cura animarum totius Communitatis Regni pertinere dignoscitur, dictos viros omnes & singulos tunc praesentes, Communitatem (ut praemittitur) repraesentantes, requisivit & in Domino exhortabatur, quatenus ob salutem animarum suarum totiusq; Regni prosperitatem & pacem, materiam praedictam sic ponderarent, & taliter in eodem Parlamento super eadem deliberarent, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa placari, ac Regis zelum ad Sedem Apostolicam totiusque Regni devotionem in hac parte habere posset materiam commendandi. Et addidit ultra hujusmodi Requisitionem & Exhortationem praefatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis: & ex corde, ut apparuit, exposuit lacrymando, pericula per censurarum, viz. Ecclesiasticarum & etiam Interdicti fulminationem, & alias tam Regi quam Regno (quod absit) verisimiliter eventura alia, in casu quo responsio Parliamenti illius, in materia tunc declarata, grata non foret Domino Papae & accepta, sic dicendo; Forte videtur quibusdam vestrum, quod haec quae Regni Praelatos potissime concernunt ex corde non profero, Sciatis pro certo, & in fide, qua Deo teneor & Ecclesiae; affirmo coram vobis, quod magis mihi foret acceptum nunquam conferre aut etiam habere aliquod beneficium Ecclesiasticum, quam aliqua talia pericula seu processus meo tempore in Ecclesiae Anglicanae Scandalum venirent. Ulterius idem Reverendissimus Pater expresse declaravit, qualiter dictus Dominus noster Papa in diversis Bullis suis obtulit & promisit, se & Sedem Apostolicam, ad quascunq; causas

& occasiones editionis Statuti prædicti rationabile remedium apponere, & materias causarum & occasionum hujusmodi Statuti in toto tollere & abolere; & sic Requisitione, Exhortatione & periculorum hujusmodi expositione finitis, Reverendissimi Patres Cantuar. & Eborac. Archiepiscopi, cum confratribus suis Episcopis & Prælati prædictis, recesserunt, Regni Communitate, seu saltem dictis viris Communitatem Regni representantibus remanentibus, & circa materiam eis expositam tractantibus, præsentibus, & Declarationem, Requisitionem, & Exhortationem, hujusmodiq; periculorum expositionem per dictum Dominum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem (ut præmittitur) factas audientibus, venerabilibus viris Richardo Coudray Archidiacono Norwici in Ecclesia Norwicensi, Magistro Joanne Forster Canonico Lincolniensi, &c. & Joanne Bould Notario Publico & multis aliis.

Act. 33. Anno Regni vicesimo tertio.

XLI. *An Act concerning Restraint of payment of Annates to the See of Rome.*

**F**Orasmuch as it is well perceived, by long approved experience, that great and inestimable Sums of money have been daily conveyed out of this Realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and specially such sums of Money as the Pope's Holiness, his Predecessors, and the Court of Rome, by long time have heretofore taken of all and singular those Spiritual Persons which have been named, elected, presented, or postulated to the Archbishops or Bishops within this Realm of *England*, under the Title of *Annates*, otherwise called First-Fruits. Which *Annates*, or First-Fruits, have been taken of every Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, by restraint of the Pope's Bulls, for Confirmations, Elections, Admissions, Postulations, Provisions, Collations, Dispositions, Institutions, Installations, Investitures, Orders, Holy Benedictions, Palls, or other things requisite and necessary to the attaining of those their Promotions; and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the same, great sums of Money, before they might receive any part of the Fruits of the said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, whereunto they were named, elected, presented, or postulated; by occasion whereof not only the Treasure of this Realm hath been greatly conveyed out of the same, but also it hath hapned many times, by occasion of death, unto such Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, so newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their Consecration, that his or their Friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make payment of the said *Annates*, or First-Fruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoverished. And for because the said *Annates* have risen, grown, and increased, by an uncharitable Custom, grounded upon no just or good title, and the payments thereof obtained by restraint of Bulls, until the same *Annates*, or First-Fruits, have been paid, or Surety made for the same; which declareth the said Payments to be exacted, and taken by constraint, against all equity and Justice. The Noble Men therefore of the Realm, and the Wise, Sage, Politick Commons of the same, assembled in this present Parliament, considering that the Court of Rome ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great Sums of Money, under the Title of *Annates*,

or First-Fruits, as is aforesaid, to the great damage of the said Prelates, and this Realm; Which *Annates*, or First-Fruits, were first suffered to be taken within the same Realm, for the only defence of Christian People against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for Lucre, against all right and conscience. Infomuch that it is evidently known, that there hath passed out of this Realm unto the Court of *Rome*, sithen the second year of the Reign of the most Noble Prince, of famous memory, King *Henry* the Seventh, unto this present time, under the name of *Annates*, or First-Fruits, payed for the expedition of Bulls of Arch-Bishopricks and Bishopricks, the sum of eight hundred thousand Ducats, amounting in *Sterling* Money, at the least, to eightscore thousand pounds, besides other great and intolerable Sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said Court of *Rome*, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this Realm. And albeit that our said Sovereign the King, and all his natural Subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal, been as obedient, devout, Catholick and humble Children of God, and Holy Church, as any People be within any Realm Christned; yet the said exactions of *Annates*, or First-Fruits, be so intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole Body of this Realm now represented, by all the Estates of the same assembled in this present Parliament, that the King's Highness before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian Prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good Estate and Common-Wealth of this his Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of *Annates*, or First-Fruits. And because that divers Prelates of this Realm being now in extrem Age, and in other debilities of their Bodies, so that of likelihood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of Money shall shortly after their deaths, be conveyed unto the Court of *Rome*, for the unreasonable and uncharitable Causes aforesaid, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this Realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained, established, and enacted, by Authority of this present Parliament, That the unlawful payment of *Annates* or First-Fruits, and all manner Contributions for the same, for any Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, or for any Bulls hereafter to be obtained from the Court of *Rome*, to or for the foresaid purpose and intent, shall from henceforth utterly cease, and no such hereafter to be payed for any Arch-Bishoprick or Bishoprick, within this Realm, other or otherwise than hereafter in this present Act is declared; And that no manner Person, or Persons hereafter to be named, elected, presented, or postulated to any Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, shall pay the said *Annates*, or First-Fruits, for the said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, nor any other manner of Sum or Sums of Money, Pensions or *Annates* for the same, or for any other like exaction, or cause, upon pain to forfeit to our said Sovereign Lord the King his Heirs and Successors, all manner his Goods and Chattels for ever, and all the Temporal Lands and Possessions of the same Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, during the time that he or they which shall offend, contrary to this present Act, shall have, possess, or enjoy the Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, wherefore he shall so offend contrary to the form aforesaid. And furthermore it is enacted, by Authority of this present Parliament, That if any Person hereafter named and presented to the Court of *Rome* by the King, or any of his Heirs or Successors,



fors, to be Bishop of any See or Diocess within this Realm hereafter, shall be letted, deferred, or delayed at the Court of *Rome* from any such Bishoprick, whereunto he shall be so represented, by means of restraint of Bulls Apostolick, and other things requisite to the same; or shall be denied, at the Court of *Rome*, upon convenient suit made, any manner Bulls requisite for any of the Causes aforesaid, any such Person or Persons so presented, may be, and shall be consecrated here in *England* by the Arch-Bishop, in whose Province the said Bishoprick shall be, so alway that the same Person shall be named and presented by the King for the time being to the same Arch-Bishoprick: And if any Persons being named and presented, as aforesaid, to any Arch-Bishoprick of this Realm, making convenient suit, as is aforesaid, shall happen to be letted, deferred, delayed, or otherwise disturbed from the same Arch-Bishoprick, for lack of Pall, Bulls, or other to him requisite, to be obtained in the Court of *Rome* in that behalf, that then every such Person named and presented to the Arch-Bishop, may be and shall be, consecrated and invested, after the presentation made, as is aforesaid, by any other two Bishops within this Realm, whom the King's Highness, or any of his Heirs and Successors, Kings of *England* for the time being, will assign and appoint for the same, according and in like manner as divers other Arch-Bishops or Bishops have been heretofore, in ancient time by sundry the King's most noble Progenitors, made, consecrated, and invested within this Realm: And that every Arch-Bishop and Bishop hereafter, being named and presented by the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors, Kings of *England*, and being consecrated and invested, as is aforesaid, shall be installed accordingly, and shall be accepted, taken, reputed, used, and obeyed, as an Arch-Bishop or Bishop of the Dignity, See, or Place whereunto he so shall be named, presented, and consecrated, requireth; and as other like Prelates of that Province, See, or Diocess, have been used, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had, and obtained compleatly, their Bulls, and other things requisite in that behalf from the Court of *Rome*, and also shall fully and entirely have and enjoy all the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as any of his or their Predecessors had, or enjoyed in the said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, satisfying and yielding unto the King our Sovereign Lord, and to his Heirs and Successors, Kings of *England*, all such Duties, Rights and Interests, as before this time had been accustomed to be paid for any such Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, according to the ancient Laws and Customs of this Realm, and the King's Prerogative Royal. And to the intent our said Holy Father the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, shall not think that the pains and labours taken, and hereafter to be taken, about the writing, sealing, obtaining, and other businesses sustained, and hereafter to be sustained by the Officers of the said Court of *Rome*, for and about the Expedition of any Bulls hereafter to be obtained or had for any such Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, shall be irremunerated, or shall not be sufficiently and condignly recompensed in that behalf. And for their more ready expedition to be had therein, it is therefore enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That every Spiritual Person of this Realm, hereafter to be named, presented, or postulated, to any Arch-Bishoprick or Bishoprick of this Realm, shall and may lawfully pay for the writing and obtaining of his or their said Bulls, at the Court of *Rome*, and ensembling the same with Lead to be had without payment of any *Annates*, or First-Fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yelden,

or paid for the same, five pounds *Sterling*, for and after the rate of the clear and whole yearly value of every hundredth pounds *Sterling*, above all charges of any such Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, or other Money, to the value of the said five pounds, for the clear yearly value of every hundredth pounds of every such Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, and not above, nor in any other wise, any thing in this present Act before written notwithstanding. And forasmuch as the King's Highness, and this his High Court of Parliament, neither have, nor do intend to use in this, or any other like Cause, any manner of extremity or violence, before gentle courtesie or friendship, ways and means first approved and attempted, and without a very great urgent cause and occasion given to the contrary, but principally coveting to disburden his Realm of the said great exactions, and intolerable charges of *Annates*, and First-Fruits, have therefore thought convenient to commit the final order and determination of the Premises, in all things, unto the King's Highness. So that if it may seem to his high wisdom, and most prudent discretion, meet to move the Pope's Holiness and the Court of *Rome*, amicably, charitably, and reasonably, to compound, other to extinct and make frustrate the payments of the said *Annates*, or First-Fruits; or else by some friendly, loving, and tolerable composition to moderate the same in such wise as may be by this Realm easily born and sustained; That then those ways and compositions once taken, concluded, and agreed, between the Pope's Holiness and the King's Highness, shall stand in strength, force, and effect of Law, inviolably to be observed. And it is also further ordained, and enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That the King's Highness at any time, or times, on this side the Feast of *Easter*, which shall be in the Year of our Lord God, a thousand five hundred and three and thirty, or at any time on this side the beginning of the next Parliament, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, to be made, and to be entred of Record in the Roll of this present Parliament, may and shall have full power and liberty to declare, by the said Letters Patents, whether that the Premises, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall be observed, obeyed, executed, and take place and effect, as an Act and Statute of this present Parliament, or not. So that if his Highness, by his said Letters Patents, before the expiration of the times above limited, thereby do declare his pleasure to be, That the premises, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall not be put in execution, observed, continued, nor obeyed, in that case all the said premises, or such part, clause, or matter, as the King's Highness so shall refuse, disaffirm, or not ratifie, shall stand and be from henceforth utterly void and of none effect. And in case that the King's Highness, before the expiration of the times afore-prefixed, do declare by his said letters Patents, his pleasure and determination to be, that the said Premises, or every clause, sentence, and part thereof, that is to say, the whole, or such part thereof as the King's Highness so shall affirm, accept, and ratifie, shall in all points stand, remain, abide, and be put in due and effectual execution, according to the purport, tenour, effect, and true meaning of the same; and to stand and be from henceforth for ever after, as firm, stedfast, and available in the Law, as the same had been fully and perfectly established, enacted, and confirmed, to be in every part thereof, immediately, wholly, and entirely executed, in like manner, form and effect, as other Acts and Laws; The which being fully and determinately made, ordained, and enacted in this present Parliament: And if that upon the foresaid reasonable, amicable and charitable ways  
and

and means, by the King's Highness to be experimented, moved, or compounded, or otherwise approved, it shall and may appear, or be seen unto his Grace, that this Realm shall be continually burdened and charged with this, and such other intolerable Exactions and Demands, as heretofore it hath been. And that thereupon, for continuance of the same, our said Holy Father the Pope, or any of his Successors, or the Court of Rome, will, or do, or cause to be done at any time hereafter, so as above is rehearsed, unjustly, uncharitably, and unreasonably vex, inquiet, molest, trouble, or grieve our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs or Successors, Kings of England, or any of his or their Spiritual or Lay-Subjects, or this his Realm, by Excommunication, Excommungement, Interdiction; or by any other Process, Censures, Compulsories, Ways, or Means; Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of England, and all his Spiritual and Lay Subjects of the same, without any scruples of Conscience, shall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the encrease and continuance of Vertue and good Example within this Realm, the said Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding, minister, or cause to be ministered, throughout this said Realm, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto; All and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other Divine Services of the Holy Church, or any other thing or things necessary for the Health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuously used or accustomed to do within the same; and that no manner such Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Process or Compulsories, shall by any of the Prelates, or other Spiritual Fathers of this Region, nor by any of their Ministers or Substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter published, executed, nor divulged, nor suffered to be published, executed, or divulged in any manner of ways. *Cui quidem Billæ prædictæ & ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex assensu & Auctoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter est Responsum:*

Le Roy le veult.

*Soit Baille aux Communes.*

*A cest Bille les Communes sont assentes.*

**M**emorand. quod nono die Julij, Anno Regni Regis Henrici vicesimo quinto, idem Dominus Rex per Literas suas Patentes sub magno sigillo suo sigillat. Actum prædictum ratificavit & confirmavit, & actui illi assensum suum regium dedit, prout per eandem Literas Patentes, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba, magis apte constat.

*Here follows the King's Ratification, in which the Act is again recited and ratified.*

## XLII. The King's last Letter to the Pope. A Duplicate.

To the Pope's Holiness, 1532:

Cotton Libr.  
Vitell. B. 13.

**A**fter most humble commendations, and most devout kissing of your blessed Feet. Albeit that we have hitherto differed to make answer to those Letters dated at *Bonony* the 7<sup>th</sup> day of *October*; which Letters of late were delivered unto us by *Paul* of *Cassali*: Yet when they appear to be written for this Cause, that we deeply considering the Contents of the same, should provide for the tranquillity of our own Conscience, and should purge such scruples and doubts conceived of our Cause of Matrimony; We could neither neglect those Letters sent for such a purpose, nor after that we had diligently examined and perpended the effects of the same, which we did very diligently, noting, conferring, and revolving every thing in them contained, with deep study of mind, pretermitt ne leave to answer unto them. For sith that your Holiness seemeth to go about that thing chiefly, which is to vanquish those Doubts, and to take away Inquietations which daily do prick our Conscience; insomuch as it doth appear at the first sight to be done of Zeal, Love, and Piety, we therefore do thank you of your good will. Howbeit sith it is not performed in Deed, that ye pretend, we have thought it expedient to require your Holiness to provide us other Remedies; wherefore forasmuch as your Holiness would vouchsafe to write unto us concerning this Matter; we heartily thank you, greatly lamenting also both the chance of your Holiness, and also ours, unto whom both twain it hath chanced in so high a matter of so great moment to be frustrated and deceived; that is to say, That your Holiness not being instructed, nor having knowledge of the Matter, of your self, should be compelled to hang upon the Judgment of others, and so put forth and make answers, gathered of other Men, being variable and repugnant among themselves. And that we being so long sick, and exagitate with this same Sore, should so long time in vain look for Remedy; which when we have augmented our agritude and distress, by delay and protracting of time, ye do so cruciate the Patient and Afflicted, as who seeth it should much avail to protract the Cause, and through vain hope of the end of our desire to lead us whither ye will. But to speak plainly to your Holiness; Forasmuch as we have suffered many Injuries, which with great difficulty we do sustain and digest; albeit that among all things passed by your Holiness, some cannot be laid, alledged, nor objected against your Holiness, yet in many of them some default appeareth to be in you, which I would to God we could so diminish, as it might appear no default; but it cannot be hid, which is so manifest, and tho' we could say nothing, the thing it self speaketh. But as to that that is affirmed in your Letters, both of God's Law, and Man's, otherwise than is necessary and truth, let that be ascribed to the temerity and ignorance of your Counsellors, and your Holiness to be without all default, save only for that ye do not admit more discreet and learned Men to be your Counsellors, and stop the Mouths of them which liberally would speak the truth. This truly is your default, and verily a great fault, worthy to be alienate and abhorred of Christ's Vicar, in that ye have dealt so variably, yea rather so inconstantly and deceivably. Be ye not angry with my words, and let it be lawful for me to speak

ſpeak the Truth without Diſpleaſure ; if your Holineſs ſhall be diſpleaſed with what we do rehearſe, impute no default in us, but in your own Deeds ; which Deeds have ſo moleſted and troubled us wrongfully, that we ſpeak now unwillingly, and as enforced thereunto. Never was there any Prince ſo handled by a Pope, as your Holineſs hath intreated us. Firſt, When our Cauſe was proponed to your Holineſs, when it was explicated and declared afore the ſame ; when certain Doubts in it were reſolved by your Counſellors, and all things diſcuſſed, it was required that Answer might be made thereunto by the order of the Law. There was offered a Commiſſion, with a Promiſe alſo that the ſame Commiſſion ſhould not be revoked ; and whatſoever Sentence ſhould be given, ſhould ſtraight without delay be confirmed. The Judges were ſent unto us, the Promiſe was delivered to us, ſubſcribed with your Holineſs's Hand ; which avouched to confirm the Sentence, and not to revoke the Commiſſion, nor to grant any thing elſe that might lett the ſame ; and finally to bring us in a greater Hope, a certain Commiſſion Decretal, defining the Cauſe, was delivered to the Judges Hands. If your Holineſs did grant us all theſe things juſtly, ye did unjuſtly revoke them ; and if by good and truth the ſame was granted, they were not made fruſtrate nor annihilate without fraud ; ſo as if there were no deceit nor fraud in the Revocation, then how wrongfully and ſubtilly have been done thoſe things that have been done ! Whether will your Holineſs ſay, That ye might do thoſe things that ye have done, or that ye might not do them ? If ye will ſay that ye might do them, where then is the Faith which becometh a Friend, yea, and much more a Pope to have, thoſe things not being performed, which lawfully were promiſed ? And if ye will ſay that ye might not do them, have we not then very juſt cauſe to miſtruſt thoſe Medicines and Remedies with which in your Letters ye go about to heal our Conſcience, eſpecially in that we may perceive and ſee thoſe Remedies to be prepared for us, not to relieve the Sickneſs and Diſeaſe of our Mind, but for other means, pleaſures, and worldly reſpects ? And as it ſhould ſeem profitable, that we ſhould ever continue in hope or deſpair, ſo always the Remedy is attempted ; ſo that we being always a-healing, and never healed, ſhould be ſick ſtill. And this truly was the chief Cauſe why we did conſult and take the advice of every Learned Man, being free, without all affection, that the Truth (which now with our labour and ſtudy we ſeem partly to have attained) by their Judgments more manifeſtly divulged, we might more at large perceive ; whoſe Judgments and Opinions it is eaſie to ſee how much they differ from that, that thoſe few Men of yours do ſhew unto you, and by thoſe your Letters is ſignified. Thoſe few Men of yours do affirm the prohibition of our Marriage to be inducted only by the Law poſitive, as your Holineſs hath alſo written in your Letters ; but all others ſay the prohibition to be inducted, both by the Law of God and Nature : Thoſe Men of yours do ſuggeſt, that it may be diſpenſed for avoiding of Slanders ; the others utterly do contend, that by no means it is lawful to diſpenſe with that, that God and Nature hath forbidden. We do ſeparate from our Cauſe the Authority of the See Apoſtolick, which we do perceive to be deſtitute of that Learning whereby it ſhould be directed ; and becauſe your Holineſs doth ever profeſs your Ignorance, and is wont to ſpeak of other Men's Mouths, we do confer the Sayings of thoſe, with the Sayings of them that be of the contrary Opinion ; for to confer the Reaſons it were too long. But now the Universities of *Cambridge, Oxford*, in our Realms ;  
*Paris,*

Paris, Orleance, Biturisen, Aulegavon, in France; and Bonony in Italy, by one consent; and also divers other of the most famous and Learned Men, being freed from all affection, and only moved in respect of verity, partly in Italy, and partly in France, do affirm the Marriage of the Brother with the Brother's Wife, to be contrary both to the Law of God and Nature; and also do pronounce that no Dispensation can be lawful or available to any Christian Man in that behalf: But others think the contrary, by whose Counsels your Holiness hath done that, that sithence ye have confessed ye could not do, in promising to us as we have above rehearsed, and giving that Commission to the Cardinal *Campege* to be shewed unto us; and after, if it so should seem profitable to burn it, as afterwards it was done indeed as we have perceived. Furthermore, those which so moderate the Power of your Holiness, that they do affirm, That the same cannot take away the Appellation which is used by Man's Law, and yet is available to Divine Matters every where without distinction. No Princes heretofore have more highly esteemed, nor honoured the See Apostolick than we have, wherefore we be the more sorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our usage and nature is most alienate and abhorred. Those things so cruel we write very heavily, and more glad would have been, to have been silent if we might, and would have left your Authority untouched with a good will; and constrained to seek the verity, we fell, against our Will, into this contention; but the sincerity of the Truth prohibited us to keep silence, and what should we do in so great and many perplexities? For truly if we should obey the Letters of your Holiness, in that they do affirm that we know to be otherwise, we should offend God and our Conscience, and we should be a great slander to them that do the contrary, which be a great number, as we have before rehearsed: Also, if we should dissent from those things which your Holiness doth pronounce, we would account it not lawful, if there were not a Cause to defend the Fact, as we now do, being compelled by necessity, lest we should seem to contemn the Authority of the See Apostolick. Therefore your Holiness ought to take it in good part, tho' we do somewhat at large and more liberally speak in this Cause, which doth so oppress us, specially forasmuch as we pretend none atrocity, nor use no rhetoric in the exaggerating and encreasing the indignity of the Matter; but if I speak of any thing that toucheth the quick, it proceedeth of the near verity, which we cannot nor ought not to hide in this Cause, for it toucheth not Worldly Things but Divine, not frail but eternal; in which things no feigned, false, nor painted Reasons, but only the Truth, shall obtain and take place: and God is the Truth to whom we are bound to obey rather than to Men; and nevertheless we cannot but obey unto men also, as we were wont to do, unless there be an expresse cause why we should not; which by those our Letters we now do to your Holiness: and we do it with charity, not intending to spread it abroad, nor yet further to impugn your Authority, unless you do compel us; albeit also, that that we do, doth not impugn your Authority, but confirmeth the same, which we revoke to its first foundations; and better it is in the middle way to return, than always to run forth head long and do ill. Wherefore if your Holiness do regard or esteem the tranquillity of our Mind, let the same be established with verity, which hath been brought to light by the consent of so many Learned Men; so shall your Holiness reduce and bring us to a certainty and quietness, and shall deliver us from all anxiety, and shall provide both for us and our Realm, and finally shall

do your Office and Duty. The residue of our Affairs we have committed to our Ambassadors to be propounded unto you, to whom we beseech your Holiness to give credence, &c.

XLIII. *A Promise made for engaging the Cardinal of Ravenna.  
An Original.*

Rome Febr. 7. 1532.

**E**G O Willielmus Bennet Serenissimi Domini mei D. Henrici octavi  
Angliæ, &c. Regis, in Romana Curia Orator, habens ad inscripta  
ab ipso Rege potestatem & facultatem, prout constat per ipsius Majesta-  
tis Literas Patentes datas in Regia sua Grenewici die penultima Decemb.  
M. D. XXXI. manu sua propria superscriptas, & secreto sigillo suo sigil-  
latas; Quoniam in ipsius Regis arduis negotiis expertus sum singularem  
& præclaram operam Reverendissimi in Christo Patris & Domini D. Hen-  
rici Sancti Eusebij S. R. E. Presbyteri Cardinalis Ravennæ, quibus &  
deinceps uti cupio, ut eandem semper voluntatem & operam sua Domina-  
tio Reverendissima erga ipsum regem præstet, libere promitto eidem Car-  
dinali nomine dicti mei Regis, quod sua Majestas provideri faciet eidem  
Cardinali, de aliquo Monasterio seu Monasteriis aut aliis beneficiis Eccle-  
siasticis in Regno Galliæ primo vacaturis, usque ad valorem annum sex  
millium ducatorum: Et insuper promitto quod Rex Angliæ prædictus  
præsentabit, seu nominabit eundem Cardinalem ad Ecclesiam Cathedra-  
lem primo quovis modo vacaturam, seu & ad præsens vacantem, in Regno  
Angliæ, & de illa ei provideri faciet; & casu quo Ecclesia primo vacatu-  
ra hujusmodi, ceu ad præsens vacans, non sit Ecclesia Eliensis, promitto  
etiam quod succedente postea vacatione Ecclesiæ Eliensis, Rex Angliæ  
transferri faciet eundem Cardinalem, si ipsi Cardinali magis placuerit, ab  
illa alia Ecclesia de qua provisus erit, ad Ecclesiam Eliensem: & dicto-  
rum Monasteriorum & Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum in Regno Galliæ,  
& Ecclesiæ Cathedralis in Regno Angliæ possessionem pacificam, cum  
fructuum perceptione, ipsum Cardinalem assequi faciet: Et hæc omnia  
libere promitto, quod Rex meus supradictus plenissime & sine ulla profus  
exceptione ratificabit & observabit & exequetur; in quorum fidem præ-  
fentes manu mea propria scripsi & subscripsi, sigilloque munivi. Dat.  
Rom. die septimo Februarij, M. D. XXXII.

*This is all  
written with  
his own hand,  
and was sent  
over by him to  
the King.*

XLIV. *Bonner's Letter about the proceedings at Rome.*  
*An Original.*

Rome, April 29. 1532.

Cotton Libr.  
 Vitell. B.13.

**P**lease it your Highness; this is to advertise the same, That sithen we *William Bennet, Edward Karne, and Edmond Bonner*, sent over Letters of the 7<sup>th</sup> of this present to your Highness; There hath been two Disputations publick, the one the 13<sup>th</sup> of this, the other the 20<sup>th</sup> day of the same, according to the order given and assigned, which was three Conclusions to be disputed every Consistory; and what was spoken, as well by your Highness's Counsel, for the justification of the Conclusion purposed the said 13<sup>th</sup>, as also for the impugnation thereof by the party adverse, with Answers made thereunto by your Highness's said Counsel, as fully as were any wise deduced, your said Highness shall perceive by the Books sent herewithall containing the same; and also the Justifications, Objections; and Answers, made in the 6<sup>th</sup> of this present, according as I *Edward Karne* in my said Letters promised. The Copies of all the which Justifications, Objections, and Answers, after that they were fully noted and deduced in writing, and maturely considered by your Highness's Learned Counsel, I *Edward Karne* did bring to the Pope's Holiness, and to the Cardinals, for their better information; and likewise did of the first, alwise afore the Consistory, according to the order assigned at the beginning; looking in likewise that the Queen's Counsel should do this same, but as yet they have done nothing therein, though your Ambassadors and I have called upon the Pope many times for the same. And as concerning such things as were spoken and done for either part in the Disputation of the 20<sup>th</sup> day, it is not possible for us, by reason of the shortness of time, to reduce all in good order, and to send the same to your Highness at this time; nevertheless with all speed it shall be made ready, and sent to your Highness by the next Courier. After the Disputation done, the said 13<sup>th</sup> day of this present, the Advocate of the party adverse did alledge, That we did seek this Disputation but only to defer the Proceſs; protesting therefore, That the Queen's Counsel would dispute no more; and desiring therefore the Pope's Holiness and the whole Consistory, to make proceſs in the principal Cause. Whereunto I *Edward Karne* said, That the Pope's Holiness, with the whole Senate, had granted the Disputations upon the Matters, and given an order that the Conclusions published should be disputed according to the same. Whereupon I desired that forasmuch as there remained sixteen Conclusions not disputed (which to propose and justify, with your Highness's Counsel, I would be ready at all times) that if the party adverse knowing the conclusions to be Canonical, would not confess them, and thereby avoid Disputations, that then the said party should dispute them, and upon the refusal of both the same, the Matters excusatories to be admitted by his Holiness, especially because the said Party adverse hath nothing material that could be perceived to lett the same. The Pope's Holiness answered, that he would deliberate upon the demand of both Parties. The 16<sup>th</sup> of this present, the Dutary on the Pope's behalf sent unto me *Edward Karne*, an Intimation for disputation of the Consistory to be kept the 20. of this present, and that I should send the Conclusions not disputed, that they might be in the said Consistory disputed; adding withall, that the said

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Consistory should be *ultimus & peremptorius terminus quoad alias Disputations*. Of the which Intimation your Highness shall receive a Copy herewith. Upon this, with the advice of your Ambassadors and Counsel here, I repaired unto the said Datary, and brought unto him three Conclusions to be disputed, with a Protestation, *De non recedendo ab ordine hactenus observato*, according to the Proem of the said Conclusions, the Copy whereof your Highness shall receive herewith. Afterwards, with the same Conclusions and Protestation, I went to Cardinal *de Monte*, who said, at the beginning, That all the Consistory crieth out upon the Disputations, and that we had been heard sufficiently, and that it was enough that we should have the fourth Disputation; adding withall, That it was a thing never seen before after such sort; and that it stood not with the honour of the See to have such Disputations in the Consistory, to the great disquieting of the Pope and the Cardinals, especially considering the manner that is used, and that all the Conclusions be touched which should content us. To this I answered, and desired his most Reverend Lordship to call to his remembrance, what he had promised to your Highness's Ambassadors and me, in the *Castel-Angel* upon *Shrove-Sunday*, the Pope being present, and allowing the same, contented that all the Conclusions should be disputed *singulariter*; and that I should at my pleasure, from time to time, chuse the Conclusions to be disputed. And how also afterward, *viz.* 17 *Febr.* the Pope's Holiness, Cardinal *Ancona*, and his Lordship, not going from that promise, gave direction for three Conclusions to be disputed every consistory; the choice whereof to be at my liberty (according to the copy of the said Order which I sent to your Highness with my Letters, of the date of the 22. of the last): And furthermore, that what time the order to dispute three conclusions in a consistory was sent unto me, and I required to send the conclusions first to be disputed according to the said order; I did, to avoid all manner of doubts protest afore I would accept it, and in the deliverance of the said conclusions, that I would not otherwise accept it, but that all the Conclusions, according to the order promised in *Castel-Angel*, should be disputed and examined *singulariter*, and that standing, and not otherwise, I delivered my said Conclusions according to the Order of the 17 of *February*; which Order the Pope's Holiness hitherto had approved and observed, and from that I neither could nor would go: And where he said that we had been heard sufficiently; I said, that Audience and Information of less than the one half of a Matter could not be sufficient; and if they intended to see the truth of the whole, every point must be discussed. And as for the crying out of the Cardinals, I said, They had no cause so to do, for it was more for the honour of the See Apostolick, to see such a Cause as this is, well and surely tried, so that the Truth may appear, and the Matters be well known, than to proceed *precipitanter*, as they did at the beginning of this Matter, afore they well knew what the Matter was. And as touching the disquieting the Pope's Holiness, and the said Cardinals, I said, your Highness for their pains was much beholden unto them; nevertheless, I said, that they might on the other side ponder such pains as your Highness hath taken for them, in part declared by me; which was much more than for them to sit in their Chairs two or three hours in a week, to hear the justice of your defence in this cause. And as touching the manner used in the said Disputation, I said his Lordship knew well that it was by the Party adverse, which all manner of wayes goeth about to fatigate and make weary the Consistory of the Disputations,

tions, specially in chiding, scolding and alledging Laws and Decisions that never were, nor spoken of by any Doctor, and vainly continuing the time, to the intent that the Pope's Holiness, and the Cardinals, dissolving the Consistory, and not giving audience, the said Party, without Law, Reason, or any good Ground, might attain their Desire, and keep under the Truth, that it should not appear; and if any thing was sharply spoken of our Party, I said it was done only for our Defence, and to shew the Errors and Falsity of the Queen's Advocates in their Allegations, wherein, I said, they should not be spared. And forasmuch as on the behalf of your Highness there was nothing spoken but that which was grounded upon Law, and declared in what Place, so that it cannot be denied; I desired his Lordship that he would continue his goodness in this Matter, as your Highness's especial trust was he would do; and that we might always, as we were accustomed, have recourse unto the same in all our Business for his good Help and Counsel. His Lordship not yet satisfied, said, That as concerning the Order, the Pope's Holiness might interpretate and declare what he meant by it; and as touching the Conclusions, they were superfluous, impertinent, and calumnious, only proposed to defer the Matter. I answered, and said, That to interpretate the said Order where it is clear out of doubt the Pope's Holiness considering the Promise made on *Sbrove-Sunday*, with my Protestation foresaid and the execution of the said Order to that time, in divers Consistories observed, could not by right interpretate the said Order, admitting Disputation upon all the Conclusions; and of this I said, That if such Alterations were made, without any cause given of your Highness's Party, there was little certainty to be reckoned upon amongst them. And as touching the superfluity and impertinency of the said Conclusions, I said, That that was the saying of the Party adverse, that did not understand the same Conclusions. And further, that such Conclusions as were clamorously, by the Advocates of the Party adverse, alledged to be superfluous, his Lordship in the Disputation and Trial thereof in the Consistory, did manifestly perceive that it was not so. And where it was alledged the said Conclusions to be Calumnious, and laid in to defer the Process. I answered, That we might well alledge again the Counsel of the Party adverse, the thing against us alledged, and say truly, that we were calumniously dealt withal, seeing the matters were so just and clear, and yet not admitted. Then his Lordship went further, and said, that *Impedimentum allegatum erat perpetuum*, because your Highness, *ex causa reipublicæ*, could not come out your Realm, and *quia dignitas vestra est perpetua*; and also *quod Causa requirit celeritatem*. To this I said, that his Lordship mistook the Matter, for we said not in the matters that your Highness could not go out of your Realm to no Place, but we said, that the same could not go, *ad loca tam remota*, as Rome is: So that it was not *perpetuum impedimentum*. And to the other I shewed him a Text, and the common Opinion of Doctors in a Cause of Matrimony, being *inter Regem & Reginam* which took away the thing that he had said. Then his Lordship said, That it was enough that the Place were sure to the Procurator by the Chapter, *Cum olim de vestibus*. I said, That that Chapter did not prove that Allegation, and that they mistook the Text that so did understand it, for the Alternative that is in that Text is not referred *ad locum tutum*, but *ad ordinem Citationis inchoandæ in persona principali, aut ejus procuratore*; and so *Petrus de Anchorano*

*ckorano* understandeth that Text ; and otherwise understanding the same it should be against the Chapter, *Ex parte de appellatione*, and the common opinion there. Then he said that *Aretine* saith, *Quod sufficit quum locus sit tutus procuratori*. I said, that under his favour, *Aretine* saith the contrary, for he saith, *Quod partibus debet locus tutus assignari si poterit, & si non poterit partibus, detur procuratoribus*. Then his Lordship said to me, That I knew well he began to set forward these Disputations, and that he would do the best he could for the furtherance thereof.

The 19<sup>th</sup> of this present I went with your Highness's Ambassadors to the Pope, and delivered his Holiness in writing those things that were done in the Disputation of the 13<sup>th</sup> of this: And then your Ambassadors were in hand with the Pope to alter the Intimation, and to put out the Term *peremptory*, and other that were exclusory of further Disputations to be had upon the same Conclusions. The Pope's Holiness said, That Disputations was no act Judicial requiring to be in the Consistory ; and therefore he said, he would call certain Congregations of Cardinals, on *Fryday* and *Monday* following, to hear the Disputations. Then *I William Benet* said, That that could not stand very well with the Decree of the Intimation, which was *peremptory* for any further Disputations after the 20<sup>th</sup> of this present ; and therefore I spake that the same Term *peremptory* might be put out of the Intimation, alledging withal, that upon the said *Fryday* or *Monday* it was no time to hear the Disputation, being so nigh after ; and that his Holiness hitherto hath observed the Consistory for the Disputations, which Consistory cannot be unto after *Easter*, if the manner of the Court be observed. Then the Pope said, he might call a Consistory when he would, as he hath done in making of Cardinals, an Act much more solemn than a Disputation. To that I said, his Holiness might so do if he would ; howbeit, it should be *prater solitum morem* : and therefore desired his Holiness to consider therein the Order before assigned, and that this Term *peremptory* would not stand with the Order. His Holiness then willed we should inform the Cardinals, *Ancona* and *de Monte*, and so we did ; *Ancona* shewed himself somewhat reasonable, and was contented the Term *peremptory* should be put out. *De Monte* said that the Pope would promise to hear the Conclusions disputed in Congregations, calling thereto certain Cardinals, so that the Term *peremptory* should not be prejudicial. Then *I Edward Karne* desired him, that if the said Term should not be prejudicial, that it might be stricken out, for I told him plainly that I would not stand to words, the writing shewing the contrary ; adding withal, that I would not Dispute in this Term, *tanquam peremptorio*, but would manifestly shew and protest, That I, with other your Highness's Counsel, were ready to defend the Conclusions published according to the Order given, and hitherto observed ; alledging also, that the Conclusions being justified, the Matters ought to be admitted ; and that if the Pope's Holiness and the Cardinals would not give Audience to me and your Highness's said Counsel, for the manifest Trial and showing of the Truth, they should give us cause to complain upon them, and to cry out *usque ad Sidera*, your Highness's Ambassadors all affirming the same. Then the said Cardinal *de Monte* said, that the Pope's Holiness would provide for the Disputations, notwithstanding the Term *peremptory* assigned, and said also, that in the Morning he would speak with the Pope, and give your Ambassadors and me an Answer.

In the Morning, which was the 20th of this present, the said Cardinal would, that nothing of the Decree of Intimation should be manifested, because the other part had a Copy thereof, but would the Pope's Holiness to give an Order that the word *peremptory* should be only for Disputations to be had in the Consistory, and not in Congregations, in which Congregations, the Conclusions remaining might be disputed; and tho' they had drawn out this Order, yet because it was nothing plain, neither certain to be conformable to the former Order, I would have had the said Cardinal to speak to the said Datary for to make it as afore; and he was then contented, howbeit the Pope's Holiness commanded all the Cardinals to their Places, so that I could not have the said Order, and was driven thereby either to Dispute and accept the Term, *tanquam peremptorium*, or else to fly the Disputations, giving occasion to the adverse Party to say, that I diffided in the justness of the Matters, and defence of the Conclusions. Whereupon your Highness's Ambassadors and we, with other your Learned Counsel, concluded, that I *Edward Karne* should protest, *De non consentiendo in termino, tanquam peremptorio*, and afterward to proceed to the proposing of the Conclusions, and so I did by Mouth according to the Tenor of a Copy, which herewithal your Highness shall receive. When I had protested, and the Pope had spoken this word *Acceptamus*, the Queen's Advocate began to Protest that they would Dispute no more, and desired his Holiness to proceed in the principal Cause. Then I *Edward Karne* said, That the Pope's Holiness did well perceive, that the Conclusions were published and proposed, not only for them to Dispute, but also for all other, come who would, for the Information of his Holiness, and the whole Consistory. And therefore I said, that tho' they would not Dispute, yet I was there, with other your Highness's Learned Counsel, to propose the Conclusions, according to the Order given, justifying them to be Canonical, and ready to defend them against all those that would gainsay them; and thereupon desired the Pope's Holiness, that tho' the Counsel of the Party Adverse would not Dispute, yet I with your Highness's Learned Counsel might be heard again; against which my desire the Queen's Advocate made great Exclamations, till at the last the Pope commanded him to Silence, and willed us to go to the Conclusions, which we did.

And here now it is determined, That we shall have no more Disputations in the Consistory, but the rest of the Conclusions to be Disputed in Congregations before the Pope, purposely made for the same; and what therein shall be determined or done, your Highness from time to time shall thereof by us be advertised, and of all other our doings in that behalf.

And as concerning the Letters which your Highness sent by *Francis the Courier*, of the last of *February*, as well to the Pope, as to me *Edward Karne*, for the admission of me and the Matter excusatory, we shall, according to your Highness's Pleasure and Order assigned, in the common Letter sent unto us by your said Highness, proceed and do therein as may be most Beneficial and Profitable for the same.

And

And thus most humbly we commend us to your Highness, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the same in felicity and health many Years.  
At Rome the 28th of March. 1532.

Your Highness's most humble Subjects,

Servants, and Chaplains,

*William Bennet,*

*Edward Karne,*

*Edmond Bonner.*

XLV. Another Letter concerning the Proceſs at Rome.

An Original.

PLEASETH it your Highness, sithen our Letters of the 23 of March, CottonLibr. Vitell.B.13. here hath been great Labour, and Solliciting, to bring the Disputation publick out of the Consistory kept once in the Week, into the Congregations, to be observed and kept before the Popes's Holiness and the Cardinals, in such Place, and as oft as should please them; to the intent, as we perceived that the said Disputation might be the sooner ended, and not take such effect as it was devised for. And upon this great importune Labour, I, *Edward Karne*, was monished oftentimes to send Conclusions to be proposed in the said Congregations, as well in *Palm-Sunday-Week*, as in *Easter-Week*, as appeareth by the Copies of the Intimations sent herewithal to your Highness: Upon which Intimations I delivered certain Conclusions, according to the Order taken at the beginning, with a Protestation devised by your Grace's Counsel here, *De non recedendo ab eodem ordine, & de proponendo easdem Conclusiones in Consistorio, juxta eundem ordinem & non aliter*. That notwithstanding the Pope's Holiness caused me to be monished again, *cum Comminatione*, that if I would not come in, *cum Advocatis*, the third Day of April, *procederet ad ulteriora, protestatione mea previa non obstante*. Whereupon, with the Advice of your said Learned Counsel, I conceived a Protestation, and the same delivered to the Pope's Holiness the said third Day in the Morning, protesting as it was therein contained, and causing it to be registred by the Datary; of the which Protestation your Highness shall also receive a Copy herewithal. This notwithstanding the Pope's Holiness, the said third Day in the Afternoon made a Congregation, where the said Protestation was examined; and after the Treaty had upon the same, we were in Conclusion remitted again to the Consistory, there to be heard, as much as the Consistory intendeth to hear, upon the Conclusions that are published; which was much more beneficial to us, than to have had all proposed in Congregations to have been kept, as is afore. And by this means the Matter was shifted off, and deferred unto the 10th of this Month; at which Time the Pope's Holiness kept  
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the Consistory. And one Mr. *Providel*, a singular good Clerk, which came from *Bonony* for the furtherance of your Highness's Cause; very compendiously, and after good fashion and handling, to the great contentation, as appeared, of the Audience there, proposed three Conclusions, of the which two concerned the habilitation of me *Edward Karne*, to lay in the Matters Excusatory: And the third was, that the Cause ought to be committed, *extra curiam, ad locum tutum utrique parti*: Of the which Conclusions, and also his Sayings, the said 10th Day, your Highness shall receive a Copy herewithal. And forasmuch as at the said Consistory, neither the *Imperials*, neither yet the Queen's Counsel, did appear; I, *Edward Karne*, with the Advice of your Highness's Counsel, said to the Pope's Holiness, after the Proposition made by Mr. *Providel*, that his Holiness might perceive well, that if the Party adverse had any good matter to alledge, against such things as were deduced for the justification of the Conclusions, and matter Excusatory, and did not disside of their Part, they would not have absented themselves, or shrunk-en from the Disputations, which they afore had accepted and taken; wherefore I accused their contumacy and absence, desiring that it might be enacted; and thereupon departed from the Consistory, for that Day dissolved.

The 14th of this present, the Pope's Holiness caused Intimation to be made unto me, of the Consistory to be kept the 17th of the same; willing me to be there, *cum Advocatis*, to dispute all the Conclusions not proposed and disputed: Upon the which Intimation, I delivered to the Datary three Conclusions, the 19, the 20, and the 21 in order, with a Protestation devised by your Learned Counsel, sent here-withal to your Highness: And in the said Consistory, Mr. *Providel* did also alledge for the justification of the Matters and Conclusions; and over that answered to such Objections as he thought the Party adverse to make foundation upon, and that very compendiously, being sorry that the *Imperials*, and Queen's Counsel, did not come in to dispute the said Conclusions; and the Sayings of the said Mr. *Providel* in the said Consistory, with my Protestation also, in not agreeing to the Term, as *peremptory*, your Highness shall perceive in writing sent here-withal.

As concerning the seven Conclusions yet remaining undisputed, we think the Pope's Holiness will hear us no further in the Consistory; saying, that the Part adverse will not abide the Disputations, nor come into the same: Nevertheless to take otherwise out of the Consistory, with the Cardinals Information, his Holiness is well contented.

And verily, Sir, to study, labour, set forward, and call upon such things as may confer to the advancement of the Matter, and your Highness's Purpose, there shall not want neither good Will, neither Diligence to the uttermost, that we can excogitate or desire, as hitherto surely neither Party hath failed; trusting in God that thereby if Justice be not oppressed, some good Effect shall follow, to the good contentation of your Highness. With these Presents, your Highness shall also receive a Copy of all things that were spoken, as well for your Highness's behalf, as by the Party adverse in the Consistory, the 20th Day of *March*.

And

And thus most humbly we commend us to your Highness, beseeching Almighty God long to continue the same in his most Royal Estate: At Rome, the 29th of April.

Your Highness's most humble Subjects,

and poor Servants,

*Edward Karne,*

*Edmond Bonner.*

XLVI. *A Letter from Bennet and Cassali about the Process.*

*An Original.*

Serenissime & Invictissime Domine noster Supreme, salutem. Tribus Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 13. Superioribus Consistoriis ante vacationes habitis, de Causa Excusatoria actum fuit; sed quid illud fuerit quod in primo egerunt rescire non potuimus, quia Cardinales poena Excommunicationis prohibiti fuerant quicquam revelare. Secundo etiam aliquid super eadem causa tractarunt quod itidem nos celaverunt. Sed ultimo illo, quod die octavo Julii congregatum fuit, ita ut inferius patebit, constituerunt. Quum ergo postero die Pontificem adivissemus, ut quod decretum foret cognosceremus, ab eo sic accepimus; nolle se ore suo, propterea quod Jurisperitus, non sit Consistorii deliberationem pronunciare; quocirca die sequenti ad ipsum rediremus, quoniam vellet Cardinales Montem & Anconitanum id ipsum nobis proferre: Et nihilominus idem quod deinde ex ipsis Cardinalibus audivimus tunc explicavit, noluit tamen nobis esse Responsi loco. Igitur sicut dixerat, redivimus, & nobis duo illi Cardinales sic retulerunt summum Dominum & Cardinales decrevisse, literas Exhortatorias cum à Pontifice, tum à Collegio Cardinalium, Majestati vestræ scribendas esse, quibus vestram Majestatem adhortarentur, ut velit hic ad Causam Procuratorem constituere, idq; per totum Octobrem proximum facere. Pontifex præterea suadebat ut ad idem nos Majestatem Vestram cohortaremur, idemq; fecerunt Cardinales volentes omnes ambiguitates & dubitationes tollere. Respondimus, velle quod nobis injungebatur Majestati Vestræ scribere; verum illud non posse reticere quod erga Majestatem Vestram inique actum videbatur; quum neque Excusator Admissus, neque ipsius allegationes forent probatæ ac receptæ, id quod tam sæpe instantissime petatum fuerat. Præterea non posse nos non valde mirari ac etiam summo opere conqueri, quod quum pro comperto haberemus juris esse id fieri, esset nihilominus denegatum; quum præsertim petendo Mandatum procuratorium, tacite viderentur rejicere Excusatorem, & per ipsum allegata. Sic autem illi nobis Responderunt, neque Excusatorem fuisse rejectum, neque per ipsum allegata sed in eodem quo prius, statu permanere; hoc autem excusatorium negotium minime, ut nobis iudicibus clarum, sed dubium videri. Ibique, Anconitanus quædam nostris contraria adduxit, quæ D. Karne suis literis recenset. Dicebant quoq; in hac re favorabilius nos, quam adversarios fuisse tractatos; illud etiam addentes, quod si procuratorium

ratorium mandatum mittatur, justitia optime ministrabitur, ac etiam quaenus fieri possit, favorabiliter; idque & Pontifex & Cardinales ambo constanter asseverabant. Quum vero nos sæpius diceremus, excusatorem admitti debuisse; dixerunt, si recte considerare velimus, nos idem Ipsum re habuisse; si enim (aiebant), Procurator hic constituatur, literæ Remissoriae & Compulsoriae decernentur, ad testes in partibus examinandos. Itemq; vir aliquis probus ad id delegabitur ad utramque partem, testesque scil. examinandos, ita ut processus in partibus fiat; Atque hoc pacto nos id consequi quod desideramus, quoniam quod ad totius causæ decisionem pertinet ex eo quod de Pontificis potestate cognoscendum, & de jure Divino disceptandum sit, ac aliis etiam de causis, ipsam Decisionem Pontifici integram semper reservari nihilominus oporteret, quamvis causam alibi quam Romæ cognosci permissum fuisset. Nobis certe visum est, haud parum esse quod obtinimus, longe enim pejora timebamus, quia nemo in urbe esset, qui non crederet Excusatorem una cum suis allegationibus rejectum iri. Hunc quidem eventum rei Cæsariani ægerrime tulerunt. Optime valeat Majestas vestra. Romæ die 13 Julii 1532.

Vestrae Regiæ Majestatis

Hier. Episcopus Wigornien.

W. Benet,

Gregorio Cassali.

## XLVII. The Sentence of Divorce.

*Anno Incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio, Indictione sexta, Clementis Papæ decimo, mensis Maii vicesimo tertio, in Ecclesia Conventuali Monasterii Sancti Petri Dunstabilæ, Ordinis Sancti Augustini Lincoln. Dioces. nostri Cantuarien. Provinciæ.*

In an Inspeimus, Rot. Pat. 25. Reg. ad. Part.

**I**N Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas Permissione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas, & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, in quadam causa inquisitionis de & super viribus Matrimonii inter Illustrissimum & Potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis Filiam contracti & consummati, quæ coram nobis in judicio ex officio nostro mero aliquandiu vertebatur, & adhuc vertitur, & pendet indecisa, rite & legitime procedentes visis primitus per nos & diligenter inspectis, articulis sive capitulis in dicta causa objectis & ministratis, una cum responsis eis ex parte dicti Illustrissimi & Potentissimi Principis Henrici Octavi factis & redditis, visisque & similiter per nos inspectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum testium fide dignorum dictis & depositionibus in eadem causa habitis & factis, visisque præterea & similiter per nos inspectis, quamplurimum fere totius Christiani orbis Principalium Academiarum, Censuris seu Conclusionibus Magistralibus, etiam tam Theologorum quam Jurisperitorum responsis



sponsis & opinionibus, utriusque denique Provinciae Anglicanae Conciliorum provincialium assertionibus & affirmationibus, aliisque salutaribus monitis & doctrinis super dicto matrimonio desuper respective habitis & factis; visisq; ulterius, & pari modo per nos inspectis, pactis seu foederibus pacis, & amicitiae inter perennis faemae Henricum septimum nuper Regem Angliae, & dictum nobilis memoriae Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hispaniae desuper initis & factis; visis quoque per amplius, & diligenter per nos inspectis, omnibus & singulis actis actitatis, literis, processibus, instrumentis, scripturis, monumentis, rebusq; aliis universis in dicta causa quomodolibet gestis & factis, ac aliis omnibus & singulis per nos visis & inspectis, atq; a nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recensitis, servatisq; ulterius per nos in hac parte de jure servandis, nec non partibus praedictis, videlicet praefato illustrissimo & potentissimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta causa legitime comparente, dicta vero Serenissima Domina Catharina per contumaciam absente, cujus absentia Divina repleatur praesentia, de Consilio Jurisperitorum & Theologorum, cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus, ad sententiam nostram definitivam sive finale Decretum nostrum in dicta causa ferendam sive ferendum sic duximus procedendum; & procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta actitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, & allegata, probata pariter & confessata, articulataque, capitulata, partis responsa, testium depositiones, & dicta instrumenta, monumenta, literas, scripturas, censuras, conclusiones Magistrales, opiniones, consilia, assertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & foedera pacis, processus, res alias, & caetera promissa coram nobis in dicta causa respective habita, gesta, facta, exhibita & producta; Necnon ex eisdem, & diversis aliis ex causis & considerationibus, argumentisq; & probationum generibus variis, & multiplicibus, validis quidem & efficacibus, quibus animum nostrum hac in parte ad plenum informavimus, plene & evidenter invenimus & comperimus dictum Matrimonium inter praefatos Illustrissimum & Potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, ut praemittitur, contractum & consummatum, nullum & omnino invalidum fuisse & esse, & Divino Jure prohibente contractum & consummatum extitisse: Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas & Legatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum praeculis nostris habentes, pro nullitate & invaliditate dicti Matrimonii pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, ipsumq; praetensum Matrimonium fuisse & esse nullum & invalidum, ac Divino Jure prohibente contractum & consummatum, nulliusq; valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus & firmitate juris caruisse & carere, praefatoque Illustrissimo & Potentissimo Principi Henrico Octavo & Serenissimae Dominae Catharinae non licere in eodem praetenso Matrimonio remanere, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus; ipsosq; Illustrissimum & Potentissimum Principem Henricum Octavum ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, quatenus de facto & non de jure dictum praetensum Matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt & consummarunt, ab invicem separamus & divorciamus, atq; sic separatos & divorciatos, necnon ab omni vinculo Matrimoniali respectu dicti praetensi Matrimonii liberos & immunes fuisse & esse, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam sive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis. In quorum praemissorum fidem & testimonium, has literas nostras testimoniales, sive praesens publicum sententiae vel Decreti instrumentum, exinde fieri ac per Notarios Publicos subscriptos, scribas

& auctuarios nostros in ea parte specialiter assumptos, subscribi & signari, nostriq; sigilli appensione iussimus & fecimus communiri.

*He likewise passed Judgment (confirming the King's Marriage with Queen Ann) at Lambeth, May 28. 1533. which is in the same Inspeimus.*

Act 5. Anno Regni 25.

XLVIII. *An Act concerning the Deprivations of the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester.*

**W**Here before this time the Church of *England*, by the King's most noble Progenitors, and the Nobles of the same, have been founded, ordained, and established, in the Estate and degree of Prelatrick Dignities, and other Promotions Spiritual, to the intent and purpose that the said Prelates, and other Persons, having the said Dignities and Promotions Spiritual, continually should be abiding, and Rescants upon their said Promotions within this Realm; and also keep, use, and exercise Hospitality, Divine Services, teaching and preaching of the Laws of Almighty God, to such Persons as were and have been within the precinct of their Promotions or dignities, for the Wealth of the Souls of their Givers and Founders, greatly to the honour of Almighty God. Of the which said Spiritual Persons, the King's Highness, and his most noble Progenitors, have had right honourable, and well-learned Personages, apt, meet, and convenient, for to guide and instruct his Highness, and his most noble Progenitors, in their Counsels, concerning as well their Outward as Inward Affairs, to be devised and practised for the utility and preservation of this Realm; by reason whereof the Issues, Revenues, Profits, and Treasure, rising and coming of the said Spiritual promotions and Dignities, were and should be spent, employed, and converted within this Realm, to the great profit and commodity of the King's Subjects of the same. And where also by the laudable Laws and Provisions of this Realm, before this time made, it hath been ordained, used, and established, that no Person nor Persons, of whatsoever Estate, Degree, or Quality he or they were, should take or receive within this Realm of *England*, to Farm, by any Procuracy, Writ, Letter of Attorney, Administrations, by Indenture, or by any other Mean, any Benefice, or other Promotion within this Realm, of any Person or Persons, but only of the King's true and lawful Subjects, being born under the King's Dominions. And also that no Person or Persons, of what estate and degree soever he or they were, by reason of any such Farm, Procuracie, Letter of Attorney, Administration, Indenture, or by any other mean, as is aforesaid, should carry, convey, or cause to be carried and conveyed out of this Realm any Gold, Silver, Treasure, or other Commodity, by Letter of Exchange, or by way of Merchandise, or otherwise, for any of the Causes aforesaid, to the profit or commodity of any Alien, or other Stranger, being born out of this Realm, having any such Promotion Spiritual within the same, without licence of the King's Highness, by the advice of his Council, as by the same Laws, Statutes and Provisions, more plainly

plainly at large it may appear ; which said laudable Laws, Statutes, and Provisions, were made, devised, and ordained, by great policy and foresight of the King's most noble Progenitors, the Nobles and Commons of this Realm, for the great profit, utility, and benefit of the same, to the intent that the Gold, Silver, Treasure, Riches, and other Commodity of the same, by the occasion aforesaid, should not be exhausted, employed, converted, and otherwise transported out of this Realm and Dominions of the same, to the use, profit, and commodity of any Stranger being born out of this Realm, or the Dominions of the same ; But only to be spent, and used, and bestowed within the same, to the great comfort and consolation of the Subjects of this Realm. Notwithstanding which said wholesome Laws, Statutes, and Provisions, the King's Highness being a Prince of great Benignity and Liberality, having no knowledge, nor other due information, or instruction of the same Laws, Statutes, and provisions, heretofore hath nominated, and preferred and promoted *Laurence Campegius* Bishop of *Sarum*, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Possessions, Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities in any wise belonging or appertaining to the same : And also hath nominated, preferred, and promoted *Hierome*, being another Stranger, born out of the King's said Realm and Dominions, to the See and Bishoprick of *Worcester*, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities, in any wise belonging or appertaining to the same. Which said two Bishops, and namely the Bishop of *Sarum*, nothing regarding their Duties to Almighty God, nor their Cures of the said Bishopricks, everith or for the more part of the time of their said Promotions or Professions into the same, have been, and yet be resident, dwelling and abiding at the See of *Rome*, or elsewhere, in other parts beyond the Sea, far out and from any of the King's said Dominions ; by reason whereof, the great Hospitality, Divine Service, teaching and Preaching the Laws, and Examples of good living, and the other good and necessary effects before rehearsed, have been many years by-past, and yet continually be, not only withdrawn, decayed, hindred, and minished, but also great quantity of Gold, Silver, and Treasure, to the yearly sum and value of 3000 *l* at the least, have been yearly taken and conveighed out of this Realm, to the singular profit, and great enriching of the said Bishops, and daily is like to be conveighed, transported, and sent, contrary to the purport and effect of the said former wholesome Laws and Statutes, to the great impoverishing of this Realm, as well presently as for to come, if speedy remedy be not had therefore in brief time provided. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, that the said two severall Sees and Bishopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*, and either of them from henceforth, shall be taken, reputed, and accounted in the Law to be utterly void, vacant, and utterly destitute of any Incumbent, or Prelate, &c.

XLVIII. *A Letter from Cromwel to Fisher, about the Maid of Kent, Anno 34, or end of 35.*

**M**Y Lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me to your Lordship, Cotton Libr. doing you to understand, that I have received your Letters dated Cleop. E. 4. at Rochester, the 18th day of this Month ; in which ye declare what  
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craft and cunning ye have to perswade, and to set a good Countenance upon an ill Matter, drawing some Scriptures to your purpose ; which well weighed, according to the places whereout they be taken, make not so much for your purpose as ye alledge them for ; and where in the first Leaf of your Letters ye write, that ye doubt nothing, neither before God nor before the World, if need shall that require, so to declare your self, whatsoever hath been said of you, that ye have not deserved such heavy words, or terrible threats, as hath been sent from me unto you by your Brother.

How ye can declare your self afore God and the World, when need shall require, I cannot tell ; but I think verily that your Declaration made by these Letters, is far insufficient to prove that ye have deserved no heavy words in this behalf. And to say plainly, I sent you no heavy words, but words of great comfort, willing your Brother to shew you how benign and merciful the Prince, was : And that I thought it expedient for you to write unto his Highness, and to recognize your Offences, and desire his pardon, which his Grace would not deny you now in your age and sickness ; which my counsel I would you had followed, rather than to have written these Letters to me, excusing your self altho' there were no manner of default in you. But, my Lord, if it were in another manner of case than your own, and out of the Matter which ye favour, I doubt not but that ye would think him that should have done as ye have done, not only worthy heavy Words, but also heavy Deeds ; for where ye labour to excuse your self of your Hearing, Bribing, and concealing of the Maiden's false and feigned Revelations, and of your manifold sending of your Chaplains unto her, by a certain intent which ye pretend your self to have had, to know by communing with her, or by sending your Chaplains unto her, whether her Revelations were of God, or no, alledging divers Scriptures that ye were bound to prove them, and to receive them after they were proved. My Lord, whether you have used a due means to try her and her Revelations, or no, it appeareth by the process of your own Letters. For where you writethat ye had conceived a great opinion of the holiness of this Woman, for many considerations rehearsed in your Letters, comprised in six Articles ; whereof the first is grounded upon the bruit and fame of her ; the second, upon her entring into Religion after her trances and disfiguration ; the third, upon rehearsal that her Ghostly Father being Learned and Religious, should testify that she was a Woman of great holiness ; the fourth, upon the report that divers other vertuous Priests, Men of good Learning and Reputation, should so testify of her, with which Ghostly Father, and Priests, ye never spake, as ye confess in your Letters ; the fifth, upon the praises of my late Lord of *Canterbury*, which showed you, as ye write, that she had many great Visions ; the sixth, upon the saying of the Prophet *Amos*, *Non faciet Dominus Deus Verbum, nisi revelaverit secretum suum ad servos suos Prophetas*. By which Considerations ye were induced to the desire to know the very certainty of this Matter, whether these Revelations which were pretended to be shewed to her from God, were true Revelations or not. Your Lordship in all the sequel of your Letters, shew not that ye made any further trial upon the truth of her and her Revelations, but only in communing with her and sending your Chaplains to her with idle Questions, as of the three *Mary Magdalens*, by which your communication and sending, ye tried out nothing of her falshood, neither (as it is

credibly

credibly supposed) intended to do as ye might have done, in any wise more easily than with communing with her, or sending to her ; for little credence was to be given to her, affirming her own feigned Revelations to be from God ; for if credence should be given to every such lewd Person as would affirm himself to have Revelations from God, what readier way were there to subvert all Common-Weals and good orders in the World ?

Verily, my Lord, if ye had intended to trace out the truth of her, and of her Revelations, ye would have taken another way with you, first, you would not have been converted with the vain Voices of the People, making bruits of her Trances and Diffiguration, but like a wise, discreet, and circumspect Prelate, ye should have examined (as other since) such sad and credible persons as were present at her Trances and Diffigurations, not one or two, but a good number, by whose testimony ye should have proved, whether the Bruits of her Trances and Diffigurations were true or not. And likewise ye should have tried by what craft and perswasion she was made a Religious Woman ; and if ye had been so desirous, as ye pretended, to enquire out the truth or falshood of this Woman, and of her Revelations ; it is to be supposed ye would have spoken with her good, religious, and well learned Ghostly Father e're this time, and also with the vertuous and well-learned Priests, (as they were esteemed) of whose reports ye would have been informed by them which heard them speak ; or ye would also have been minded to see the Book of her Revelations, which was offered you, of which ye might have had more trial of her and her Revelations, than of a hundred communications with her, or of as many sendings of your Chaplains unto her. As for the late Lord of *Canterbury's* saying unto you, that she had many great Visions, it ought to move you never a deal to give credence unto her or her Revelations ; for the said Lord knew no more certainty of her or of her Revelations, than he did by her own Report. And as touching the saying of *Amos* the Prophet, I think verily the same moved you but a little to hearken unto her ; for sithence the Consummation and the end of the Old Testament, and sithen the Passion of Christ, God hath done many great and notable things in the World, whereof he shewed nothing to his Prophets that hath come to the knowledge of Men. My Lord, all these things moved you not to give credence unto her, but only the very matter whereupon she made her false Prophecies ; to which matter ye were so affected, as ye be noted to be in all matters which ye enter once into, that nothing could come amiss that made for that purpose. And here I appeal to your Conscience, and instantly desire you to answer. Whether if she had shewed you as many Revelations for the confirmation of the King's Grace's Marriage, which he now enjoyeth, as she did to the contrary, ye would have given as much credence to her as she same done, and would have let the trial of her and her Revelations, to overpass those many years, where ye dwelt not from her but twenty miles in the same Shire where her Trances, and Diffigurations, and Prophecies in her Trances were surmised, and reported. And if percase ye will say (as is not unlike but ye will say, minded as ye were wont to be) that the matter be not like, for the Law of God, in your opinion, standeth with the one and not with the other : Surely, my Lord, I suppose there had been no great cause to trust the one more than the other ; for ye know by Scriptures of the Bible, that God may by his Revelation dispense with his own Law, as with the *Israelites* spoiling the *Egyptians*, and with *Jacob* to have four Wives, and such other. Think you, my Lord,

Lord, that any indifferent Man, considering the quality of the Matter, and your affections, and also the negligent passing over of such lawful Trials as ye might have had of the said Maiden, and her Revelations, is so dull, that cannot perceive and discern that your communing, and often sending to the said maid, was rather to hear and bruit many of her Revelations, than to try out the truth and falshood of the same? And in this Business, I suppose, it will be hard for you to purge your self before God, or the World, but that ye have been in great default in hearing, believing, and concealing such things as tended to the destruction of the Prince; and that her Revelations were bent and purposed to that end, it hath been duly proved afore as great Assembly and Council of the Lords of this Realm, as hath been seen many years meet out of a Parliament. And what the said Lords deemed them worthy to suffer, which said, heard, believed, and concealed those false Revelations, be more terrible than any threats spoken by me to your Brother.

And where ye go about to defend, that ye be not to be blamed for concealing the Revelations concerning the King's Grace, because ye thought it not necessary to rehearse them to his Highness, for six Causes following in your Letters; afore I shew you my mind concerning these Causes, I suppose that albeit you perchance thought it not necessary to be shewed to the Prince by you, yet that your thinking shall not be your Trial, but the Law must define whether ye oughted to utter it or not.

And as to the first of the said seven Causes; Albeit she told you that she had shewed her Revelations concerning the King's Grace to the King her self; yet her saying, or others, discharged not you, but that ye were bound, by your fidelity, to shew to the King's Grace that thing which seemed to concern his Grace and his Reign so nighly: for how knew you that she showed these Revelations to the King's Grace, but by her own saying, to which ye should have given no such credence, as to forbear the utterance of so great Matters concerning a King's Weal? And why should you so sincerely judge the Prince, that if ye had shewed the same unto him, he would have thought that ye had brought that tale unto him, more for the strengthening and confirmation of your Opinion, than for any other thing else. Verily, my Lord, whatsoever your Judgement be, I see daily such benignity and excellent humanity in his Grace, that I doubt not but his Highness would have accepted it in good part, if ye had shewed the same Revelations unto him, as ye were bounden by your fidelity,

To the second Cause: Albeit she showed you not that any Prince, or other Temporal Lord should put the King's Grace in danger of his Crown; yet there were wayes enough by which her said Revelations might have put the King's Grace in danger, as the foresaid Council of Lords have substantially and duly considered: And therefore albeit she shewed you not the means whereby the danger should ensue to the King, yet ye were nevertheless bounden to shew him of the danger.

To the third; think you my Lord, that if any Person would come unto you, and shew you, that the King's destruction were conspired against a certain time, and would fully shew you that he were sent from his Master to shew the same to the King, and will say further unto that, he would go streight to the King; were it not yet your duty to certifie the King's Grace of this Revelation, and also to enquire whether the said Person had done his foresaid Message or no? Yes verily, and so were ye bound,

bound, tho' the maiden shewed you it was her Message from God to be declared by her to the King's Grace.

To the fourth; Here ye translate the temporal Duty that ye owe to your Prince, to the spiritual Duty of such as be bound to declare the Word of God to the People, and to shew unto them the ill and punishment of it in another World; the concealment whereof pertaineth to the Judgment of God, but the concealment of this Matter pertaineth to other Judges of this Realm.

To the fifth; There could no blame be imputed to you, if ye had shewed the Maidens Revelations to the King's Grace, albeit they were afterward found false, for no Man ought to be blamed doing his Duty: And if a Man would shew you secretly, that there were a great Mischief intended against the Prince, were ye to be blamed if ye shewed him of it; albeit it was a feigned talk, and the said mischief were never imagined?

To the sixth; Concerning an Imagination of Mr. Pary, it was known that he was beside himself, and therefore they were not blamed that made no report thereof; but it was not like in this case, for ye took not this Maiden for a mad Woman, for if ye had, ye would not have given unto her so great credence as ye did.

To the final, and seventh Cause; Where ye lay unto the charge of our Sovereign, that hath so unkindly entreated you with grievous Words, and terrible Letters, for showing his Grace truth in his great Matter, whereby ye were discomforted to shew unto him the Maidens Revelations: I believe that I know the King's Goodness, and natural Gentleness so well, that his Grace would not so unkindly handled you, as your unkindly writings him, unless ye gave him other Causes than be expressed in your Letters. And whatsoever the King's Grace hath said or written unto you heretofore, yet notwithstanding ye were nevertheless bounden to utter to him those pernicious Revelations.

Finally; Where ye desire, for the Passion of Christ, that ye be no more twitched in this matter, for if ye be put to that strait, ye will not lose your Soul, but ye will speak as your Conscience bindeth you, with many more words of great courage. My Lord, if ye had taken my counsel sent unto you by your Brother, and followed the same, submitting your self, by your Letters, at the King's Grace, for your offences in this behalf, I would have trusted that ye should never be quykkrand in this matter more. But now, where ye take upon you to defend the whole Matter, as ye were in no default, I cannot so far promise you: And surely, my Lord, if the Matter come to trial, your own confession in this Letter, besides the Witnesses which be against you, will be sufficient to condemn you: Wherefore, my Lord, I will est-soons advise you, That laying apart all such excuses as ye have alledged in your Letters, which in my opinion be of small effect, as I have declared, ye beseech the King's Grace, by your Letters, to be your Gracious Lord, and to remit unto you your negligence, over-sight, and offence, committed against his Highness in this behalf, and I dare undertake that his Highness shall benignly accept you into his gracious favour, all matters of displeasure past afore this time forgotten and forgiven. As touching the speaking of your Conscience, It is thought that ye have written and have spoken as much as ye can, and many things, as some right probably believes, against your own Conscience: and Men report, that at the last Convocation, ye spake many things which ye could not well defend; and therefore it

is not greatly feared what ye can say or write in that Matter, howsoever ye be quykkrane and startled. And if ye had taken, &c.

*L. A Renunciation of the Pope's Supremacy signed by the Heads of six Religious Houses.*

**Q**UUM ea sit non solum Christianæ Religionis & pietatis ratio, sed nostræ etiam obedientiæ regula, ut Domino nostro Henrico, ejus nominis pro Dominio Regio Octavo, cui uni & soli post Christum Jesum Salvatorein nostrum debentur omnia, non modo omnimodam in Christo, & eandem sinceram, perpetuamq; animi devotionem fidem, observantiam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam præstemus, sed etiam de eadem fide & observantia nostra rationem quotiescunque postulabitur reddamus, & palam omnibus si res poscat libentissime testemur: Nôrint universi ad quos præsens scriptum pervenit, quod nos Priores & Conventus fratrum, viz. prædicatores Langley Regis ordinis Sancti Dominici, Minorum de Ailsbury Ordinis Sancti Francisci, prædicatorum Dunstopiæ Ordinis antedicti, Minorum de Bedford Ordinis Sancti Francisci, Fratrum Carmelitarum de Hechyng Ordinis Beatæ Mariæ, Minorum de Morea Ordinis Sancti Francisci, uno ore & voce, atque unanimi omnium & singulorum consensu & assensu, hoc scripto nostro sub sigillis nostris communibus, & in domibus nostris capitularibus dato, pro nobis & successoribus nostris omnibus & singulis, in perpetuum profiteamur, testamur & fideliter promittimus & spondemus, nos dictos Priores & Conventus & Successores nostros, omnes & singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram perpetuamq; fidem, observantiam & obedientiam semper præstituros erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, & erga Serenissimam Reginam Annam Uxorem ejusdem, & erga castum sanctumq; Matrimonium nuper non solum inter eosdem juste & legitime contractum, ratum & consummatum, sed etiam tam in duabus Convocationibus Cleri, quam in Parlamento Minorum Spiritualium & Temporalium atq; Communium in eodem Parlamento congregatorum & præsentium determinatum, & per Thomam Cantuarien. Episcopum solenniter confirmatum, & erga quamecunq; aliam ejusdem Henrici Regis nostri Uxorem, post mortem prædictæ Annæ nunc Uxoris suæ legitimæ ducendam, & erga sobolem dicti Domini Regis Henrici ex prædicta Anna legitime tam progenitam quam progignendam, & erga sobolem dicti Domini Regis ex alia quacunq; legitima Uxore post mortem ejusdem Annæ legitime progignendam, & quod eadem populo notificabimus, prædicabimus & suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur locus & occasio. Item, quod confirmatum, ratumq; habemus semperq; perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus Rex noster Henricus est Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis Bullis Papæ nomen usurpat & summi Pontificis Principatum sibi arrogat, nihilo majoris neq; Auctoritatis aut jurisdictionis habendus sit, quam cæteri quivis Episcopi in Anglia alibi in sua cujusq; Diocese. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi & Successoribus suis adhærebimus, atq; ejus Proclamationes, insuper omnes Angliæ leges atque etiam Statuta omnia, in Parlamento & per Parliamentum decreta, confirmata, stabilita & ratificata, perpetuo manutenebimus. Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis & Canonibus, si qui contra legem Divinam & Sacram Scripturam esse inveniuntur,



in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere præsumet, sed quisquis Christum ejusque vera prædicabit Catholice & Orthodoxe. Item, quod unusquisque in suis orationibus & comprecationibus de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo & populi precibus commendabit; deinde Reginam cum sua sobole, tum demum Archiepiscopum Cantuarien. cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes & singuli prædicti Priores & conventus & Successores nostri, Conscientiæ & Jurisjurandi Sacro firmiter obligamur, quod omnia & singula prædicta fideliter & in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic Instrumento, vel scripto nostro, communia sigilla nostra appendimus, & nostra nomina propria quisque manu subscripsimus, Sacris in Domibus nostris Capitularibus, die quinto Mensis Maii, Anno Christi millesimo quingentesimo trigésimo quarto, Regni vero Regis nostri Henrici Octavi vicefimo sexto.

Ego Frater Richardus Ingerth Prior Conventus, & Prædicator Langley Regis, cum consensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Johannes Cotton, Prior Conventus Prædicatorum Dunstabliæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Sutler, Prior Conventus Carmelitarum Hicchiæ, cum Assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Edwardus Tryley Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, & Conventus Ailsberia, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Johannes Wyatt, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor Conventus Bed. una cum assensu omnium Fratrum, sponte hoc scribo & non coactus.

Ego Frater Johannes Chapmanus, Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, Magister immerito Conventus Mare, cum assensu omnium Fratrum, mea sponte subscribo.

*Another Declaration to the same purpose, Mutatis mutandis, is made by the Priores of Bedford in Kent, of the Order of St. Dominick, May 4. 1534. Regn. vicefimo sexto. Rot. Clausa.*

LI. *A Mandate for the Consecration of a Suffragan Bishop.*

Rot. Pat. 2. Par. 27 Regni.

**R**EX Reverendissimo in Christo Patri & per dilecto Consiliario nostro Thomæ Cantuariensi Episcopo salutem. Reverendus Pater & dilectus Consiliarius noster Richardus Norvicensis Episcopus nobis significavit, quod Diocesis sua Episcopi Suffraganei solatio, qui suæ sollicitudinis partem sustinere consuevit, destituta est & existit; & ideo reverendos Patres Gregorium Abbatem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Leystone, & Thomam Mannyngæ Priorem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley, Norvicen. Dioc. Ordine Sacerdotali rite insignitos, & legitimo Matrimonio natos, & in ætate legitima constitutos, virosque in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus multum circumspectos, quibus de Canonicis nihil obviant instituta, quo minus (ut asserunt) ad Episcopalem Suffraganei Dignitatem admitti possint & deberent; nobis per suas literas suo magno sigillo munitas præsentavit, humiliter & devote supplicans, quatenus nos alterum ipsorum sic præsentatorum ad aliquam sedem Episcopi Suffraganei infra Provinciam Cantuariensem existentem nominare, ipsique sic nominato Stylum, Titulum & Dignitatem hujusmodi sedis donare dignaremur: unde nos ex gratia nostra speciali & mero motu nostris, dictum Reverendum Patrem Thomam Mannyngæ Priorem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley prædicti, alterum ex dictis, præsentamus in Episcopum Suffraganeum Sedis Gips vici Norvicen. Diocesi antedictæ, nominamus, eique Stylum, Titulum & Dignitatem ejusmodi Sedis Episcopi Suffraganei damus & conferimus. Atque hæc vobis tenore Præsentium, significamus, requirentes vos, quatenus eundem Patrem sic per nos nominatum, in Episcopum Suffraganeum ejusdem Sedis Gips vici consecratis, eique Benedictionem ac omnia Episcopalia Insignia conferatis; cæteraque omnia & singula quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastoralis, juxta modum & formam Statuti Parliamenti in vicefimo sexto Anno Regni nostri apud Westmonasterium nuper editi peragetis.

T. R. apud Westm. 6. die Martii 27 Regn.

## Ad Librum Tertium.

### 1. Instructions for the General Visitation of the Monasteries.

*Articuli Regiæ Inquisitionis, in Monasticam vitam agentes, exponendi, & præcipue in exemptos à jurisdictione Diocesana, jam tantum Regiæ Majestati & ejus jurisdictioni subditos & subiectos, ac hujus inclyti sui Regni Statutis & legibus, nullisque aliis penitus, obnoxios & astrictos.*

1. **I***N primis* ; Whether Divine Service be solemnly sung, said, observed, and kept in this Monastery, according to the Number and the Abilities thereof, by Night and by Day, in due time and hours? and how many be present commonly at Mattins, and other Service, and who be absent, and so accustomed to be, without cause or sickness? *Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 4.*

2. *Item* ; How many Monks, Canons Regulars or Nuns, be within this Monastery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be compleat according to the Founder's Will, or the Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable custom of this House; and whether the number be augmented or diminished now of late?

3. *Item* ; Who were the first Founders of this House?  
*Fundationem primam, secundam, tertiam, & quotquot habent, exhibeant.*

4. *Item* ; Whether this House hath any encrease of Lands given to it since the first Foundation thereof? by whom? by how many? and when?

5. *Item* ; To what Sum of Money those Revenues and Rents of this House do extend and amount yearly?

6. *Item* ; Whether this House was ever translated from one habit and order to another? by whose Authority? and for what Cause?

*Translationem exhibeant.*

7. *Item* ; How the Lands and Possessions appertaining unto this Monastery, given by the first Founder, and all other Lands given since the first Foundation, were granted, given, and established, and so first brought to *Mortemain*? whether by the only Authority of the Giver, or by the Autorization of the Prince for that time reigning, and by what tenour and form ye hold them?

*Donationem & Confirmationem exhibeant.*

8. *Item* ; What evidence have you to shew for all and singular your Lands, Manors, Tenements, and other your Possessions Mortifate, and given unto you, and this your Monastery?

9. *Item* ; Wherefore, for what Causes and Considerations ye were exempt from your Diocesan? and what was your Suggestion and Motive at the obtaining of your said Exemption?

*Exemptionem exhibeant.*

10. *Item* ;

10. *Item*; Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local Statutes, Confirmations, Ordinances, or Rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and singular weal of this House, besides the Rules of your Profession? and whether they were made either by your Founders before your Exemption, or by the good Fathers of this House, with the whole consent of the Brethren, being sithen your exemption: to what use they were made, and how ye observe them?

*Statuta illa localia, & alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.*

11. *Item*; By what way and form the Master of this House was elected and chosen? And whether all the Brethren having, or ought to have by the Law, Statutes, or laudable custom of this House, Voices in the Election, were present in the same Election, or Lawfully called or cited to it?

12. *Item*; Whether any Persons Excommunicate, Suspended, or Interdicted, did give Voices in the same Election?

13. *Item*; Within what time after the Election was made and done, the Master of this House was confirmed? and by whom?

14. *Item*; Whether unto the Confirmation, all that had Interest, or that would object against the same, were lawfully cited, monished, and called?

*Exhibeat Electionem, Confirmationem & Titulum suæ Incumbentiæ.*

15. *Item*; What Rule the Master of this House, and other the Brethren, do profess?

16. *Item*; How many be professed, and how many be Novices; and whether the Novices have like Habit, or use to wear an Habit distinct from the Habit of the Brethren Professed?

17. *Item*; Whether ye do use to profess your Novices in due time, and within what time and space after they have taken the Habit upon them?

18. *Item*; Whether the Brethren of this House do know the Rule that they have professed, and whether they keep their Profession according to that their Rule, and Custom of this House; and in especial, the three substantial and principal Vows, that is to say, *Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience*?

19. *Item*; Whether any of the Brethren use any propriety of Money, or of Plate, in their Chambers: or of any other manner thing unwarre of the Master, and without his knowledge and licence, or by his sufferance and knowledge? and for what cause?

20. *Item*; Whether ye do keep Chastity, not using the Company of any suspect Woman within this Monastery, or without? And whether the Master, or any Brother of this House be suspected upon Incontinency, or defamed for that he is much conversant with Women?

21. *Item*; Whether Women useth and resorteth much to this Monastery by back ways, or otherwise? and whether they be accustomed, or at any time lodged within the Precinct thereof?

22. *Item*; Whether the Master, or any Brother of this House, useth to have any Boys or young men laying with him?

23. *Item*; Whether the Brethren of this House keep their Obedience, being ready at their Master's Commandment, in all things honest, lawful, and reasonable?

*Sequuntur Regule Ceremoniales.*

24. *Item*; Whether ye do keep silence in the Church, Cloister, Fratrie, and Dormitorie, at the hours and time specified in your Rule?

25. *Item*; Whether ye do keep Fasting and Abstinence, according to your Rules, Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable Customs of this House?

26. *Item*;

26. *Item* ; Whether ye abstain from Flesh in time of *Advent*, and other times declared and specified by the Law, Rules, and laudable Customs of this House ?

27. *Item* ; Whether ye wear Shirts and Sheets of Woollen, or that ye have any Constitution, Ordinance, or Dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful Authority ?

*Proficientes Regulam Benedicti quam arctissime tenentur ad predicta Ceremonialia observanda.*

28. *Item* ; Whether ye do sleep altogether in the *Dormitorie*, under one Roof, or not ?

29. *Item* ; Whether ye have all separate Beds, or any one of you doth lay with another ?

30. *Item* ; Whether ye do keep the Frairy at Meals, so that two parts, or the least, the two parts of the whole Covent be always there, unless the Master at every one time dispense with you to the contrary ?

31. *Item* ; Whether ye do wear your Religious habit continually, and never leave it off but when ye go to bed ?

32. *Item* ; Whether every Brethren of this House have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other House of like Order and Profession, without special Letters and Licence of their Master ?

33. *Item* ; Whether the Master and Brethren of this House have received and admitted any Brother of another House, without special Licence and Letters of his Master and Head ?

34. *Item* ; Whether any of you, sithence the time of your Profession, hath gone out of this House to his Friends, or otherwise ?

35. *Item* ; How oft-times he did so, and how long at every time ye tarried forth ?

36. *Item* ; Whether ye had special Licence of your Master so to go forth, or not ?

37. *Item* ; Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof ?

38. *Item* ; Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifest Apostasy, that is to say, Fugitives or Vagabonds ?

39. *Item* ; For what cause or occasion ye have so gone forth and been in Apostasy ? and whether the cause of your going forth was by reason of the great cruelty of your Master, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your Cloister ?

40. *Item* ; Whether ye be weekly shaven, and do not nourish or suffer your Hair to be long ? and whether ye wear your Apparel according to the Rule, not too excessive, nor too exquisite ; and in like wise the trappo's of your Horses, and other your bearing Beasts ?

41. *Item* ; Whether the Master and Head of this House do use his Brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudge, or displeasure more shewed to one than to another ?

42. *Item* ; Whether he do use his Disciplines, Corrections, and Punishments upon his Brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorousness, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another ?

43. *Item* ; Whether any Brother, or Religious Person of this House, be incorrigible ?

44. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House do use his Brethren charitably when they be sick and diseased ; and whether in time of their sickness he do procure unto them Physicians, and all other necessaries ?

45. *Item* ;

45. *Item* ; Whether he make his Accompts (as he ought to do) once every year before his Brethren, and chiefly the Seniors and Officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the state and condition of the House, and know perfectly the due administration thereof?

46. *Item* ; Whether the Prior, Subprior, Sellarer, Kitchener, Treasurer, Sacristen, or any such-like Officer, having Administration of every manner Revenues of this House, do make his whole and true Accompt, according as he is bound to do, not applying any thing by him received to his own proper use or commodity?

47. *Item* ; Whether any Religious Person of this House do bear, occupy, or exercise more Offices than one, for, and to his own singular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the Master?

48. *Item* ; Whether all and singular the Revenues and Profits of this House be converted and employed to the Behove and use thereof, and of the Brethren, and according to the Founder's mind and Giver?

49. *Item* ; Whether the Master do make sufficient reparations upon his Monastery, as the Church and all other housing thereto adjoynd, and also upon all other the Lands, Granges, Farms, and Tenements belonging to the same, and whether he suffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruine in any part of them?

50. *Item* ; Whether there be any Inventory made of all and singular the Moveables, Goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this House, as of Jewels, Reliques, Ornaments, Vestiments, ready Money, Plate, Bedding, with other Utensils ; also of Corn, Chattels and other Commodities, to the intent the state and condition of this House may be always known?

51. *Item* ; That ye express truly and sincerely the whole state and condition of this House, as in Money, Plate, Cartel, Corn, and other Goods?

52. *Item* ; Whether this Monastery be indebted? to whom? and for what cause?

53. *Item* ; Whether any of the Lands be sold, or mortgaged ; and for what Sums?

54. *Item* ; Whether any be let to Farm by the Master of this House for term of years, and for how many years? and specially whether they be letten for small Sums, or for less Sums than they were wont to be letten for, to the intent to have great Sums of ready Money before hand?

55. *Item* ; Whether he do enforce, compel, or constrain his Brethren, or any of them, to consent to the fealing of any Leases, Grants, Farm-Holds, Annuities, Corrodies, or any other Alienations?

56. *Item* ; Whether the Plate and Jewels, or any part or parcel thereof or of any other moveable Goods of this House be laid to pledge, sold, or alienated for a time, or for ever? for what cause, and to whom? or otherwise imbezled, or consumed?

57. *Item* ; Whether the Master of this House be wont to give under his Seal of Office, or Covent-Seal, Farms, Corrodies, Annuities, or Offices, to his Kinsfolk, Alliances, Friends, or Acquaintance, for term of years, or otherwise, to the hurt, hindrance, dammage, and impoverishment of this House?

58. *Item* ; Whether he be wont to grant any Patent, or Covent-Seal, without the Consent of his Brethren?

59. *Item* ; Whether the Covent-Seal of this House be surely and safely kept under three Keys ; that is to say, one remaining and being in Custody of the Master, and the other two in the Custody of two Seniors?

60. *Item* ;

60. *Item*; Whether the Muniments and Evidences of the Lands, Rents, and Revenues of this House, be safely kept from Vermine and Moiltnefs?

61. *Item*; Whether the Master do keep Hospitality according to the ability of his House, and in like manner as other Fathers hereof have done heretofore?

62. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House, in receiving any Novice, being of willing and toward Mind to enter into Religion, hath demanded or received, or consented to receive any Money, Rewards, or any other temporal Commodities of him so entring, or willing to enter, or of any other his Friends? and whether for not promising, granting, or giving such Rewards or Gifts, any hath been repelled and not received?

63. *Item*; Whether the Novices, and other received into Religion, have a Preceptor and Master deputed unto them to teach them Grammar and good Letters?

64. *Item*; Whether any Seniour of this House be deputed to declare, inform, and instruct them their Rules, and whereunto they shall be bounden to observe and keep, after their Profession?

65. *Item*; Whether any of you have taken upon him the Habit and Profession of your Religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or trust to be made Head and Master of this House?

66. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House, in giving any Advocation, Nomination, Presentation, or Collation of any Parsonage, Vicarage, Chapel, or Benefice of the Patronage and gift of this House, do take, or use to take any manner Pension, Portion, or other Commodity or Gains; or else doth make any Convention or Compaction, whereby any lucre may ensue to him in that behalf?

67. *Item*; Whether he do receive, or use to receive, the Fruits and Revenues of every such Benefice vacant, or use to borrow any Money of him to whom he intendeth to give such Benefice unto, expressly covenanting or intending, that he so obtaining the said Benefice, shall freely and clearly remit the said Money so borrowed?

68. *Item*? What, and how many Benefices the Master of this House doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. *Item*; Whether the same Benefices be appropriate and united to this House by sufficient Authority?

70. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House doth make Distributions amongst the Parishioners of the Benefices appropriate, and doth keep and observe all and singular other Provisions and Ordinances specified and expressed in the Appropriations of the same Benefices?

*Exhibeant omnes & singulas Appropriationes, una cum Ordinatio-  
nibus & Donationibus Vicariatuum.*

71. *Item*; Whether he do promote unto such Benefices, as be of his Gift, sufficient and able Persons in Learning, Manners, and Vertue?

72. *Item*; Whether any Brother of this House do serve any Parish-Church, being appropriate and united to the same, and how many Churches appropriate be so served?

73. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House hath and possesseth any Benefice with Cure, or any other Dignity with his Abby?

*Si aliquod tale habet, Dispensationem exhibeat.*

74. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House at any time since he was first made Abbot, or Master, did know or believe that he was Suspended, or Excommunicate, either by the Law, or by any Judge; and whether he knowing or supposing himself to be, did sing Mass in the mean time, and before he was absolved?

*In Visitatione Monialium ad Præmissa addantur hæc.*

75. *Item*; Whether this Monastery hath good and sufficient Enclosure, and whether the Doors and the Windows be diligently kept shut, so that no Man can have any entry into the same, or any part thereof, at inconvenient times?

*Propter quod necessarium erit Visitatori circumire Monasterium, ac videre & rimare dispositionem ædificiorum, & an sint aliqua loca pervia per quæ secrete intrari possit; & una secum habeat Abbatissam cum duabus aut tribus senioribus Monialibus, à quibus tum interroget, an ostia Monasterii singulis quibusque noctibus sub clavibus clausa teneantur, & quæ earum Monialium senio confectarum, vel an Abbas ipsa clavium custodiam tempore nocturno habeant & teneant: nam non est tutum clavium custodem Junioribus committere.*

76. *Item*; Whether Strangers, both Men and Women, useth commonly to have communication with the Sisters of this House, without licence of the Abbess or Prioress, specially in secret Places, and in the absence of their Sisters?

77. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House were professed for any manner of Compulsion of her Friends and Kinsfolks, or by the Abbess or Prioress?

78. *Item*; Whether any of the Sisters of this House useth to go forth any whither out of the Precinct thereof, without special Licence of their Abbess or Prioress?

79. *Item*; Whether any Sister doth use her Habit continually out of her Cell?

80. *Item*? Wherein every one of you occupieth her self, beside the time of Divine Service?

81. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House hath any familiarity with Religious Men, Secular Priests, or Laymen, being not near of kin unto them?

82. *Item*? Whether any Sister of this House hath been taken and found with any such accustomedly so communing, and could not shew any reasonable cause why they did so?

83. *Item*; Whether any of you doth use to write any Letters of Love, or lascivious fashion to any Person, or receive any such, or have any privy Messengers coming and resorting unto you, or any of you, with Token or Gifts, from any manner secular Person or other?

84. *Item*; Whether any of you doth use to speak with any manner of Person, by night or by day, by Grates or back Windows, or other privy Places within this Monastery, without licence of your Head?

85. *Item*; Whether the Confessor of this House be a discreet Man, of good learning, vertue and honest behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always so taken?

86. *Item*;



86. *Item*; How oftimes in the Year the Sisters of this House useth to be Confessed and Communicate?

*Restat pro Ecclesiis Collegiatis, Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Parochialibus Ecclesiis, Episcopo, & Archiepiscopo, pro ordine Ierosolimitarum?*

*Exhibeant omnia scripta, Munimenta, Inventaria, Schedulas quascunq; unde aliquid cognitionis eorum reformationi Monasteriorum, sive domorum utilitati, necessariæ explicari, aut quoquo modo colligi possit.*

## II. General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highness's behalf in all Monasteries and other Houses, of whatsoever Order or Religion they be.

**F**irst; That the Abbot, Prior, or President, and all other Brethren of the Place that is visited, shall faithfully, truly, and heartily, keep and observe, and cause teach, and procure to be kept and observed of other, as much as in them may lie, all and singular Contents, as well in the Oath of the King's Highness Succession, given heretofore by them, as in a certain Profession lately sealed with the Common Seal, and Subscribed and Signed with their own Hands: Also that they shall observe and fulfil, by all the means that they best may, the Statutes of this Realm, made or to be made, for the suppression and taking away of the usurped and pretended Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome within this Realm: and for the assertion and confirmation of the Authority, Jurisdiction, and Prerogative of your most noble Sovereign Lord the King, and his Successors; and that they shall diligently instruct their Juniors and Youngers, and all other committed to their Cure, That the King's Power is by the Laws of God most excellent of all under God in Earth; and that we ought to obey him afore all other Powers, by God's Prescript; and that the Bishop of Rome's Jurisdiction or Authority heretofore usurped, by no means is founded or established by Holy Scripture: but that the same, partly by the craft and deceit of the same Bishop of Rome, and by his evil and ambitious Canons and Decretals; and partly by the toleration and permission of Princes, by little and little hath grown up; and therefore now, of most right and equity, is taken away, and clean expelled out of this Realm.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President and Brethren, may be declared, by the King's Supream Power and Authority Ecclesiastical, to be absolved and loosed from all manner Obedience, Oath and Profession by them heretofore perchance promised, or made to the said Bishop of Rome, or to any other in his stead, or occupying his Authority, or to any other Foreign Prince, or Person: And nevertheless let it be enjoined to them, that they shall not promise or give such Oath or Profession to any such Foreign Potentate hereafter. And if the Statutes of the said Order Religious, or Place, seem to bind them to Obedience, or Subjection, or any other Recognizance of Superiority to the said Bishop of Rome, or to any other Foreign Power, Potentate, Person or Place by any ways: such Statutes, by the King's Grace's Visitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared void and of none effect; and that they be

in no case bounden or obligate to the same, and such Statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and abolished out of the Books or Muniments of that Religion, Order or Place, by the President and his Brethren.

Also, that no Monk, or Brother of this Monastery, by any means go forth of the Precinct of the same.

Also, that Women, of what state or degree soever they be, be utterly excluded from entering into the Limits or Circuit of this Monastery, or Place, unless they first obtain Licence of the King's Highness, or his Visitor.

Also, that there be no entering into this Monastery but one, and that by the great Fore-Gate of the same, which diligently shall be watched and kept by some Porter specially appointed for that Purpose, and shall be shut and opened by the same both Day and Night, at convenient and accustomed Hours; which Porter shall repel all manner Women from entrance into the said Monastery.

Also, that all and singular Brethren, and Monks of this Monastery, take their refectiōns altogether in a Place called the *Misericordie*, such Days as they eat Flesh, and all other Days in their Refectory; and that at every Mess there sit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, usual, or accustomed duty or portion of Meat as they were wont to do; but that they be content with such Victuals as is set before them, and there take their Refectiōns soberly, without excess, with giving due thanks to God; and that at every such Refectiōn, some Chapter of the New-Testament, or Old, by some of the said Brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping Silence, and giving Audience to the same.

Also, that the Abbot and President do daily prepare one Table for himself and his Guests thither resorting, and that not over-sumptuous, and full of delicate and strange Dishes, but honestly furnished with common Meats; At which Table, the said Abbot, or some Senior in his stead, shall sit to receive, and gently entertain the Strangers, the Guests.

Also, that none of the Brethren send any part of his Meat, or the leavings thereof to any Person, but that there be assigned an Almoner, which shall gather the Leavings, both of the Covent and Strangers Tables, after that the Servants of the House have had their convenient Refectiōns, and distribute the same to poor People; amongst whom special consideration be had of such, before other, as be Kinsfolk to any of the said Brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be; and also of those which endeavour themselves, with all their Will and Labour, to get their Living with their Hands, and yet cannot fully help themselves for their chargeable Household, and multitude of Children: yet let them not be so cherished, that they shall leave Labour and fall to Idleness; with consideration also specially to be had of them, which by weakness of their Limbs and Body be so impotent that they cannot Labour; and by no means let such Alms be given to valiant mighty and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, as commonly use to resort about such Places; which rather as drove-Beasts and Mychers, should be driven away and compelled to Labour, than in their Idleness and Lewdness, against the form of the King's Grace's Statute in this behalf made, cherished and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the Common-Weal.

Also, that all other Almses or Distributions due, or accustomed to be made, by reason of the Foundation; Statutes, or Customs of this Place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Also,

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President, shall find Wood and Fewel sufficient to make Fire in the Refectory, from *Allday-even* to *Good-Friday*.

Also, that all the Brethren of this House, except the Abbot, and such as be sick, or evil at ease, and those that have fulfilled their *Jubilee*, lie together in the Dormitory, every one by himself, in several Beds.

Also, that no Brother, or Monk, of this House, have any Child or Boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwise haunting unto him, other than to help him to Mass.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, when they be sick, or evil at ease, be seen unto, and be kept in the Infirmary duly, as well for their sustenance of Meat and Drink, as for their good keeping.

Also, that the Abbot, or President, keep and find in some University, one or two of his Brothers, according to the Ability and Possessions of this House; which Brethren, after they be learned in good and holy Letters, when they return home, may instruct and teach their Brethren, and diligently preach the Word of God.

Also, that every day, by the space of one hour, a Lesson of Holy Scripture be kept in this Covent, to which all, under pain by this said President to be moderated, shall resort; which President shall have Authority to dispense with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, say their long hours, which were wont to be sung.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, after Divine Service done, read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themselves in some such like honest and laudable exercise.

Also, that all and every Brethren of this House shall observe the Rule, Statutes, and laudable Customs of this Religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the Abbot, Prior, or President of this Monastery, every day shall expound to his Brethren, as plainly as may be, in English, a certain part of the Rule that they have professed, and apply the same always to the Doctrine of Christ, and not contrariwise; and he shall teach them, that the said Rule, and other their principles of Religion (so far as they be laudable) be taken out of Holy Scripture; and he shall show them the places from whence they were derived; and that their Ceremonies, and other observances of Religion, be none other things than as the first Letters or Principles, and certain Introductions to true Christianity, or to observe an order in the Church. And that true Religion is not contained in Apparel, manner of going, shaven Heads, and such other marks; nor in silence, fasting, up-rising in the night, singing and such other kind of Ceremonies, but in cleanness of mind, pureness of living, Christ's Faith not feigned, and brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Verity. And that those above-said things were instituted and begun, that they being first exercised in these, in process of time might ascend to those as by certain steps, that is to say, to the chief point and end of Religion: and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually stick and surcease in such Ceremonies and Observances, as though they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and outmost of the whole true Religion; but that when they have once past such things, they endeavour themselves to higher things, and convert their minds from such external Matters, to more inward and deeper Considerations, as the Law of God and Christian Religion doth teach and show. And that they assure not themselves of any Reward or  
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Commodity any wise, by reason of such Ceremonies and Observances, except they refer all such to Christ, and for his sake observe them; and for that they might thereby the more easily keep such things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Christian People.

Also, that the Abbot and President of this Place shall make a full and true reckoning and account of his Administration every year to his Brethren, aswell of his Receipts as Expences; and that the said Account be written in a great Book remaining with the Convent.

Also, that the Abbot and President of this House shall make no waste of the Woods pertaining to this House, nor shall set out unadvisedly any Farms of Reversions, without the consent of the more part of the Convent.

Also, that there be assigned a Book and a Register that may copy out into that Book all such Writings, word by word, as shall pass under the Convent-Seal of this House.

Also, that no Man be suffered to profess, or to wear the Habit of Religion in this House e're he be 24 years of Age compleat; And that they entice nor allure no Man with suasions and blandiments to take the Religion upon him.

*Item,* That they shall not shew no Reliques, or feigned Miracles, for encrease of Lucre, but that they exhort Pilgrims and Strangers to give that to the Poor, that they thought to offer to their Images or Reliques.

Also, that they shall suffer no Fairs, or Markets, to be kept or used within the limits of this House.

Also that every Brother of this House that is a Priest, shall every day in his Mass, pray for the most happy and prosperous estate of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his most noble and lawful Wife Queen *Ann*.

Also, that if either the Master, or any Brother of this House, do infringe any of the said Injunctions, any of them shall denounce the same, or procure to be denounced, as soon as may be, to the King's Majesty, or to his Visitor-General, or his Deputy. And the Abbot, or Master, shall minister spending Money, and other Necessaries, for the way to him that shall so denounce.

Other spiritual Injunctions may be added by the Visitor, as the place and nature of the Comperis shall require, after his discretion.

Reserving Power to give more Injunctions, and to examine and discern the Comperis, to punish and reform them that be convict of any notable Crime, to search and try the Foundations, Charters, Donations, Appropriations and Muniments of the said Places; and to dispose all such Papistical Escrips as shall be there found, to the Right Honourable Mr. *Thomas Cromwell* General-Visitor to the King's said Highness, as shall seem most expedient to his high wisdom and discretion.

### III. *Some Particulars relating to the Dissolution of Monasteries.*

#### Section I.

##### *The Preamble of the Surrender of the Monastery of Langden.*

**O**Mnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Willielmus Dyer, Abbas Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis & S. Thomae Martyris de Langden, in Com. Kent, & ejusdem loci Conventus, Ordinis Praemonstrat. capitulum dictae domus

domus plene facientes, ejusdemq; domus (quæ in suis fructibus, redditibus provenien. even. & emolumen, non mediocriter deteriorata est, & quasi in totum diminuta, ingentiq; are alieno obruta, oppressa, & gravata extitit) statum usq; adeo matura deliberatione, & diligenti tractatu, considerantes, ponderantes, & pensantes, quod nisi celeri remedio, regia provisione huic Monasterio sive Prioratui (quippe quod de ejus fundatione & personatu existit) brevi succurratur & provideatur, funditus in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus annihiletur, per præsentis damus & condimus, &c.

*The rest follows in the ordinary form of Law: but the ordinary Preamble in most Surrenders is,*

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Nos—Salutem. Sciatis quod nos, deliberate, certa scientia, & mero motu, nostris, ex quibusdam causis, justis, & rationabilibus, nos, animas & conscientias nostras specialiter moventibus, ultro & sponte dedisse & concessisse Domino Regi, &c.

But it seems some few Houses though they were prevailed with to surrender, yet would not do it with such a Preamble, for there are about twenty Surrenders without any Preamble at all, made to *John London Clerk, ad usum Domini Regis.*

## Section II.

*A List of Religious Houses, which by the King's Letters Patents were of new founded and preserved from the Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries.*

ST. Mary of Betlesden, Buckinghamshire, Cistercians.	} 17. August.	Anno Regni
St. Mary of Huntington, Augustians.		28.
Chertsey, Cambridg-shire, Benedict. Nuns.		
St. Mary in Winton, Southamp. shire, Benedict. Nuns.		
Grace-dieu, Leicestershire, August. Nuns.		
St. Michael Hull, Yorkshire, Carthusians.	27.	
St. Clare of Denby, Cambridgshire, Nuns.	28.	
Kymme, Lincolnshire, Augustin.	2. September.	
St. Ann Marick, York-shire, Benedict. Nuns.	9.	
St. Mary of Bindon, Dorset-shire, Cistercians.	16. November.	
St. Mary Harpa, Westmor. Præmonstrat.	16.	
St. Mary of Hynnings Lincoln-shire, Cisterc. Nuns.	27.	
St. Mary de la-Pray, Northamp. shire, Nuns.	13. December.	
St. Mary of Kelling, York-shire, Nuns.	14.	
St. Mary of Cockerland, Lancash. Præmonstrat. Nuns.	19.	
De-la-val, York-shire, Carthuf.	2. January.	
St. Mary New-stead, Nottinghamsh. August. Nuns,	2.	
Wormsley, Herefordsh. August.	27.	
St. Mary of Alnewick, Northumb. Præmonst.	30.	
Bellalanda, Yorksh. Cisterc.	30.	
St. John Bapt. Egglestone, Yorksh.	30.	
St. Mary de Nith, Glamorgansh. Cisterc.	30.	
St. Mary Ulnestock, Leicestersh.	30.	
		St. Mary

St. Mary of Dale Derbysh. August.	30. <i>January.</i>
St. Katharine of Polefloo, Devonsh. Benedict. Nuns.	30.
St. Mary Lacock, Wiltsh. August. Nuns.	30.
St. Mary Chester, Nuns.	30.
St. Mary of Studely, Oxfordsh. Nuns.	30.
St. Mary of Canon Leigh, Devonsh. Nuns.	12. <i>February.</i>
Cockhill, Worcesterth. August. Nuns.	5. <i>March.</i>
St. Bartholomew, New-Castle, Nuns.	30.
St. Mary of Wallingwells, Yorksh.	<i>April.</i>

*The Grants for these Houses are all in the 28th year of the King, to be held in perpetuum eleemosynam, and are enrolled in the 1st, 2d, 4th, and 5th, parts of the Patent Rolls for that Year.*

### Section III.

*A List of the Surrenders of Abbies, which are yet extant in the Augmentation Office.*

<i>Regni 27.</i> <b>L</b> Angden, Præmonst. signed by the Abbot and 10. Monks, Com. Kent.	13. <i>November.</i>
Folkeston, Benedict. the Prior, Kent.	15.
Dover, the Prior, 8 Monks, Kent.	16.
Merten, August. the Prior and 5 Friers, Yorksh.	9. <i>February.</i>
Hornby, Præmonst. the Prior and two Monks.	23.
Tilty, Cisterc. the Abbot and 5 Monks; Essex.	28.
Billington, the Prior and two Monks, Kent.	21.
<i>These are all enrolled Rot. Claus. Part 1st.</i>	

<i>Regni 28.</i> Furnesse, the Abbot and 30 Monks; Lancashire.	9. <i>April.</i>
Bermondsey, the Abb. Surrey.	1. <i>June.</i>
Bushlitham. Bp. of St. Davids, Commendator, Berk.	5. <i>July.</i>

*The Originals of these two last are lost; but enrolled Rot. Claus. Part 2d. Regn. 28.*

<i>Regni 29.</i> Lanthony, August. the Prior and 21 Monks, Glocestsh.	10. <i>May.</i>
Abbington, Bened. the Abbot and 25 Monks, Berksh.	29.
Charterhouse, the Prior, London.	10. <i>June.</i>
Chertsey,—the Abbot and 14 Monks.	6. <i>July.</i>
Wardon, Cisterc. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Bedfordsh.	4. <i>December.</i>
St. Austins Canterb. the Abby Seal.	5.
Westacre, August. the Prior and 8 Monks, Norfolk.	14. <i>January.</i>
Kingswood, Cisterc. Glocestsh. the Abbot and 13 Monks.	1. <i>February.</i>
Coxhall, Cisterc. the Abbot, Essex.	5.
St. Andrew, Bened. Northampt. the Prior and 12 Fr.	2. <i>March.</i>
Holcultrin—the Abbot and 25 Monks, Cumberland.	6.
Butley, August. the Commend. and 8 Monks, Suffolk.	7.
Stradford—Langthorn, Cist. the Abbot and 14 Mon. Essex.	8.
Southwick, August. Hampsh.	7. <i>April.</i>

Kennelworth. Bened. the Prior and 16 Mon. Warwicksh.	14. April.
Merton, August. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Surrey.	16.
Pont-Robert, Cisterc. the Abbot and 8 Monks, Suffex.	16.
Bello loco, Cisterc. the Abbot and 19 Monks, Hamp.	17.
<i>Besides these, the following Surrenders are enrolled.</i>	
Lewes, Cluniac. Suffex, the Prior.	16. November.
Castel-Acre, Cluniac. Norfolk; the Prior.	22.
Tichfield, Præmonst: the Commend. Southamptsh:	18. December.
Muchelling, Bened. Somersetsh. the Abbot.	3. January.
Boxley, Cisterc. Kent, the Abbot.	26.
Walden. Bened. Essex the Bp. Suffr. of Colchester. Com- mend.	22. March.

*Almost all these Abbies were above the value of two hundred pound, so that they were not within the Statute for suppressing the lesser Abbies, but the Abbots were prevailed on by other Motives to surrender their Houses to the King.*

Batle, Bened. Suffex, the Abbot and 16 Monks.	27. May.	Regni 30.
Thurgarton, August. Yorksh. the Prior and 8 Frat.	14. June.	
Bushliffham, Bened. Berksh. the Abbot and 15 Monks.	19.	
Axiholm, Carthuf. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 8 Monks.	23.	
Rupa, Cisterc. Yorksh. the Abbot and 17 Monks.	23.	
Walbeck, Præmonst. Nottingsh. the Abbot and 18 Monks.	20.	
Huntington Canons, Aug. the Prior and 8 Canons.	11. July.	
Lincoln, Gilbertines the Prior, and 15 Monks.	14.	
Feversham, Cluniac. Kent, the Abbot and 8 Monks.	8.	
Bordesly, Cisterc. Worcestsh. the Abbot and 19 Monks.	17.	
Cumbermore, August. Chesh. the Abbot.	27.	
St. Austins, Canterb. Bened. the Abbot and 30 Monks.	30.	
St. James, Northamptonsh. Bened. the Abbot Elect and 5 Monks.	25. August.	
Fordham Gilbertines, Cambridgsh. the Prior and 3 Frat.	1. September.	
Chateras, Black-Nuns, Cambsh. the Abbess and 10 Nuns.	3.	
Val-royal, Chesh. the Abbot and 14. Monks.	7.	
Croxton, Præmonst. Leicestsh. the Abbot and 22 Monks.	8.	
Haughmond, Canons. Shropsh. the Abbot and 10 Monks.	9.	
Tudbury, Bened. Staffordsh. the Prior and 8 Monks.	14.	
De-la-pray, no Subscriptions, only the Common Seal.	16.	
Rofriter, August. Staffordsh. the Abbot and 8 Monks.	16.	
Crockesden, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the Abbot and 12 Monks.	17.	
Hilton, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the Abbot and 8 Monks.	18.	
Semperingham, † Gilbertines, the Prior and 8 Monks.	18.	
Sulby, Præmonst. Northampsh. the Abbot and 11 Monks.	20.	
Haberholm, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 6 Can.	24.	
Betlesden, Cisterc. Bedfordsh, Abbot and 11 Monks.	25.	
Cately, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Prior.	25.	
Bolington, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 9 Monks.	26.	
Thelsford, the Holy Trinity, Warwicksh. Prior & 3 Monks.	26.	
Sixhill, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Commend. and 8 Monks.	27.	
Thetford, August. Norfolk, the Prior.	27.	
Alvinghame, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 27 Monks.	29.	
Ormesby, Gilb. the Prior and 6 Frat.	30.	

*† In the Houses of this Order there were Cloisters for both Sexes, St. Gilbert L. of Semperingham founded it; the Bp. of Landaff was at this time Comendator of the whole Order.*

Linn Carmelites,	} The Prior and 10 Fra.	} 30. <i>September.</i>	
Linn Dominicans,			} The Prior and 11 Fra. Norfolk.
Linn August.			} The Prior and 14 Fra.
Linn, Francisc. the Warden and 9 Frat.		1. <i>October.</i>	
Alesbury, Francisc. Buckinghamsh. the Warden and 6 Frat.		1.	
Coventry, Carm. Warwicksh. the Prior and 13 Frat.		1.	
Newstead, Gilb. the Prior and 5 Monks.		2.	
Mattersey, Gilb. the Prior and 4 Monks.		3.	
Coventry, Franc. Warden and 10 Frat.		5.	
Marmond, Canons. Cambridgsh. the Prior and 1 Monk.		5.	
Stamford, August. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 5 Frat.		6.	
Stamford, Dominic. the Prior and 9 Frat.		7.	
Grinsby, Francisc. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 5 Frat.		9.	
Miraval, Cisterc. Warwicksh. the Abbot and 9 Monks.		13.	
Shouldham, Gilb. Norfolk, the Prior, 9 Monks, 7 Nuns.		15.	
Braywood, Black-Nuns, Staffordsh. the Prioress.		16.	
Lillethull, August. Shropsh. the Abbot and 10 Monks.		16.	
Stafford, August. the Prior and 5 Monks.		16.	
Northampton, Dominic. the Prior and 7 Frat.		16.	
Northallerton, Carmel. Yorksh. the Prior and 9 Frat.		17.	
Warwick, Dominic. the Prior and 6 Frat.		20.	
Northampton, Carmel. the Prior and 8 Frat.		20.	
Weatheral, Dominic. Cumberland, the Prior,		20.	
Chicksand, Gilb. Bedfordsh. the Prior, 6 Monks, 18 Nuns.		22.	
Darley, August. Derbysh. the Abbot, and 13 Monks.		22.	
Dale, Premonst. Derbysh. the Abbot, and 16. Monks.		24.	
Repton, August. Derbysh. the Subprior, and 8 Monks.		25.	
Grace-dieu, August. Nuns, Leicestersh. the Prioress.		27.	
Northampton, Francisc. the Warden and 10 Frat.		28.	
Northampton, August. the Prior and 9 Frat.		28.	
Mallen Nuns, Kent, the Abbess and 10 Nuns.		29.	
Bardeny, Bened. Lincolnsh. the Abbot and 13 Monks.		1. <i>November.</i>	
Barnwell, August. Can. Cambridgsh. the Prior and 6 Monks.		8.	
Leicester, Francisc. the Warden and 7 Frat.		10.	
Dominic. the Prior.		10.	
August. the Prior.		10.	
London, Dominic. the Bp of Rochest. Commend. & 15 Frat.		10.	
August. the Prior and 12 Frat.		12.	
Francisc. the Warden and 25 Frat.		12.	
Cross-Friers, 6 Frat.		13.	
Doncaster, Carm. Yorksh. the Prior and 6 Friars.		13.	
Werkfop, August. Nottinghamsh. the Prior & 15 Friars.		14.	
Pipewell—Lincolnsh. the Abbot and 13. Monks.		15.	
Wigemore—Herefordsh. the Commend. and 10 Friars.		18.	
York, August. the Prior and 7 Friars.		18.	
Doncaster, Francisc. Guardian, 6 Friars 3 Novices.		20.	
Monkbretton, Bened. Yorksh. the Prior, and 13 Monks.		21.	
S. Helens Lond. a Nunnery, no Hands, only the Seal.		25.	
Pomphret, Dominic. Yorksh. the Prior, 7 Friars, 1 Novice.		26.	
York, Carmel. the Prior, 9 Friars, 3 Novices.		27.	
Francisc. the Guardian, 15 Friars, 5 Novices.		27.	
Dominic. the Prior, 6 Friars, 4 Novices.		27.	
Gilbertines, the Prior, 3 Monks.		28.	

August.



August. the Prior, 9 Friars, 4 Novices.	28. <i>November.</i>
Bellalanda, Cisterc. Yorksh. the Abbot and 24 Monks.	30.
Dunnington, the Order of the Trinity, Berksh. the Minister.	30.
Ryeval, Cisterc. Yorksh. the Abbot and 23 Monks.	3. <i>December.</i>
St. Albans, Bened. Herefordsh. the Abbot and 37 Monks.	5.
Ansham, Bened. Oxfordsh. the Prior and 8 Monks.	4.
Kirkham, August. Yorksh. the Prior and 17 Friars.	8.
Notely, ——— Yorksh. the Abbot and 17 Monks.	9.
Ellerton, Gilber. Yorksh. the Prior and 4 Friars.	11.
York, the H. Trin. the Minister and 10 Priests.	
Yarom, Dominic. the Prior and 5 Friars and 6 Novices.	
Darby, Dominic. the Prior and 5 Friars.	3. <i>January.</i>
Sempringham, Gilber. the Commend; and 3 Monks.	6.
Newcastle, Francif. the Warden, with 8 Friars and 2 Nov.	9.
Newcastle, August.	9.
Newcastle, Dominic. the Prior and 12 Friars.	10.
Newcastle, Carmel, the Prior, 7 Friars, and 2 Novices.	10.
Walknell, Newcastle, H. Trin. the Prior.	10.
Tinmouth. Bened. Northumberl. Prior, 15 Prebend. 3 Nov.	12.
Warwick, Bened. the Prior. and 12 Monks.	15.
Coventry, Carthuf. the Prior and 7 Monks.	16.
York, August. the Prior and 17 Fellows.	17.
Brednestock, Wiltsh. the Prior and 13 Monks.	18.
Richmond, Yorksh. Francif. the Prior and 14 Friars.	19.
Lacock, Wiltsh. Nunnery, the Abbess.	21.
Combe, Warwicksh. Cisterc. the <i>quondam</i> Abbot, 13 Monks.	21.
Kenisham, Somersetsh. August. the Abbot and 10 Monks.	23.
Bolton, Yorksh. August. the Prior and 14 Friars.	29.
Cockerfand, Lancash. Premonst. the Abbot and 22 Monks.	29.
Pollsworth, Warwicksh. Nunnery, no Hands, only the Seal.	31.
Nottingham, Carmel. the Prior and 6 Friars.	5. <i>February.</i>
Francif. the Prior and 7 Friars.	5.
Athelny, Sommerfetsh. Bened. the Abbot and 8 Monks.	8.
Taunton, Sommerfetsh. August. the Prior and 12 Monks.	10.
Buckland, Sommerfetsh. Nunnery, the Priores.	10.
Dunkefwell, Sommerfetsh. Cisterc.	12.
Polleslow, Devonsh. Nunnery, the Priores.	14.
Witham, Sommerfetsh. Garthuf. the Prior and 12 Monks.	15.
Bushham, Devonsh.	19.
Cannonleigh, Devonsh. Nunnery, no Hands, but the Seal.	19.
Hartland, Devonsh. August. the Abbot and 4 Monks.	21.
Torry, Premonst. Devonsh. the Abbot and 15 Monks.	23.
Launceston, Cornwall, August. the Prior and 8 Monks.	24.
Buckfast, Devonsh. Cisterc. the Abbot with 10 Monks.	25.
Buckland, Devon. Cisterc. the Abbot.	27.
Bodmyn, Cornwall, August. the Prior and 8 Monks.	27.
Edingdon, Wiltsh. August. the Rector and 12 Monks.	28.
Plimpton, Canons, August. Devonsh. the Prior and 18 Monks.	1. <i>March.</i>
St. Germans, Can. Aug. Cornwall, the Prior 7 Monks.	2.
Ford. Cisterc. Devon. the Abbot and 13 Monks.	8.
Middleton, Bened. Devon. Abbot & Bp. Suff. of Shaftf. 12 Mo.	11.
Abbots-bury, Bened. Dorsetsh. the Prior and 10 Monks.	12.
Tarent Nunnery, Dorcsetsh. the Abbess and 18 Nuns.	13. <i>March.</i>

Bindon, Cisterc. Dorcets. the Abbot and 7 Monks.	14. March.
Cerne, Bened. Dorcets. the Abbot and 16 Monks.	15.
Sherburn, Bened. Dorcets. the Abbot and 16 Monks.	18.
Montecute Cluniac. Somerset. the Abbot and 13 Monks.	20.
Tavenstock, Bened. Somerset. the Abbot & 20 Monks.	20.
Shaftsbury Nunnery, Dorcets. the Abbess.	23.
Wilton Nunnery, Wilt. the Abbess.	25.
Hinton Carthuf. Somerset. the Prior and 19 Monks.	31.
Bruton Canons, August. Somerset. the Abbot and 14 Mo.	1. April.
Hide, Bened. Hampsh. Bp Bangor Commend. and 21 Monks, in April, but no date.	

*Without date there are four.*

Franciscans Cambr. the Guardian and 23 Frat.	
Dominicans Cambr. the Prior and 15 Frat.	
Thetford Dominic. the Prior.	
Sancta Maria de Pratis, the Abbot and 19 Monks.	

*Hospitals resigned this Year.*

St. Thomas Southwark, the Master and 1 Brother.	25. July.
St. John Wells, the Master and 3 Brothers.	3. February.
Bridgewater, the Master and 7 Brothers.	3.
St. John Exon, the Master and 2 Brothers.	20.

*All the former Resignations have the Covent Seals put to them, except those of some few Houses of Begging Friars, which perhaps had no Seals; they are also enrolled in the first, second, third, and fifth Claus. Rolls of that Year. There are likewise some few more enrolled, of which the Originals are lost, which follow.*

Hales-Owen, Premonst. Salop, the Abbot.	9. June.
Clattercott. Gilbert. the Prior.	22. August.
Bedford, Francisc. the Warden.	3. October.
Stamford, Francisc. the Warden.	8.
Derleyghs, Cisterc. Stafford. the Abbot.	20.
Pipeldeth, Cisterc. Northampton. the Abbot.	5. November.
De-la-pray Nunnery, Northampton. the Abbess.	16. December.
Northallerton, Carmel. York. the Prior.	20.
Poulton, Gilbert. the Prior.	16. January.
Newburg, August. York.	22.
Bath Cathedral, Bened.	27.
Brufyard Nunnery, Suffolk, the Abbess.	17. February.
Newham, Cisterc. Devon. the Abbot.	8. March.

*Here follow the Resignations made in the 31 Year of the King's Reign, of which the Originals are yet extant.*

<b>K</b> imme Can. August. Lincoln. the Prior and 9 Monks.	6. July.
Bevoll Carthuf. Nottingham. the Prior and 7 Monks.	8.
Irthorpe Nunnery, Lincoln. the Priores and 17 Nuns.	9.
Nuncotton Nunnery, York. without Subscriptions.	11.

Hynings

Hynings Nunnery, Lincolnsh. no Subscriptions.	11. July.	
Fosse Nunnery, Lincolnsh. the Priorefs.	11.	
Newstead Premonst. Nottinghamsh. the Prior and 11 Monks.	21.	
St. Ofith. Can. August. Eflëx, the Abbot and 16 Monks.	28.	
Eliftu Nunnery, Bedfordsh. the Abbefs.	26. August.	
Hamond, a Commission to the Bp. of Chester to take the Surrender of it.	31.	
Swine Nunnery, Yorksh. no Subscriptions.	3. September.	
Haughmond Can. August. Sallop, the Abbot and 10 Monks.	9.	
Nunkeling Nunnery, Yorksh. no Subscription but the Seal.	10.	
Nunniton Nunnery, the Priorefs, 27 Croffes for Subfcript.	12.	
Ulnescroft, Leiceftersh. the Prior and 11 Friers.	15.	
Marrick Nunnery, Yorksh. the Priorefs.	15.	
Burham Nunnery, Bucks, the Abbefs and 9 Nuns.	19.	
St. Bartholomew Smithfield, the Prior.	25. October.	
Edmundsbury Bened. Suffolk, the Abbot and 44 Monks.	4. November.	
A Commission for the furrender of St. Alborough, Chesh.	7.	
Berkin Nunnery, Effex, the Abbefs.	14.	
Tome, Oxfordsh. Bp. * Roanen and 16 Monks.	16.	* What this
Ofney, <i>ibid. id.</i> and 12 Monks.	17.	See was I can-
Godftow Nunnery, Oxfordsh. fubfcribed by a Notary.	17.	not conjecture.
Studley Nunnery, Oxfordsh. figned as the former.	19.	
Thelsford, Norfolk, the Prior and 13 Monks.	16. February.	
Westminster Bened. the Abbot and 27 Monks.	16. January.	
A Commission to the Arch-Bp. of Canterb. for taking the furrender of Chrift's-Church Canterbury.	} 20. March.	
And another for the furrender of Rochester, both dated		
Waltham Bened. Effex, the Abbot and 17 Monks.	23.	
St. Mary Watte, Gilber. Bifhop of Landaffe Commend. 8 Friers and 14 Nuns.		

*There is alfo in the Augmentation-Office, a Book concerning the Resignations and Suppreffions of the following Monasteries.*

St. Swithins Winchefter.	15. November.
St. Mary Winchefter.	17.
Wherewel, Hampfhire.	21.
Chrift's-Church, Twinham, the Commendator thereof is called <i>Epifcopus Neopolitanus.</i>	28.
Winchelcomb.	3. December.
Ambrofe Bury.	4.
St. Auftins, near Bristol.	9.
Billeffwick, near Bristol.	9.
Malmesbury.	15.
Cirencefter.	19.
Hales.	24.
St. Peter's Glocefter.	2. January.
Teuksbury.	9.

*There are alfo feveral other Deeds enrolled, which follow.*

St. Mary-Overhay, in Southwark.	14. October.
St. Michael, near Kingfton upon Hull, Carthuf.	9. November.
	Burton

Burton upon Trent, Staffordsh.	14. <i>November.</i>
Hampol Nunnery, Yorksh.	19.
St. Oswold, Yorksh.	20.
Kirkstall, Yorksh.	22.
Pomfret, Yorksh.	23.
Kirkelles, Yorksh.	24.
Ardington, Yorksh.	26.
Fountains, Yorksh.	26.
St. Mary York.	29.
St. Leonard York.	1. <i>December.</i>
Nunnapleton Nunnery, Yorksh.	5.
St. Gelmans Selbe, Yorksh.	6.
Melfey, Yorksh.	11.
Malton, Yorksh.	11.
Whitby, Yorksh.	14.
Albalanda, Northumb.	18.
Montgrasse Carthuf. Yorksh.	18.
Alnewick Premonstrat. Northumb.	22.
Gisburn August. Yorksh.	22.
Newshame, Dunelme.	29.
St. Cutchberts Cathedral of Duresme.	31.
St. Bartholomew Nunnery; in Newcastle.	3. <i>January.</i>
Eglehston, Richmondsh.	5.
St. Mary Carlile, Cumber.	9.
Hoppa Premonst. Westmoreland.	14.
St. Werburg. Chester.	20.
St. Mary Chester, a Nunnery.	21.
St. Peters Shrewsbury.	24.
St. Milburgh Winlock, Salop.	26.

## Section IV.

**I**T seems there was generally a Confession made with the Surrender: Of these some few are yet extant, though undoubtedly great care was taken to destroy as many as could be in Queen *Mary's* time. That long and full one made by the Prior of *St. Andrews* in *Northampton*, the Preamble whereof is printed by *Fuller*, and is at large printed by *Weaver*, is yet preserved in the Augmentation-Office. There are some few more also extant, six of these I have seen, one of them follows.

**F**Orasmuch as we *Richard Green*, Abbot of our Monastery of our Blessed Lady *St. Mary of Betlesden*, and the Convent of the said Monastery, do profoundly consider, That the whole manner and trade of living, which we and our pretended Religion have practised, and used many days, does most principally consist in certain dumb Ceremonies, and other certain Constitutions of the Bishops of *Rome*, and other Forinsecal Potentates, as the Abbot of *Cistins*, and therein only nused, and not raught in the true knowledg of God's Laws, procuring always Exemptions of the Bishops of *Rome* from our Ordinaries and Diocesans: submitting our selves principally to Forinsecal Potentates and Powers, which never came here to reform such disorders of living and abuses, as now have been found to have reigned amongst us. And therefore now assuredly knowing, that the most perfect way of living is most principally and sufficiently decla-

declared unto us by our Master Christ, his Evangelists and Apostles, and that it is most expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our Supreme Head, under God, the King's most noble Grace, with our mutual Assent and Consent, submit our selves, and every one of us, to the most benign Mercy of the King's Majesty; and by these Presents do Surrender, &c.

*The Surrender follows in common form, signed by the Abbot, Subprior, and 9 Monks, 25 Septemb. Regni 30.*

There are others to the same purpose, Signed by the Guardian and seven Franciscans at *Alisbury*, the first of *October*. By the Franciscans at *Bedford*, the third of *October*. The Franciscans in *Coventry* the fifth of *October*. And the Franciscans in *Stamford* the eighth of *October*. And the Carmelites in *Stamford* upon the same day, which I shall also insert, the former four agreeing to it.

**F**Orasmuch as the Prior and Friars of this House of *Carmelites* in *Stamford*, commonly called the *White-Friars* in *Stamford*, in the County of *Lincoln*, do profoundly consider that the perfection of Christian living doth not consist in some Ceremonies, wearing of a white Coat, disguising our selves after strange fashions, docking and becking, wearing Scapulars and Hoods, and other-like Papistical Ceremonies, wherein we have been most principally practised and nussed in times past; but the very true way to please God, and to live a true Christian Man, without all hypocrisy and feigned dissimulation, is sincerely declared to us by our Master Christ, his Evangelists, and Apostles; being minded hereafter to follow the same, conforming our self to the Will and Pleasure of our Supreme Head under God on Earth, the King's Majesty; and not to follow henceforth the superstitious Traditions of any Forinsecal Potentate or Power, with mutual Assent and Consent, do submit our selves to the Mercy of our said Sovereign Lord, and with the like mutual Assent and Consent do Surrender, &c.

Signed by the Prior, and six Friars.

### Section V.

*Of the manner of suppressing the Monasteries after they were surrendered.*

**T**HE Reader will best understand this by the following account of the Suppression of the Monastery of *Teuksbury*, copied from a Book that is in the Augmentation-Office, which begins thus:

**T**HE Certificate of *Robert Southwell* Esquire, *William Petre*, *Edward Kairne*, and *John London*, Doctors of Law: *John Ap-price*, *John Kingsman*, *Richard Paulet*, and *William Bernars*, Esquires, Commissioners assigned by the King's Majesty, to take the Surrenders of divers Monasteries, by force of his Grace's Commission to them, 6, 5, 4, or 3 of them, in that behalf directed; bearing date at his Highness's Palace of *Westminster*, the 7th day of *November*, in the 31 year of the Reign of our most Dread Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God,  
King

King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth immediately under Christ Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, of all and singular their Proceedings, as well in and of these Monasteries by his Majesty appointed to be altered, as of others to be dissolved, according to the tenour, purport and effect of his Grace's said Commission; with Instructions to them likewise delivered, as hereafter ensueth.

Com. Gloucester.

*Teuksbury* late Monastery } Surrendered to the use of the King's Majesty, and of his Heirs and Successors for ever made, bearing date under the Covent-Seal of the same late Monastery, the 9th day of *January*, in the 31 Year of the Reign of our most dread victorious Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth: and the said Day and Year clearly dissolved and suppressed.

The clear yearly value of all the Possessions belonging to the said late Monastery, } As well Spiritual as Temporal, over and besides 136 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d.* in Fees, Annuities, and Custodies granted to divers Persons by Letters Patents under the Covent-Seal of the said late Monastery for term of their Lives. } l. s. d.  
1595 15 06

	l.	s.	d.
Pensions assigned to the late Religious dispatched; that is to say, to	John Wich, late Abbot there	266	13 04
	John Beley, late Prior there	16	00 00
	J. Bromesgrove late Pr. of <i>Delchurst</i>	13	06 08
	Rob. Circester Prior of <i>St. James</i>	13	06 08
	Will. Didcote Prior of <i>Cranborne</i>	10	00 00
	Robert Cheltenham B. D.	10	00 00
	Two Monks 8 <i>l.</i> a piece	16	00 00
	One Monk	07	00 00
	27 Monks 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> each	180	00 00
		l.	s. d.
	And so remains clear	1044	08 10

Records and Evidences } Belonging to the late Monastery } Remain in the Treasury there under the Custody of *John Whittington*, Kt. the Keys thereof being delivered to *Richard Paulet* Receiver.

Houses and Buildings assigned to remain undefaced. } The Lodging called the *Newark*, leading from the Gate to the late Abbot's Lodging, with Buttery, Pantery, Cellar, Kitching, Larder and Pastry thereto adjoining. The late Abbot's Lodging, the Hostery, the great Gate entring into the Court, with the Lodging over the same; the Abbot's Stable, Bakehouse, Brewhouse and Slaughterhouse, the Almry, Barn, Derry-house, the great Barn next *Aven*, the Maltinghouse, with the Garners in the same, the Oxhouse in the Barton, the Barton-gate, and the Lodging over the same. } Committed to the custody of *John Whittington*, Knight.

Deemed to be superfluous. } The Church, with Chappels, Cloisters, Chapterhouse, Misericord, the two Dormitories, Infirmary, with Chappels and Lodgings within the same; the Work-hay, with another House adjoining to the same, the Covent-Kitchen, the Library, the old Hosterly, the Chamberers Lodging, the new Hall, the old Parlor adjoining to the Abbot's Lodging; the Cellarers Lodging, the Poultry-house, the Gardner, the Almary, and all other Houses and Lodgings not above reserved. } Committed as above said.

Leads remaining upon } The Quire, Iles, and Chappels annext the Cloister, Chapter-house, Frater, St. Michael's Chappel, Hall, Fermory, and Gatehouse, esteemed to } 180 Foder.

Bells remaining } In the Steple there are eight poize, by estimation. } 14600 Weight.

Jewels reserved to the use of the King's Majesty. } Miters garnished with gilt, rugged } 2. } Pearls, and counterfeit Stones.

Plate of Silver reserved to the same use. } Silver gilt 329 ounces. } 1431. } Silver parrel gilt 605 ounces. } Silver white 497 ounces.

Ornaments reserved to the said use. } One Cope of Silver Tissue, with one Clesible, and one Tunicle of the same; one Cope of Gold Tissue, with one Cles. and two Tunicles of the same.

Sum of all the Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels belonging to the said late Monastery. } Sold by the said Commissioners, as in a particular Book of Sales thereof made ready to be shewed, as more at large may appear. } l. s. d. } 194 08 00.

Pay-ments } To the late Religious Persons of the said late Monastery of the King's Mat. reward. } 80 13 04. } and Servants dispatched } To an 144 late Servants of the said late Monastery, for their Wages and Liveries. } 75 10 00.

Pay- ments	} For debts owing by the said late Monas- tery:	} To divers Persons for Victuals and Ne- cessaries of them had to the use of the said Monastery, with 10 <i>l.</i> paid to the late Abbot there, for and in full payment of 124 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by him to be paid to certain Creditors of the said late Monastery, by Covenants made with the aforefaid Commis- sioners.	l. s. d.
			18 12 00

And so remains clear—19 12 08

*Then follows a List of some small Debts owing to and by the  
said Monastery.*

*Then follows a List of the Livings in their Gift.*

Com. *Glocest.* Four Parsonages and 10 Vicarages.

Com. *Wigorn.* Two Parsonages and 2 Vicarages.

Com. *Warwic.* Two Parsonages.

Com. *Will.* } Five Parsonages and 1 Vicarage.  
*Bristol.* }

Com. *Wilts.* 00 2 Vicar.

Com. *Oxon.* One Parf. and 2 Vicar.

Com. *Dorf.* Four Parf. and 2 Vicar.

Com. *Sommersf.* Three Parf.

Com. *Devon.* 00 1 Vicar.

Com. *Cornub.* 00 2 Vicar.

Com. *Glamorg.* } 00 5 Vicar.  
and *Morgan.* }

In all 21 Parsonages, and 27 Vicarages.

#### IV. *Queen Ann Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry.*

S I R,

*Cotton Libr.*  
*Otho. C. 10.* **Y**our 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 mine antient pro-

pro-



professed Enemy. I no sooner received this Message by him, 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 Command.

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 thereof preceded. And to speak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in *Ann Boleyn*, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my self, if God, and your Grace's Pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget my self in my Exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my Preferment being on no surer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy; the least alteration I knew, was fit and sufficient 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 found me worthy of such Honour, Good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad Counsel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy Stain<sup>d</sup> of 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 Truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see, either mine Innocency 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 me, your Grace may be freed from an open Censure; and mine 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 unlawful 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 unto, 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 must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great Sin therein; and likewise mine Enemies, the Instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his General Judgment-Seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose Judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only Request shall be, That my self may only bear the burden 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 *Ann Boleyn* hath been pleasing in your Ears; then let me obtain this Request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Prison in the *Tower*, this 6th of *May*.

Your most Loyal and ever Faithful Wife,

*Ann Boleyn.*

V. The

V. *The Judgment of the Convocation concerning General-Councils.*  
*Published by the L. Herbert from the Original.*

**A**S concerning General-Councils, like-as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, nor is, any thing devised, invented, or instituted by our Fore-Fathers, more expedient or more necessary for the establishment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Heresies, and the abolishing of Sects and Schisms; and finally, for the reducing of Christ's People unto one perfect unity and concord in his Religion, than by the having of General-Councils; so that the same be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be also conform and agreeable, as well concerning the surety and indifferency of the Places, as all other Points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that wholesome and godly Institution and Usage, for the which they were at first devised and used in the Primitive Church: Even so on the other side, taught by like experience, we esteem, repute, and judg, That there is, ne can be any thing in the World more pestilent and pernicious to the Common-Weal of Christendom, or whereby the Truth of God's Word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced or subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more contention, more discord and other devilish Effects, than when such General Councils have or shall be assembled, not christianly, nor charitably, but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal Respects and considerations, according to the saying of *Gregory Nazianzenus*, in his Epistle to one *Procopius*, wherein he writeth this Sentence following; *Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, omnes Conventus Episcoporum fugiendos esse, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum: Nam cupiditates contentionum, & gloria (sed ne putes me oliosum ista scribentem) vincunt rationem.* That is to say; "I think this, if I should write truly, That all General Councils be to be eschewed, for I never saw that they produced any good End or Effect, nor that any Provision or Remedy, but rather increase of Mischiefs proceeded of them. For the desire of maintenance of Mens Opinions, and ambition of Glory (but reckon not that I write this of Malice) hath always in them overcome Reason. Wherefore we think that Christian Princes, especially and above all things, ought and must, with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence, foresee and provide; *Ne Sanctissima hac in parte majorum Instituta, ad improbissimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos, diversissimo suo fine & sceleratissimo pervertantur: Neve ad alium pretextum possint valere, & longe diversum effectum orbi producere quam Sanctissima rei facies præ se ferat.* That is to say, "Lest the most noble wholesome Institutions of our Elders in this behalf, be perverted to a most contrary and most wicked End and Effect; that is to say, to fulfil and satisfy the wicked affections of Mens Ambition and Malice; or, lest they might prevail for any other colour, or bring forth any other Effect, than their most vertuous and laudable Countenance doth outwardly to the World shew or pretend. And first of all, we think they ought principally to consider who hath the Authority to call together a General Council. Secondly, Whether the Causes alledged, be so weighty and so urgent, that necessarily they require

require a General Council, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, Who ought to be Judges in the General Council. Fourthly, What order of proceeding is to be observed in the same; and how the Opinions or Judgments of the Fathers are to be consulted or asked. Fifthly, What Doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with divers other things which in General Councils ought of reason and equity to be observed. And as unto the first Point, We think that neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any one Prince, of what Estate, Degree, or Preheminence soever he be, may, by his own Authority, call, indict, or summon any General Council, without the expresse consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of Christian Princes, and especially such as have within their own Realms and Seignories, *Imperium merum*, that is to say, of such as have the whole, intire, and supream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or recognizing of any other supream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think, by many and sundry, as well Examples as great Reasons and Authority. The which, forasmuch as it should be over long and tedious to expresse here particularly, we have thought good to omit the same for this present. And in witness that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion and Judgment, touching the Premises, we the Prelats and Clergy under-written, being congregated together in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and representing the whole Clergy of the same, have to these Presents subscribed our Names the 20th of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1556. 28 *Hen. 8.*

Signed by

*Thomas Cromwel, Thomas Cantuariensis, Johannes London*, with 13 Bishops; and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-Deacons, Deans, Proctors, Clerks, and other Ministers, 49.

*There were then but 17 Bishops in the Province of Canterbury; and Rochester being vacant, of the other 16, 14 did sign this.*

VI. *Instructions for the King's Commissioners, for a new Survey; and an Inventory to be made of all the Demesnes, Lands, Goods and Chattels appertaining to any House of Religion of Monks, Canons, and Nuns within their Commission, according to the Articles hereafter following. The number of which Houses in every County limited in their Commission, being annexed to the said Commission. An Original.*

*Henry R.*

**F**irst; After the Division made, one Auditor, one particular Receiver, one Clerk of the Register of the last Visitation, with three other discreet Persons to be named by the King, in every County where any such Houses be; after their repair to such House, shall declare to the Governour, the Religious Persons of the same, the Statute of Dissolution, the Commission, and the Cause and Purpose of their repair for that time.

*Item*; That after the Declaration made, the said Commissioners shall swear the Governours of the Houses, or such other the Officers of the same

*Ex MSS. Nob. D.G. Pierpoint.*

same House, or other, as ye shall think can best declare the state and plight of the same, to make Declaration and Answer to the Articles there under-written.

*Item* ; Of what Order, Rule, or Religion, the same House is, and whether it be a Cell or not : and if it be a Cell, then the Commissioners to deliver to the Governour of the House a Privy Seal ; and also to injoin him, in the King's Name, under a great pain, to appear without delay before the Chancellor of the Augmentations of the Revenues of the King's Crown and the Council ; and in the mean time not to meddle with the same Cell, till the King's Pleasure be further known.

*Item* ; What number of Persons of Religion be in the same, and the conversation of their Lives ; and how many of them be Priests, and how many of them will go to other Houses of that Religion, or how many will take Capacities ; and how many Servants or Hinds the same House keepeth commonly, and what other Persons have their living in the same House.

*Item* ; To survey the quantity or value of the Lead and Bells of the same House, as near as they can ; with the ruin, decay, state and plight of the same.

*Item* ; Incontinently to call for the Covent-Seal, with all Writings and Charters, Evidences and Muniments concerning any of the Possessions to be delivered to them, and put the same in safe keeping ; and to take a just Inventory betwixt them and the Governour, or other Head-Officer, by Indenture, of the Ornaments, Plate, Jewels, Chattels, ready-Mony, Stuff of Household, Coin, as well signed as not signed ; Stock and Store in the Farmer's hands, and the value thereof, as near as they can, which were appertaining to the same Houses the first day of *March* last past ; and what Debts the House doth owe, and to what Person ; and what Debts be owing to them, and by whom.

*Item* ; After, to cause the Covent, or Common-Seal, the Plate, Jewels, and ready Mony, to be put in safe keeping, and the residue of the Particulars specified in the Inventory, to be left in the keeping of the Governour, or some other head Officer, without wasting or consumption of the same, unless it be for necessary expence of the House.

*Item* ; That they command the Governour, or other Receiver of the same House, to receive no Rents of their Farms, until they know further of the King's Pleasure, except such Rents as must needs be had for their necessary Food or Sustenance, or for payment of their Servants Wages.

*Item* ; To survey discretely the Demesnes of the same House ; that is to say, such as have not been commonly used to be letten out, and to certify the clear yearly value thereof.

*Item* ; To examine the true yearly value of all the Farms of the same House, deducting thereof Rents reserved, Pensions and Portions paid out of the same, Synodals, and Proxies ; Bailiffs, Receivers, Stewards, and Auditors Fees, and the Names of them to whom they be paid and due, and to none other.

*Item* ; What Leases have been made to any Farmer, of the Farms pertaining to the same House ; and what Rent they reserved, and to whom, and for how many Years ; and a Copy of the Indenture if they can get it, or else the Counter-pane.

*Item* ; To search and enquire what Woods, Parks, Forrests, Commons, or other Profit, belonging to any of the Possessions of the same Houses, the Number of the Acres, the Age and Value, as near as they can.

*Item* ;

*Item* ; What Grants, Bargains, Sales, Gifts, Alienations, Leafes of any Lands, Tenements, Woods, or Offices, hath been made by any the said Governours, of any of the said Houses, within one Year next before the 4<sup>th</sup> day of *February* last past, and of what things, or to what value, and to whom, and for what estate.

*Item* ; If there be any House of the Religion aforesaid omitted and not certified in the *Exchequer*, then the said Commissioners to survey the same, and to make Certificate accordingly.

*Item* ; That they straitly command every Governour of every such House limited in their Commission, to sow and till their Grounds as they have done before, till the King's Pleasure be further known.

*Item* ; If there be any House given by the King to any Person; in any of the said several Limits of the said Commission, the Names whereof shall be declared to the said Commissioners, Then the said Commissioners shall immediately take the Covent from the Governour, and take an Inventory indented of the Lead, Bells, Debts, Goods, Chattels, Plate, Jewels, Ornaments, Stock and Store, to the King's use ; and to make sale of the Goods, Chattels, and other Implements, Plate and Jewels only excepted.

*Item* ; The said Commissioners in every such House, to send such of the Religious Persons that will remain in the same Religion, to some other great House of that Religion, by their discretion, with a Letter to a Governour for the Receipt of them ; and the Residue of them that will go to the World, to send them to my Lord of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor for their Capacities, with the Letter of the same Commissioners.

*Item* ; The said Commissioners to give the said Persons that will have Capacities, some reasonable Rewards, according to the distance of the place, by their discretions to be appointed.

*Item* ; The said Commissioners to command the Governour to resort to the Chancellor of the Augmentation for his yearly Stipend and Pension.

*Item* ; If there be any House dissolved or given up to the King by their Deed, then the Commissioners shall order themselves in every point and purpose, as the Houses given by the King to any other Person, in form aforesaid.

*Item* ; Every of the said Commissioners having in charge to survey more than one Shire within the Limits of their Commission, immediately after they have perused one Shire, parcel of their Charge, in form aforesaid, shall send to the Chancellour of the Court for the Augmentation of the Revenues of the King's Crown, a brief Certificate of all these Comperets, according to the Instructions aforesaid, what they have done in the premisses ; and in every County so surveyed, then to proceed further to another County ; and so as they pass the said Counties to make the like Certificate, and so forth, till their Limits be surveyed, and there to remain till they know further of the King's pleasure.

*Item* ; If the said Commissioners have but one County in charge, then to certify the said Chancellor in form aforesaid, and there to remain till they know further of the King's Pleasure.

VII. *Injunctions given by the Authority of the King's Highness to the Clergy of this Realm.*

Registr.  
Cranm.  
Fol. 47.

**I**N the Name of God. Amen. In the Year of our Lord God, One thousand five hundred thirty six, and of the most noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England* and *France* the 28th Year, and the                    day of                    I *Thomas Cromwel* Knight, Lord *Cromwel*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent unto the same, for and concerning all his Jurisdiccions Ecclesiastical within the Realm, visting by the King's Highness's Supream Authority Ecclesiastical, the People and Clergy of this Deanry of                    by my trusty Commissary                    lawfully deputed and constitute for this part, have, to the glory of Almighty God, to the King's Highness's honour, the Publick-weal of this his Realm, and encrease of Vertue in the same, appointed and assigned these Injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed, of the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and Stipendaries resiant, or having cure of Souls, or any other Spiritual Administrations within this Deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

The first is; That the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other, having cure of Soul any were within this Deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be observed and kept of other, all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of *Rome's* pretended and usurped Power and Jurisdiction within this Realm. And for the establishment and confirmation of the King's Authority and Jurisdiction of the same, as of the Supream Head of the Church of *England*; and shall, to the uttermost of their Wit, Knowledg, and Learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, for the space of one quarter of a year next ensuing, once every *Sunday*, and after that at the least-wise twice every quarter, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Bishop of *Rome's* usurped Power and Jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the Law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished; and therefore they owe unto him no manner of Obedience or Subjection; and that the King's Power is within his Dominion the highest Power and Potentate, under God, to whom all Men within the same Dominions, by God's Commandment, owe most Loyalty and Obedience, afore and above all other Powers and Potentates in Earth.

*Item*; Whereas certain Articles were lately devised and put forth by the King's Highness's Authority, and condescended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, whereof part are necessary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do concern and teach certain laudable Ceremonies, Rites, and Usages of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for decent and politick order in the same; the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats, shall so open and declare in their said Sermons, and other Collations,

Collations the said Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their Salvation, and which be not necessary, but only do concern the decent and politick order of the said Church: according to such Commandment and Admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore, by Authority of the King's Highness in that behalf.

Moreover, that they shall declare unto all such as be under their Cure, the Articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorized of late, for and concerning the Abrogation of certain superfluous Holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the same Articles: and persuade their Parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolable, as things honestly provided, decreed, and established, by common consent, and publick Authority, for the Weal, Commodity, and Profit of all this Realm.

Besides this, to the intent that all Superstition and Hypocrisie, crept into divers Mens hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any Images, Reliques, or Miracles, for any Superstition or Lucre; nor allure the People by any Inticements to the Pilgrimages of any Saint, otherwise than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the King's Majesty, and condescended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation; as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to give this Commodity, or that: seeing all Goodness, Health, and Grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author of the same, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given: But they shall exhort, as well their Parishioners as other Pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's Commandments, and fulfilling of his Works of Charity: persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of the bodily Labour, Travail, or Occupation, and providing for their Families, than if they went about to the said Pilgrimages; and that it shall profit more their Souls health, if they do bestow that on the Poor and Nedy, which they would have bestowed upon the said Images or Reliques.

Also in the same their Sermons, and other Collations, the Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates, aforesaid, shall diligently admonish the Fathers and Mothers, Masters and Governours of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach, or cause to be taught, their Children and Servants, even from their Infancy, their *Pater Noster*, the Articles of our Faith, and the ten Commandments, in their Mother Tongue: And the same so taught, shall cause the said Youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent that this may be the more easily done, the said Curates shall, in their Sermons, deliberately and plainly recite of the said *Pater Noster*, the Articles of our Faith, and the ten Commandments, one Clause or Article one day, and another another day, till those be taught and learnt by little; and shall deliver the same in writing, or shew where printed Books containing the same be to be sold, to them that can read or will desire the same. And thereto that the said Fathers and Mothers, Masters and Governours, do bestow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to Learning, or some other honest Exercise, Occupation, or Husbandry: exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said Sermons and Collati-

ons, as otherwise, perswading the said Fathers, Mothers, Masters, and other Governours, being under their Cure and Charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the said Youth be in no manner-wise kept or brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of some Mystery or Occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness; forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant Men fall, some to begging, and some to theft and Murder; which after brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their Friends and Governours, which suffered them to be brought up so idely in their Youth; where if they had been well educated and brought up in some good Literature, Occupation, or Mystery, they should, being Rulers of their own Family, have profited, as well themselves as divers other Persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the Common-weal.

Also, that the said Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates, shall diligently provide that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently ministred in their Parishes; and if at any time it hapned them, either in any of the Cases expressed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of special licence given by the King's Majesty to be absent from their Benefices, they shall leave their Cure, not to a rude and unlearned Person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure wholsom Doctrine, and reduce them to the right Way that do err; and always let them see, that neither they, nor their Vicars, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the Glory of God.

Also, That every Parson, or Proprietary of any Parish-Church within this Realm, shall on this Side the Feast of *St. Peter ad Vincula* next coming, provide a Book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English, and lay the same in the Quire, for every Man that will to read and look therein, and shall discourage no Man from the Reading any Part of the Bible, either in Latin or English; but rather comfort, exhort and admonish every Man to read the same as the very Word of God, and the Spiritual Food of Man's Soul, whereby they may the better know the Duties to God, and to their Sovereign Lord the King, and their Neighbour: Ever gently and charitably exhorting that using a sober and a modest Haviour in the Reading and Inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in no wise stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the Declaration of those Places that be in Controversy to the Judgment of them that be better Learned.

Also, the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and other Priests, shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause, than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any Taverns or Ale houses; And after their Dinner and Supper, they shall not give themselves to Drinking or Riot, spending their time idly, by Day or by Night, at Tables or Cards-playing, or any other unlawful Game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest Exercise; and that they alway do those things which appertain  
to



to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the Commonweal, having always in mind, That they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be Examples to all other to live well and Christianly.

Furthermore; Because the Goods of the Church are called the Goods of the Poor, and at these days nothing is less seen than the Poor to be sustained with the same; all Parsons, Vicars, Pensionaries, Prebendaries, and other Beneficed Men within the Deanery, not being resident upon their Benefices, which may dispend yearly 20*l.* or above within this Deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poor Parishioners, or other Inhabitants there, in the presence of the Church-Wardens, or some other honest Men of the Parish, the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of the said Benefices: lest they be worthily noted of Ingratitude: which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor People of that Parish, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the Intent that Learned Men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the Premisses; Every, Parson, Vicar, Clerk, or beneficed Man within this Deanery, having yearly to dispend in Benefices, and other Promotions of the Church, an 100*l.* shall give competent exhibition to one Scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many Scholars more shall give like exhibition in the University of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or some Grammar-School; which after they have profited in good Learning, may be Partners of their Patrons Cure and Charge, as well in preaching as otherwise, in the execution of their Offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the Common-wealth with their Counsel and Wisdom.

Also, that all Parsons, Vicars, and Clerks, having Churches, Chapels, or Mansion within this Deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same Mansions, or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of their Benefices till they be fully repaired: and the same so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good state.

All which and singular Injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, Stipendaries, and other Clerks and beneficed Men, under the pain of suspension and sequestration of the Fruits of their Benefices, until they have done their duty according to these Injunctions.

VIII. Cromwel's Letter to Shaxton, Bishop of Sarum, taken from a Copy writ by Morifone his Secretary.

Cot. Libr.  
Cleop. E. 4.

**M**Y Lord, after hearty Commendations, I cannot but both much judge me, as I perceive by your Letters you do, and also be glad that ye so frankly utter your Stomach to me. I would thank you for your plain writing and free Monitions; saving that you seem fuller of Suspicion than it becometh a Prelate of your sort to be: and (to say that maketh me more sorry) much worse perswaded of me than I thought any of your Learning and Judgment could have been. I took a Matter out of your Hands to mine, if upon Considerations mine Office bind me to do so, what cause have ye to complain? If I had done this, either upon Affection, or intending Prejudice to your Estimation, you might have expostulated with me; and yet if ye then had done it after a gentler sort, I should both sooner have amended that I did amiss, and also have had better cause to judge your writing to me, to be of a friendly Heart towards me. If ye be offended with my sharp Letters, how can your testy words (I had almost given them another Name) delight me? I required you to use no Extremity in your Office, *durus est hic sermo*, ye call it; and when ye have done, ye begin again, even as though all being said, all were still behind. If ye have used none Extremity, I am I ensure you as glad of it as I ought to be: And though ye do not, yet upon a Complaint my Office bindeth me to succour him that saith he is over-matched, and is compelled to sustain wrong. I was thus inform'd, and by Persons to whom I gave more Credit than I intend to do hereafter, if they have abused me, as ye would make me believe they have. They thus complaining, could I do less than grant unto them such Remedies as the King's Highness and his Laws give indifferently to all his Subjects? Might I not also somewhat gather, that ye proceeded the sorer against the Reader, *Roger London*, when I had seen how much you desired the Preferment of your Servant to that Revenue? My Lord, you had shewed your self of much more Patience, I will not say of much more Prudence, if you had contented your self with their lawful Appeal, and my lawful Injunctions; and rather have written somewhat fully to instruct us in this Matter, than thus to desire to conquer me by shrewd Words, to vanquish me by sharp Threp of Scripture, which as I know to use travel, so I trust to God as great a Clerk as ye be, is done already. Thus out of their place, it becometh me not, neither yet I am wont to vaunt my self of well-doing, I know who worketh all that is well wrought by me; and whereas he is the whole Doer, I intend not to offer him this wrong, to labour, and I to take the Thanks; yet as I do not cease to give thanks, that it hath pleased his Goodness to use me as an Instrument, and to work somewhat by me, so I trust I am as ready to serve him in my Calling, to my little Power, as ye are prest to write worse of me than ye ought to think. My Prayer is, That God give me no longer Life, than I shall be glad to use mine Office *in edificacionem*, and not *in destructionem*, as ye bear me in Hand I do. God, ye say, will judge such using of Authority, meaning flatly, that I do abuse such Power as hath pleased God and the King's Highness to set me in; God, I say, will judge such  
Judges

Judges as ye are, and charge also such Thoughts as ye misuse : ye do not so well as I would ye should do, if ye so think of me as your Letters make me think ye do. The Crime that ye charge me withal, is greater than I may or ought to bear, untruer, I trust, than they that would fainest shall be able to prove. It is a strange thing, you say, that I neither would write, nor send you Word by Mouth, what ye should do with the Popish Monks of *Abington*; and that the Abbot of *Redding* could get straight-way my Letters to inhibit your just Doings; That was not my Mind which I wrote, I did not intend to lett your just Doings, but rather to require you to do justly; neither was I swift in granting my Letters to him, albeit I am much readier to help him that complains of wrong, than prest to further on him that desireth Punishment of a Person whom I am not sure hath offended. I made you no answer, a strange thing! my Lord, I thought ye had better known my Business, than for such a Matter to esteem me not your Friend; you might have better judged that I was too much cumbred with other Affairs, that those which sued for the Abbot, could better espy their time than you could. Some Man will think it rather utter Displeasure conceived before, than that ye have any urgent Occasion here to misjudge my Mind towards you. As concerning your Manor, you must use your Priviledges as things lent unto you, so long as ye shall occupy them well, that is, according to the Mind and Pleasure of them that gave you them. I took neither the Monk's Cause, nor any other, into my Hands, to be a Bearer of any such whom their upright Dealings is not able to bear. No, you know I think, that I love such Readers of Scripture as little as ye do: would God Men of your sort were as diligent to see that in all their Diocesess good were made, as I am glad to remove things when I know them; if ye had taken even then but half the Pains to send up such things against him as ye now send, neither you should have had Cause, no nor Occasion thus easily to divine of my good or evil-will towards you, nor I have been cumbred with this Answer. My Lord, I pray you, while I am your Friend, take me to be so, for if I were not, or if I knew any Cause why I ought not, I would not be afraid to shew you what had alienated my Mind from you; so you should well perceive that my Displeasure should last no longer than there were cause. I pass over your *Nemo læditur nisi à seipso*, I pray with you this first Part, *Our Lord have pity upon me*; the other Part is not in my Prayers, *That God should turn my Heart*, for he is my Judge, I may err in my doings for want of Knowledge, but I willingly bear no Misdoers, I willingly hurt none whom Honesty and the King's Laws do not refuse. Undo not you your self, I intend nothing less than to work you any Displeasure. If hitherto I have shewed you any Pleasure, I am glad of it: I shewed it to your Qualities and not to you; if they tarry with you, my Good-will cannot depart from you, except your Prayer be heard, that is, *My Heart be turned*. I assure you I am right glad ye are in the Place ye are in, and will do what shall lie in me to aid you in your Office, to maintain your Reputation, to give you Credit among your Flock, and else where; as long as I shall see you faithful to your Duty, according to your Calling. I will not become your good Lord, as your desire is, I am and have been your Friend, and take you to be mine; cast out vain Suspicion; let rash Judgment rule Men of less Wit and Discretion; Willfulness becometh all Men better than a Bishop, which should always teach us to lack gladly our own Will, because you may not have your own Will.

Here

Here is *Christus paup. facit & datat, cum Dominus dedit & Dominus abstulit*, to what purpose? *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, can never lack his Place, it becometh always in Season; or else as great a Divine as ye are, I would say, it were not the best placed here, except thou wist better, you had rather lose all than any part of your Will. I pray you teach Patience better in your Deeds, or else speak as little of it as ye can. My Lord, you might have provoked another in my place, that would have used less Patience with you, finding so little in you; but I can take your Writings, and this Heat of your Stomach, even as well as I can, I trust, beware of Flatterers. As for the Abbot of *Redding*, and his Monk, if I find them as ye say they are, I will order them as I shall think good. Ye shall do well to do your Duty; if you so do, ye have no Cause to mistrust my Friendship; if ye do not, I must tell it you, and that somewhat after the plainest sort, To take a Cause out of your Hands into mine, I do but mine Office, you meddle further than your Office will bear you, thus roughly to handle me for using of mine. If ye do so no more, I let pass all that is past, and offer you such Kindness as ye shall lawfully desire at my Hands. Thus fare you well.

IX. The Sentence given out by Pope *Paul* the Third, against King *Henry*.

*Damnatio & Excommunicatio Henrici 8 Regis Angliæ, ejusque Fautorum & Complicum, cum aliarum pœnarum adjunctione.*

*Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

*Cberubini  
Bullarium  
Tom. 2.  
pag. 794.*

**E**JUS qui immobilis permanens sua providentia ordine mirabili dat cuncta moveri, disponente clementia, vices, licet immeriti gerentes in terris, & in sede justitiæ constituti, juxta prophetæ quoque Hieremiæ vaticinium dicentis : Ecce te constitui super gentes & Regna, ut evellas & destruas aedifices, plantes, præcipuum super omnes Reges Universæ Terræ cunctosq; populos obtinentes principatum : ac illum qui pius & misericors est, & vindictam ei qui illam prævenit paratam temperat, nec quos impœnitentes videt severa ultione castigat, quin prius comminetur, in assidue autem peccantes & in peccatis perleverantes, cum excessus misericordiæ fines prætereunt ut saltem metu pœnæ ad cor reverti cogantur, justitiæ vires exercet, imitantes; ex incumbenti nobis Apostolicæ sollicitudinis studio per-urgemur, ut cunctarum personarum nostræ curæ cœlitus commissarum salubri statui solertius intendamus, ac erroribus & scandalis, quæ Hostis antiqui versutia imminere conspiciamus, propensius obviamus, excessusq; & enormia ac scandalosa crimina congrua severitate coerceamus, & juxta Apostolum inobedientiam ovium promptius ulciscendo, illorum perpetratores debita correctione sic compescamus, quod eos Dei iram provocasse pœniteat, & ex hoc aliis exemplum cautelæ salutaris accedat.

Sane cum superioribus diebus nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, licet tempore Pontificatus sæcl. record. Leonis Papæ X. Prædecessoris nostri diversorum hæreticorum Errores, sæpe ab Apostolica Sede & Sacris Conciliis præteritis temporibus damnatos, & novissime nostra ætate per perditionis alumnum Martinum Lutherum suscita-

tos & innovatos, zelo Catholicæ Fidei, & erga dictam Sedem devotio-  
nis fervore inductus, non minus docte quam pie, per quendam librum  
per eum desuper compositum, & eidem Leoni Prædecessori ut eum exa-  
minaret & approbaret oblatum, confutasset, ob quod ab eodem Leone  
Prædecessore ultra dicti libri, cum magna ipsius Henrici Regis laude &  
commendatione, approbationem, titulum Defensoris Fidei reportaverit,  
à recta Fide & Apostolico tramite devians, ac propriæ salutis, famæ, &  
honoris immemor, postquam Charissima in Christo Filia nostra Catha-  
rina Angliæ Regina illustri sua progenie conjuge, cum qua publice in  
facie Ecclesiæ Matrimonium contraxerat, & per plures annos continuave-  
rat, ac ex qua, dicto constante Matrimonio, prolem pluries susceperat;  
nulla legitima subsistente causa, & contra Ecclesiæ prohibitionem dimissa,  
cum quadam Anna Bolena, Muliere Anglica, dicta Catharina adhuc vi-  
vente, de facto Matrimonium contraxerat, ad deteriora profiliens, quasi-  
dam leges ceu generales Constitutiones edere non erubuit, per quas sub-  
ditos suos ad quosdam hæreticos & schismaticos Articulos tenendos, inter  
quos & hoc erat quod Romanus Pontifex Caput Ecclesiæ, & Christi  
Vicarius non erat, & quod ipse in Anglica Ecclesia supremum Caput exi-  
stebat, sub gravibus etiam mortis pœnis cogebat. Et his non contentus,  
Diabolo sacrilegii crimen suadente, quamplures Prælatos, etiam Episco-  
pos, aliasq; personas Ecclesiasticas, etiam Regulares, necnon Sæculares,  
sibi ut hæretico & schismatico adherere, ac Articulos prædictos Sancto-  
rum Patrum decretis & Sacrorum Conciliorum Statutis, imo etiam ipsi  
Evangelicæ veritati contrarios, tanquam tales alios damnatos approbare,  
& sequi nolentes, & intrepide recufantes, capi & carceribus mancipari.  
Hisq; similiter non contentus, mala malis accumulando, bonæ memoriæ  
Jo. H. S. Vitalis Presbyt. Cardinal. Rossen. quem ob fidei constantiam &  
vitæ Sanctimoniam ad Cardinalatus dignitatem promoveramus, cum di-  
ctis hæresibus & erroribus consentire nollet, horrenda immanitate & de-  
testanda savitia, publice miserabili supplicio tradi & decollari mandave-  
rat, & fecerat, Excommunicationis, & Anathematis, aliasq; gravissimas  
sententias, censuras, & pœnas in literis & constitutionibus recolendæ  
mem. Bonifacii VIII. Honorii III. Roman. Pontificum Prædecessorum no-  
strorum desuper editis contentas, & alias in tales à jure latas damnabili-  
ter incurrendo, ac Regno Angliæ, & dominiis quæ tenebat, necnon  
regalis fastigii celsitudine ac præfati tituli prærogativa, & honore se in-  
dignum reddendo.

2. Nos licet ex eo, quod prout non ignorabamus, idem Henricus  
Rex certis censuris Ecclesiasticis, quibus à piæ memoriæ Clemente  
Papa VII. etiam prædecessore nostro, postquam humanissimis literis &  
paternis exhortationibus, multisq; nunciis & mediis, primo & postre-  
mo etiam judicialiter, ut præfatam Annam à se dimitteret, & ad prædi-  
ctæ Catharinæ suæ veræ Conjugis consortium rediret, frustra monitus  
fuerat, innodatus extiterat, Pharaonis duritiam imitando, per longum  
tempus in clavium contemptum inforduerat, & infordescebat, quod ad  
cor rediret, vix sperare posse videremus, ob paternam tamen Charita-  
tem qua in minoribus constituti donec in obedientia, & reverentia Sedis  
prædictæ permansit, eum profecuti fueramus, utq; clarius videre posse-  
mus, an clamor qui ad nos delatus fuerat, (quem certe etiam ipsius Hen-  
rici Regis respectu falsum esse desideramus) verus esset, statuimus ab ul-  
teriori contra ipsum Henricum Regem processu ad tempus abstinendo,  
hujus rei veritatem diligentius indagare.

3. Cum autem debitis diligentis desuper factis clamorem ad nos, ut præfertur, delatum, verum esse, simulque, quod dolenter referimus, dictum Henricum Regem ita in profundum malorum descendisse, ut de ejus resipiscencia nulla penitus videatur spes haberi posse, reperimus: Nos attendentes vetere lege, crimen adulterii notatum lapidari mandatum, ac auctores Schismatis halitu terræ absorptos, eorumque sequaces cœlesti igne consumptos, Elymamque Magum viis Domini resistentem per Apostolum aeterna severitate damnatum fuisse, volentesque ne in districto examine ipsius Henrici Regis & subditorum suorum, quos secum in perditionem trahere videmus, animarum ratio à nobis exposcatur, quantum nobis ex alto conceditur, providere contra Henricum Regem, ejusque complices, fautores, adhærentes, & sequaces, & in præmissis quomodolibet culpabiles, contra quod ex eo quod excessus, & delicta prædicta adeo manifesta sunt & notoria, ut nulla possint tergiversatione celari, absque ulteriori mora ad executionem procedere possemus, benignius agendo, decrevimus infra scripto modo procedere.

4. Habita itaque super his cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, & de illorum consilio & assensu, præfatum Henricum Regem, ejusque complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores & sequaces ac quoscunque alios in præmissis, ceu eorum aliquo quoquo modo culpabiles, tam Laicos quam Clericos, etiam regulares cujuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis, conditionis, præeminentiæ, & excellentiæ existant, (quorum nomina & cognomina, perinde ac si præsentibus infererentur, pro sufficienter expressis haberi volumus) per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri hortamur, & requirimus in Domino, quatenus Henricus Rex à prædictis erroribus prorsus abtineat, & constitutiones, seu leges prædictas, sicut de facto eas fecit, revocet, casset, & annullet, & coactione subditorum suorum ad eas servandas, necnon carceratione, captura, & punitione illorum, qui ipsis constitutionibus seu legibus adhærere, aut eas servare noluerint, & ab aliis erroribus prædictis penitus, & omnino abtineat, & si quos præmissorum occasione captivos habeat, relaxet.

5. Complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces dicti Henrici Regis in præmissis, & circa ea ipsi Henrico Regi super his de cætero non adsistant, nec adhæreant, vel faveant, nec ei consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, desuper præstent.

6. Alias si Henricus Rex, ac fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces, hortationibus & requisitionibus hujusmodi non annuerint cum effectu, Henricum Regem, fautores, adhærentes, consultores & sequaces, ac alios culpabiles prædictos, auctoritate Apostolica, ac ex certa nostra scientia, & de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, tenore præsentium, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ac sub majoris Excommunicationis lata sententia, à qua etiam prætextu cujuscunque privilegii, vel facultatis, etiam in forma confessionalis, cum quibuscunque efficacissimis clausulis nobis & Sede prædicta quomodolibet concessis, & etiam iteratis vicibus innovatis, ab alio quam à Romano Pontifice, præterquam in mortis Articulo constituti, ita ramen, quod si aliquem absolvi contingat, qui postmodum convaluerit, nisi post convalescentiam, monitioni & mandatis nostris hujusmodi paruerit cum effectu, in eandem Excommunicationis sententiam reincidant, absolvi non possint.

7. Necnon rebellionis, & quoad Henricum Regem, etiam perditionis Regni, & Dominiorum prædictorum, & tam quoad eum, quam quoad alios monitos supradictos supra & infra scriptis pœnis, quas si dictis moni-

monitioni & mandatis, ut præfertur, non paruerint, eos & eorum singulos, ipso facto respective incurrere volumus, per præfentes monimus; eisque & eorum cuilibet districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus Henricus Rex per se, vel procuratorem legitimum & sufficienti mandato confutum, infra nonaginta, complices vero, fautores, adhaerentes, consultores, & sequaces, ac alii in præmissis quomodolibet culpabiles supradicti, Sæculares & Ecclesiastici etiam regulares, personaliter infra sexaginta dies compareant coram nobis, ad se super præmissis legitime excusandum & defendendum; alias videndum & audiendum contra eos & eorum singulos, etiam nominatim, quos sic monemus, quatenus expediat, ad omnes & singulos, actus, etiam sententiam definitivam, declaratoriam, condemnatoriam, & privatoriam, ac mandatum executivum procedi. Quod si Henricus Rex, & alii moniti prædicti intra dictos terminos eis ut præfertur, respective præfixos non comparuerint, & prædictam Excommunicationis sententiam per tres dies, post lapsum dictorum terminorum animo, quod absit, sustinuerint indurato, censuras ipsas aggravamus, & successive reaggravamus, Henricumq; ipsum, privationis Regni & Dominiorum prædictorum, & tam eum quam alios monitos prædictos, & eorum singulos, omnes & singulas alias pœnas prædictas incurrisse, ab omnibusq; Christi fidelibus, cum eorum bonis perpetuo diffidatos esse. Et si interim ab humanis decedat, Ecclesiastica debere carere sepultura, auctoritate & potestatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, & declaramus, eosque anathematis, maledictionis, & damnationis aternæ mucrone percusimus.

8. Necnon quæ præfatus Henricus Rex quomodolibet, & ex quavis causa tenet, habet, aut possidet, Quamdiu Henricus Rex, & alii moniti prædicti, & eorum singuli in aliis per dictum Henricum Regem non tentis, habitis, aut possitis permanferint, & triduo post eorum inde recessum, & alia quæcunq; ad quæ Henricum Regem, & alios monitos prædictos, post lapsum dictorum terminorum declinare contigerit, Domina, civitates, terras, castra, villas, oppida, Metropolitanaeque, & alias Cathedralis, cæterasq; inferiores Ecclesias, necnon Monasteria, Prioratus, Domos, Conventus, & loca religiosa, vel pia cujuscunque, etiam S. Benedicti. Cluniacen. Cisterciën. Præmonstraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Eremitarum, S. Augustini, Carmelitarum, & aliorum Ordinum, ac Congregationum, & Militarium quarumcunque in ipsis Dominiis, Civitatibus, terris, castris, villis, oppidis, & locis existentia, Ecclesiastico supponimus Interdicto, ita ut illo durante in iis etiam prætextu cujuscunque Apostolici indulti, Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Prioratibus, Domibus, Conventibus, locis, ordinibus, aut personis, etiam quacunq; dignitate fulgentibus concessi, præterquam in casibus à jure permissis, ac etiam in illis alias quam clausis januis, & Excommunicatis & interdictis exclusis, nequeant Missæ, aut alia divina officia celebrari.

9. Et Henrici Regis, complicumque, fautorum, adhaerentium, consultorum, sequacium, & culpabilium prædictorum filii, pœnarum, ut hic in hoc casu par est, participes sint, omnes & singulos ejusdem Henrici Regis ex dicta Anna, ac singulorum aliorum prædictorum filios natos, & nascituros, aliosque descendentes, usque in eum gradum, ad quem jura pœnas in casibus hujusmodi extendunt (nemine excepto, nullaq; minoris ætatis, aut sexus, vel ignorantia, vel alterius cujuscunque causæ habitatione) dignitatibus, & honoribus in quibus quomodolibet constituti existunt, seu quibus gaudent, utuntur, potiuntur, aut muniti sunt, necnon privilegis, concessionibus, gratiis, indulgentiis, immunitatibus, remissionibus,

missionibus, libertatibus, & indultis, ac dominiis, civitatibus, castris, terris, villis, oppidis, & locis, etiam Commendatis, vel in Gubernium concessis, & quæ in feudum, emphyteusum, vel alias à Romanis, vel aliis Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, & locis Ecclesiasticis, ac secularibus Principibus, Dominiis, Potentatibus, etiam Regibus & Imperatoribus, aut aliis privatis, vel publicis personis quomodolibet habent, tenent, aut possident, cæterisque omnibus bonis, mobilibus & immobilibus, juribus & actionibus, eis quomodolibet competentibus privatos, dictaque bona feudalia, vel emphyteutica, & alia quæcunque; ab aliis quomodolibet obtenta, ad directos dominos, ita ut de illis libere disponere possint, respectively devoluta, & eos qui Ecclesiastici fuerint, etiamsi religiosi existant, Ecclesiis etiam Cathedralibus, & Metropolitanis, necnon Monasteriis & Prioratibus, præposituris, præpositatibus, dignitatibus, personatibus, Officiis, Canonicatibus & Præbendis, aliisque beneficiis Ecclesiasticis per eos quomodolibet obtentis privatos, & ad illa ac alia in posterum obtinenda inhabiles esse, similiter decernimus & declaramus; eosque sic respectively privatos ad illa, & alia quæcunque similia, ac dignitates, honores, administrationes, & officia, jura, ac feuda in posterum obtinenda, auctoritate & scientia, ac plenitudine similibus inhabilitamus.

10. Ipsiusque Henrici Regis, ac Regni omniumque aliorum dominiorum, civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, villarum, fortaliorum, arcium, oppidorum, & locorum suorum, etiam de facto obtentorum Magistratus, iudices, Castellanos, Custodes & Officiales quoscunque, necnon Communitates, Universitates, Collegia, Feudatarios, vassallos, subditos, cives, incolas, & habitatores etiam forenses, dicto Regi de facto obedientes, tam sæculares, quam si qui rationis alicujus temporalitatis ipsum Henricum Regem in superiorem recognoscant, etiam Ecclesiasticos, à præfato rege, seu ejus complicitibus, fautoribus, adhaerentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus suprædictis deputatis, à juramento fidelitatis, jure vassallico, & omni erga Regem, & alios prædictos subjectione absolvimus, ac penitus liberamus. His nihilominus sub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ut ab eisdem Henrici Regis, suorumque officialium, iudicum, & magistratuum quorumcunque obedientia penitus & omnino recedant, nec illos in superiores recognoscant, neque illorum mandatis obtemperent.

11. Et ut alii eorum exemplo perterriti discant ab hujusmodi excessibus abstinere, eisdem auctoritate, scientia, & plenitudine, volumus, ac decernimus, quod Henricus Rex & complices, fautores, adhaerentes, consultores, sequaces, & alii in præmissis culpabiles, postquam alias pœnas prædictas, ut præfertur, respectively incurrerint, necnon præfati descendentes, ex tunc infames existant, & ad testimonium non admittantur, testamenta, & codicillos, aut alias dispositiones, etiam inter vivos concedere, & facere non possint, & ad alicujus successionem ex testamento, vel ab intestato, necnon ad jurisdictionem, seu judicandi potestatem, & ad Notoriatum Officium, omnesque actus legitimos quoscunque; ita ut eorum processus, sive instrumenta atque alii actus quicunque, nullius sint roboris vel momenti, inhabiles existant, & nulli ipsis, sed ipsi aliis super quocunque debito & negotio, tam civili, quam criminali, de jure respondere teneantur.

12. Et nihilominus omnes, & singulos Christi fideles, sub Excommunicationis, & aliis infra scriptis pœnis, monemus, ut monitos, Excommunicatos, aggravatos, interdictos, privatos, maledictos, & damnatos prædictos evitent, & quantum in eis est, & ab aliis evitari faciant,



faciant, nec cum eisdem, seu præfati Regis Civitatum, Dominiorum, Terrarum, Castrorum, Comitatum, Villarum, Fortalitiorum, Oppidorum, & locorum prædictorum civibus, incolis, vel habitatoribus aut subditis & vassallis, emendo, vendendo, permutando, aut quamcumque mercaturam, seu negotium exercendo, commercium, seu aliquam conversationem, seu communionem habeant: aut vinum, granum, sal, seu alia victualia, arma, pannos, merces vel quasvis alias mercantias, vel res per mare in eorum navibus, triremibus, aut aliis navigiis, sive per terram cum mulis, vel aliis animalibus, deferre aut conducere, seu deferri aut conduci facere, vel delata per illos recipere, publice vel occulte, aut talia facientibus auxilium, consilium, favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis quæsito colore, per se, vel alium, seu alios quoquo modo præstare præsumant. Quod si fecerint, ultra Excommunicationis prædictæ, etiam nullitatis contractuum quos inirent, necnon perditionis mercium, victualium, & bonorum omnium delatorum, quæ capientium fiant, pœnas similiter eo ipso incurrant.

13. Caterum quia convenire non videtur, ut cum his qui Ecclesiam contempnunt, dum præsertim ex eorum pertinacia spes corrigibilitatis non habetur, hi qui divinis obsequiis vacant, convertentur, quod etiam illos tuto facere non posse dubitandum est, omnium & singularum Metropolitanarum & aliarum Cathedralium, cæterarumque inferiorum Ecclesiarum & Monasteriorum, domorum & locorum Religiosorum, & piorum quorumcumque, etiam S. Augustini, S. Benedicti, Cluniacensis, Cisterciensis, Præmonstraten, ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Carmelitarum, aliorumque quorumcumque ordinum, & Militiarum, etiam Hospitalis Hierosolymitani, Prælati, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Præceptoribus, Præpositis, Ministris, Custodibus, Guardianis, Conventibus, Monachis & Canonicis, necnon Parochialium Ecclesiarum Rectoribus, aliisque quibuscumque personis Ecclesiasticis in Regno & Dominiis prædictis commorantibus, sub Excommunicationis ac privationis Administrationum & regiminum Monasteriorum, dignitatum, personatum, administrationum, ac officiorum, Canonicatumque, & Præbendarum, Parochialium Ecclesiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque, quomodolibet qualificatorum, per eos quomodolibet obtentorum, pœnis mandamus, quatenus infra quinque dies, post omnes & singulos terminos prædictos elapsos, de ipsis Regno, & Dominiis, dimissis, tamen aliquibus Presbyteris in Ecclesiis quarum curam habuerint, pro administrando baptisinate parvulis, & in pœnitentia decedentibus, ac aliis Sacramentis Ecclesiasticis, quæ tempore Interdicti ministrari permittuntur, exeant & discedant, neque ad Regnum, & Domina prædicta revertantur; donec moniti, & Excommunicati, aggravati, reaggravati, privati, maledicti, & damnati prædictis monitionibus, & mandatis nostris hujusmodi obtemperaverint, meruerint à censuris hujusmodi absolutionis beneficium obtinere, seu Interdictum in Regno, & Dominiis prædictis, fuerit sublatum.

14. Præterea si præmissis non obstantibus, Henricus Rex, Complices, fautores, adhaerentes, consultores, & sequaces prædicti in eorum pertinacia perseveraverint, nec conscientie stimulus eos ad cor reduxerit, in eorum forte potentia, & armis confidentes, omnes & singulos Duces, Marchiones, Comites, & alios quoscumque tam Seculares, quam Ecclesiasticos etiam forenses, de facto dicto Henrico Regi obedientes, sub ejusdem Excommunicationis, ac perditionis bonorum suorum (quæ, ut infra dicitur, similiter capientium fiant) pœnis, requirimus & monemus, quatenus omni mora, & excusatione postposita, eos, & eorum singulos, ac ipsorum milites & stipendiarios, tam equestres quam pedestres, ali-

osque quoscumque, qui eis cum armis faverint, de Regno & Dominis prædictis, etiam vi armorum, si opus fuerit, expellant: ac quod Henricus Rex, & ejus complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, & sequaces, mandatis nostris non obtemperantes prædicti, de Civitatibus, Terris, Castris, Villis, Oppidis, Fortalitiis, aut aliis locis Regni & Domini prædictorum se non intromittant, procurent: eis sub omnibus & singulis pœnis prædictis inhibentes, ne in favorem Henrici, ejusque complicum, fautorum, adherentium, consultorum, & sequacium aliorumq; monitorum prædictorum, mandatis nostris non obtemperantium, armacujuslibet generis offensiva, vel defensiva, Machinas quoq; bellicas, seu tormenta (artellarias nuncupata) sumant aut teneant, seu illis utantur, aut armatos aliquos præter consuetam familiam parent, aut ab Henrico Rege, complicibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus, vel aliis in Regis ipsius favorem paratos, quomodolibet, quavis occasione vel causa, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte teneant, vel receptent, aut dicto Henrico Regi, seu illius complicibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus prædictis, consilium, auxilium, vel quomodolibet ex quavis causa, vel quovis quæsito colore sive ingenio, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, per se vel alium seu alios præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum præstent, seu præstari faciant quoquomodo.

15. Præterea ad dictum Henricum Regem facilius ad sanitatem, & præfatæ Sedis obedientiam reducendum, omnes & singulos Christianos Principes, quacunq; etiam Imperiali & Regali dignitate fulgentes, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri (cujus causa agitur) hortamur & in Domino requirimus, eis nihilominus, qui Imperatore & Rege inferiores fuerint, quos propter excellentiam dignitatis à censuris excipimus, sub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ne Henrico Regi ejusq; complicibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus, vel eorum alicui, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, etiam sub prætextu confœderationum aut obligationum quocumque etiam juramento, aut quavis alia firmitate roboratarum, & sæpius geminatarum, à quibus quidem obligationibus & juramentis omnibus, nos eos & eorum singulos eisdem auctoritate & scientia ac plenitudine per præsentem absolvimus, ipsasque confœderationes & obligationes tam factas, quam in posterum faciendas, quas tamen (in quantum Henricus Rex & complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, & sequaces prædicti circa præmissa, vel eorum aliquod se directe vel indirecte juvare possent) sub eadem pœna fieri prohibemus, nullius roboris vel momenti, nullasque, irritas, cassas, inanes, ac pro infectis habendas fore decernimus & declaramus, consilium, auxilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præstent, quinimo si qui illis, aut eorum alicui ad præsens quomodolibet assistant, ab ipsis omnino & cum affectu recedant. Quod si non fecerint postquam præsentem publicata & executioni demandata fuerint, & dicti termini lapsi fuerint, omnes & singulas civitates, terras, oppida, castra, villas, & alia loca eis subjecta, simili Ecclesiastico Interdicto supponimus, volentes ipsum Interdictum donec ipsi Principes à Consilio, auxilio, & favore Henrico Regi & complicibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, consultoribus & sequacibus prædictis præstando destiterint, perdurare.

16. Insuper tam Principes prædictos, quam quoscumq; alios, etiam ad stipendia quorumcumq; Christi fidelium militantes, & alias quascumq; personas, tam per mare, quam per terras, armigeros habentes, similiter hortamur

hortamur & requirimus, & nihilominus eis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandantes, quatenus contra Henricum Regem, complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, & sequaces prædictos, dum in erroribus prædictis, ac adversus Sedem prædictam, rebellionem permanserint, armis insurgant, eosq; & eorum singulos persequantur, ac ad unitatem Ecclesiæ, & obedientiam dictæ Sedis redire cogant & compellant; & tam eos quam ipsorum subditos & vassallos, ac civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, oppidorum, villarum, & locorum suorum incolas, & habitatores, aliosque omnes & singulas personas supradictis mandatis nostris, ut præfertur, non obtemperantes, & quæ præfatum Henricum Regem, postquam censuras, & pœnas prædictas incurrerit, in Dominum quomodolibet, etiam de facto recognoverint, vel ei quovis modo obtemperare præsumserint, aut qui eum, ac complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, sequaces ac alios non obtemperantes prædictos, ex Regno & Dominiis prædictis, ut præfertur, expellere noluerint, ubicunq; eos invenerint, eorumque bona, mobilia & immobilia, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, credita, res, & animalia, etiam extra territorium dicti Henrici Regis ubilibet consistentia, capiant.

17. Nos enim eis bona, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, res, & animalia prædicta sic capta, in proprios eorum usus convertendi, eisdem auctoritate, scientia, & potestatis plenitudine, plenariam licentiam, facultatem & auctoritatem concedimus, illa omnia ad eosdem capientes plenarie pertinere, & spectare, & personas ex Regno & Dominiis prædictis originem trahentes, seu in illis domicilium habentes, aut quomodolibet habitantes, mandatis nostris prædictis non obtemperantes, ubicunq; eos capi contigerit, capientium servos fieri decernentes: presentesque literas quoad hoc ad omnes alios cujuscunq; dignitatis, gradus, status, ordinis, vel conditionis fuerint, qui ipsi Henrico Regi, vel ejus complices, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, & sequacibus, aut aliis monitionibus, & mandatis nostris hujusmodi quoad commercium non obtemperantibus, vel eorum alicui victualia, arma, vel pecunias subministrare, aut cum eis commercium habere, seu auxilium, consilium, vel favorem, per se vel alium, seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis modo contra tenorem præsentium præstare præsumserint, extendentes.

18. Et ut præmissa facilius iis quos concernunt innotescant, universis & singulis Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & Patriarchalium Metropolitanarum, & aliarum Cathedralium, & Collegiatarum Ecclesiarum Prælatibus, Capitulis, aliisque personis Ecclesiasticis, Sæcularibus ac quorumvis ordinum Regularibus, necnon omnibus & singulis, etiam mendicantium ordinum Professoribus, exemptis & non exemptis, ubilibet constitutis, per easdem præsentibus sub Excommunicationis & privationis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, ac aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, graduum quoque & officiorum, necnon privilegiorum, & indultorum quorumcunq; etiam à Sede prædicta quomodolibet emanatorum pœnis ipso facto incurrendis, præcipimus & mandamus, quatenus ipsi ac eorum singuli, si, & postquam vigore præsentium desuper requisiti fuerint, infra tres dies immediate sequentes, præfatum Henricum Regem, omnesq; alios & singulos, qui supradictas censuras & pœnas incurrerint, in eorum Ecclesiis, Dominicis & aliis festivis diebus, dum major inibi populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, cum Crucis vexillo, pulsatis, campanis, & accensis, ac demum extinctis, & in terram projectis, & conculcatis candelis, & aliis in similibus servari solitis cæremoniis servatis, Excommunicatos

catos publice nuncient, & ab aliis nuntari, ac ab omnibus arctius evitari faciant & mandent, nec non sub supradictis censuris & pœnis, præfentes literas, vel earum transumptum, sub forma infra scripta confectum, infra terminum trium dierum, postquam, ut præfertur, requisiti fuerint, in Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Conventibus, & aliis eorum locis, publicari & affigi faciant.

19. Volentes, omnes & singulos cujuscunq; status, gradus, conditionis, præminentie, dignitatis, aut excellentie fuerint, qui quo minus præfentes literæ vel earum transumpta, copie, seu exemplaria, in suis civitatibus, terris, castris, oppidis, villis, & locis legi & affigi, ac publicari possint, per se, vel alium, seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte impederint, easdem censuras & pœnas, ipso facto incurrere. Et cum fraus & dolus nemini debeant patrocinari, ne quisquam ex his, qui alicui regimini & administrationi deputati sunt, infra tempus sui regiminis seu administrationis prædictas sententias, censuras & pœnas sustineat, quasi post dictum tempus sententiis, censuris & pœnis prædictis amplius ligatus non existat, quemcunq; qui dum in regimine, & administratione existens, monitioni & mandato nostris, quoad præmissa vel aliquid eorum obtemperare noluerit, etiam deposito regimine, & administratione hujusmodi, nisi paruerit, eisdem censuris & pœnis subjacere decernimus.

20. Et ne Henricus Rex ejusq; complices, & fautores, adherentes, consultores, & sequaces, aliiq; quos præmissa concernunt, ignorantiam earundem præsentium literarum, & in eis contentorum prætereundere valeant, literas ipsas (in quibus omnes & singulos, tam juris, quam facti, etiam solemnitatum, & processuum, citationumq; omniarum defectus, etiam si tales sint, de quibus specialis, & expressa mentio facienda esset, propter notorietatem facti, auctoritate, scientia, & potestatis plenitudine, similibus, supplemus) in Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, & Cancellariæ Apostolicæ de urbe, & in partibus in Collegiæ B. Mariæ Burgen. Tornacen. & Parochialis de Dunikerke oppidorum Morinensis diocesis, Ecclesiarum valvis affigi, & publicari mandamus: Decernentes quod earundem literarum publicatio sic facta, Henricum Regem, ejusque complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, & sequaces, omnesq; alios, & singulos quos literæ ipsæ quomodolibet concernunt, perinde eos arctent, ac si literæ ipsæ eis personaliter lectæ, & intimatæ fuissent, cum non sit verisimile, quod ea, quæ tam patenter fiunt, debeant apud eos incognita remanere.

21. Caterum quia difficile foret præfentes literas ad singula quæque loca, ad quæ necessarium esset deferri, singula volumus & dicta auctoritate decernimus, quod earum transumptis manu publici Notarii confectis, vel in alma urbe impressis, ac sigillo alicujus personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, ubiq; eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ originalibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

22. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ monitionis, aggravationis, reaggravationis, declarationis, percussionis, suppositionis, inhabilitationis, absolutionis, liberationis, requisitionis, inhibitionis, hortationis, exceptionis, prohibitionis, concessionis, extensionis, suppletionis, mandatorum, voluntatis, & decretorum, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, Anno Incarnationis Domini 1535. 3 Kal. Sept. Pont. nostri Anno 1.

Sequitur

*Sequitur suspensio Executionis dictæ Bullæ, & tandem ejus revocatio,  
& Executio.*

*Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

**C**UM Redemptor noster ideo illum qui ipsum negaverat, Petrum, viz. Universæ Ecclesiæ præficere voluerit, ut in sua culpa diceret aliis esse miserendum, non immerito Romanus Pontifex qui ipsius Petri in dignitate Successor existit, debet etiam in Officio exercendæ misericordiæ ipsius esse Successor. Sed cum in eum dirigitur misericordia, qui ex hoc sit insolentior, & obstinator, aliosq; secum trahit in perditionem, debet ipse Romanus Pontifex, postposita in eum misericordia, omnem severitatem adhibere, quo membrum illud putridum ita à corpore separatur, ut reliqua membra absq; metu contagionis salva remaneant, præsertim cum pluribus curis adhibitis, & multo tempore in hoc consumpto, morbum quotidie magis invalescere, ipsa experientia comprobatur.

1. Alias cum nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, præter ea quæ Matrimonium de facto, & contra prohibitionem Ecclesiæ temerarie contractum concernebant, quasdam leges, seu generales constitutiones subditos suos ad hæresim, & schisma trahentes ediderat, & bonæ memoriæ Joann. tit. Sancti Vitalis Presbyterum Cardinalem Roffen. publice damnari & capite puniri, ac alios quamplures Prælatos, necnon alias personas Ecclesiasticas. Hæresi & Schismati hujusmodi adhærere nolentes, carceribus mancipari fecerat; Nos, licet illi qui talia nobis retulerant tales essent, ut nullo modo de veritate suorum dictorum ambigendum esset, cupientes tamen respectu ipsius Henrici Regis, quem antequam in has insanias incideret, peculiari quadam charitate prosequeremur, prædicta falsa reperiri, de eis informationem ulteriorem habere procuravimus, & inveniētes clamorem ad nos delatum verum esse, ne nostro Officio deessimus, contra eum procedere decrevimus, juxta formam quarundam literarum nostrarum, quarum tenor sequitur. Et est talis, &c.

Omittitur insertio, quia bulla ipsa est quæ præcedit.

2. Dum autem postea ad dictarum literarum executionem deveniendum esse statuissemus, cum nobis per nonnullos Principes, & alias insignes personas persuaderetur, ut ab executione hujusmodi per aliquantum temporis superfederemus, spe nobis data, quod interim ipse Henricus Rex ad cor rediret & resipisceret; nos qui, ut hominum natura fert, facile credebamus quod desiderabamus, dictam executionem suspendimus, sperantes (ut spes nobis data erat) ex ipsa suspensione, correctionem & resipiscentiam, non autem pertinaciam & obstinationem, ac majorem delirationem, ut rei effectus edocuit, proventuram.

3. Cum itaq; resipiscentia & Correctio hujusmodi quam tribus fere annis expectavimus, non solum postea sequuta non sit, sed ipse Henricus Rex quotidie magis se in sua feritate, ac temeritate confirmans in nova etiam scelera proruperit, quippe cum non contentus vivorum Prælatorum & sacerdotum crudelissima trucidatione, etiam in mortuos, & eos quidem quos in sanctorum numerum relatos Universalis Ecclesia pluribus sæculis venerata est, feritatem exercere non expavit, Divi enim Thomæ  
Can-

Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi, cujus ossa, quæ in dicto Regno Angliæ potissimum, ob innumera ab omnipotenti Deo ! perpetrata miracula, summa cum veneratione in arca aurea in Civitate Cantuarien. servabantur, postquam ipsum Divum Thomam, ad majorem Religionis contemptum, in judicium vocari, & tanquam contumacem damnari ac proditorem declarari fecerat, exhumari, & comburi, ac cineres in ventum spargi jussit, omnem plane cunctarum gentium crudelitatem superans, cum ne in bello quidem hostes victores sævire in mortuorum cadavera soliti sunt; adhæc omnia ex diversorum Regum etiam Anglorum, & aliorum Principum liberalitate donaria, ipsi arcæ appensa, quæ multa, & maximi pretii erant, sibi usurpavit; nec putans ex hoc satis injuriæ religionis intulisse, Monasterium Divo illi Augustino, à quo Christianam fidem Angli acceperunt, in dicta civitate dicatum, omnibus Thesauris, qui etiam multi & magni erant, spoliavit, & sicut se in belluam transmutavit, ita etiam belluas quasi socias suas honorare voluit, feras videlicet in dicto Monasterio, expulsis Monachis, intromittendo, genus quidem sceleris non modo Christi fidelibus, sed etiam Turcis inauditum & abominandum.

4. Cum itaq; morbus iste à nullo quantumvis peritissimo medico alia cura sanari possit, quam putridi membri abscissione, nec valeret cura hujusmodi, absq; eo, quod nos apud Deum causam hanc nostram efficiamus, ulterius retardari, ad dictarum literarum (quas ad hoc ut Henricus Rex, ejusque Complices, Fautores, adherentes, consultores, & sequaces, etiam super excessibus per eum novissime, ut præfertur perpetratis, intra terminum eis, quoad alia, per alias nostras literas prædictas respectively prefixas, se excusare, alias pœnas ipsis literis contentas incurrant, extendimus & ampliamus) publicationem, & deinde, Deo duce, ad executionem procedere omnino statuimus. Et quia à fide dignis accepimus, quod si ipsarum & præsentium literarum publicatio Diep Rothomagen. vel Boloniæ Ambianen. Diœc. Oppidis in Francia, aut Civitate Sancti Andrea, seu in Oppido Callistren. Sancti Andrea Diœc. in Scotiæ Regnis, vel in Thuamien. & Antiferten. Civitatibus, vel Diœc. Dominii Hiberniæ fiat, non solum tam facile, ut si in locis in dictis literis expressis fieret, sed facilius ipsarum literarum tenor, ad Henrici, & aliorum quos concernunt, præsertim Anglorum, notitiam deveniret; Nos volentes in hoc opportune providere, motu, scientia, & potestatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, quod publicatio literarum superius insertarum, quarum insertioni superius factæ, ac ipsis Originalibus quoad validitatem publicationis, seu executionis præsentium, fidem adhiberi volumus, in dubius ex locis præsentibus literis expressis, alias juxta supra insertarum, & præsentium literarum tenore facta, etiam si in locis extra Romanam Curiam in dictis præinsertis literis specificatis hujusmodi publicatio non fiat, perinde Henricum Regem, & alios quos concernunt præsertim Anglos afficiat, ac si Henrico Regi & aliis prædictis præsertim Anglis personaliter intimatæ fuissent.

5. Quodq; præsentium transumptis, juxta modum in præinsertis literis expressum factis, tam in judicio quam extra, eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ Originalibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ.

6. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis, necnon omnibus illis, quæ in dictis literis volumus non obstare, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

7. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostri Decreti, & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc

hoc attentare præsumperit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum.

Dat Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1538.  
decimo sexto Kal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

X. *The Judgment of some Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy.  
An Original.*

**T**HE Words of St. *John* in his 20th Chap. *Sicut misit me Pater, & Ex MSS. ego mitto vos, &c.* hath no respect to a King's or Prince's a Power, *D. Stillingfleet.* but only to shew how that the Ministers of the Word of God, chosen and sent for that Intent, are the Messengers of Christ, to teach the Truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind Sin, &c. as Christ was the Messenger of his Father. The Words also of St. *Paul*, in the 20th Chap. of the *Acts*; *Attendite vobis & universo gregei, in qua vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*, were spoken to the Bishops and Priests, to be diligent Pastors of the People, both to teach them diligently, and also to be circumspect that false Preachers should not seduce the People, as followeth immediately after in the same Place. Other Places of Scripture declare the Highness and Excellency of Christian Princes Authority and Power; the which of a truth is most high, for he hath Power and Charge generally over all, as well Bishops, and Priest, as other. The Bishops and Priests have charge of Souls within their own Cures, Power to minister Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God; to the which Word of God Christian Princes Knowledge themselves subject; and in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the Christian Princes Office to see them do their Duty.

*T. Cantuarien.*

*Joannes London.*

*Cuthbertus Dunclmen.*

*Jo. Batwellen.*

*Thomas Elien.*

*Nicolaus Sarisburien.*

*Hugo Wygorn.*

*J. Roffen.*

XI. *Injunctions to the Clergy made by Cromwell.*

**I**N the Name of God, *Amen.* By the Authority and Commission of Regist. the excellent Prince *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* *Cranmer.* and of *France*, Defensor of the Faith; Lord of *Ireland*; and in Earth Supream Head, under Christ, of the Church of *England.* I *Thomas* Lord *Cromwell*, Privy-Seal, and Vice-gerent to the King's said Highness, for all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, do, for the Advancement of the true Honour of Almighty God, Encrease of Vertue, and Discharge of the King's Majesty, give and exhibit unto you these Injunctions following, to be kept, observed, and fulfilled, upon the Pains hereafter declared.

*First*; That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the King's Highness Injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my Name, by his Grace's Authority; not only upon the Pains therein exprested, but

also in your default after this second Monition continued, upon further punishment to be straitly extended towards you by the King's Highness Arbitriment, or his Vicegerent aforesaid.

*Item*; That ye shall provide on this side the Feast of next coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largest Volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said Church that ye have Cure of, whereas your Parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the Charge of which Book shall be ratably born between you the Parson and the Parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

*Item*; That you shall discourage no Man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every Person to read the same, as that which is the very lively Word of God, that every Christian Man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all Contention, Altercation therein, and to use an honest Sobriety in the Inquisition of the true Sense of the same, and refer the Explication of the obscure Places to Men of higher Judgment in Scripture.

*Item*; That ye shall every *Sunday* and Holy-day through the Year, openly and plainly recite to your Parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener, if need require, one Particle or Sentence of the *Pater Noster*, or *Creed*, in English, to the Intent they may learn the same by Heart; And so from Day to Day, to give them one little Lesson or Sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noster* and *Creed*, in English, by rote. And as they be taught every Sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all Parents and Householders to teach their Children and Servants the same, as they are bound in Conscience to do. And that done, ye shall declare unto them the *Ten Commandments*, one by one, every Sunday and Holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

*Item*; That ye shall in Confessions every *Lent* examine every Person that cometh to Confession unto you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the *Pater Noster* in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to the same, That every Christian Person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar; and monish them to learn the same more perfectly by the next Year following, or else, like-as they ought not to presume to come to God's Board without perfect Knowledge of the same, and if they do, it is to the great Peril of their Souls; so ye shall declare unto them, that ye look for other Injunctions from the King's Highness by that time, to stay and repel all such from God's Board as shall be found ignorant in the Premises, whereof ye do thus admonish them, to the Intent they should both eschew the Peril of their Souls, and also the worldly Rebuke that they might incur after by the same.

*Item*; That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said Church, and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every Quarter of the Year  
at



at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very Gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your Hearers to the Works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or assurance in any other Works devised by Mens Fantasies besides Scripture: as in wandring to Pilgrimages, offering of Money, Candles, or Tapers, Images, or Reliques; or kissing or licking the same over, saying over a Number of Beads, not understood or minded on, or in such-like Superstition; for the doing whereof, ye not only have no Promise of Reward in Scripture, but contrariwise great Threats and Maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatry and Superstition, which of all other Offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most his Honour and Glory.

*Item*; That such feigned Images as ye know in any of your Cures to be so abused with Pilgrimages or Offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye shall, for avoiding of that most detestable Offence of Idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax to be set afore any Image or Picture, but only the Light that commonly goeth a-cross the Church by the Root-loft, the Light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Light about the Sepulchre; which for the adorning of the Church, and Divine Service, ye shall suffer to remain: still admonishing your Parishioners, that Images serve for none other purpose, but as to be Books of unlearned Men, that ken no Letters, whereby they might be otherwise admonished of the Lives and Conversation of them that the said Images do represent; which Images if they abuse, for any other Intent than for such Remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the same, to the great Danger of their Souls: And therefore the King's Highness graciously tending the Weal of his Subjects Souls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such Images as might be an Occasion of so great an Offence to God, and so great a Danger to the Souls of his loving Subjects.

*Item*; That in all such Benefices, or Cures, as ye have, whereupon ye be not your self Resident, ye shall appoint such Curates in your stead, as can both by their Ability well, and also promptly, execute these Injunctions, and do their Duty otherwise; that ye are bounden in every behalf accordingly, and may profit them, no less with good Examples of living, than with declaration of the Word of God, or else their Lack and Defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straitly answer for the same if they do otherwise.

*Item*; That ye shall admit no Man to preach within any your Benefices or Cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the King's Highness, or his Grace's Authority, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the Bishop of this Diocess; and such as shall be so licensed, ye shall gladly receive to declare the Word of God, without any Resistance or Contradiction.

*Item*; If ye have heretofore declared to your Parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of Pilgrimages, feigned Reliques, or Images, or any such Superstition, that you shall now openly afore the

same recant and reprove the same, shewing them (as the truth is) that ye did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but as one led and seduced by a common Error and Abuse crept into the Church, through the Sufferance and Avarice of such as felt Profit by the same.

*Item*; If ye do or shall know any Man within your Parish, or elsewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these Injunctions; or a favourer of the Bishop of Rome's pretended Power, now by the Laws of this Realm justly rejected and extirped; ye shall detect and present the same to the King's Highness, or his honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent aforesaid, or the Justice of the Peace next adjoining.

*Item*; That you, and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate within this Diocess, shall for every Church keep one Book or Register, wherein he shall write the Day and Year of every Wedding, Christning, and Burying, made within your Parish for your time, and so every Man succeeding you likewise; and also there insert every Person's Name that shall be so wedded, christned, and buried; and for the safe keeping of the same Book, the Parish shall be bound to provide, of their common Charges, one sure Coffer with two Locks and Keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every such Parish wherein the said Book shall be laid up; which Book ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said Wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same, all the Weddings, Christnings, and Burings, made the whole Week afore; and that done, to lay up the Book in the said Coffer, as afore: And for every time that the same shall be omitted, the Party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said Church 3 s. 4 d. to be employed on the Reparation of the said Church.

*Item*; That ye shall every quarter of a Year read these and the other former Injunctions, given unto you by the Authority of the King's Highness, openly and deliberately before all your Parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said Parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

*Item*; Forasmuch as by a Law established, every Man is bound to pay the Tithes; no Man shall, by colour of duty, omitted by their Curates, detain their Tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, or be his own Judge, but shall truly pay the same, as hath been accustomed, to their Parsons and Curates, without any restraint or diminution; and such lack or default as they can justly find in their Parsons or Curates, to call for reformation thereof at their Ordinaries, and other Superiors hands; who, upon complaint, and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

*Item*; That no Parson shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Fastings-day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of any Prayer, or of Divine Service, otherwise than is specified in the said Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the King's Highness's Authority; The Eves of such Saints, whose Holy-dayes be abrogated, be only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no Fastings-dayes; excepted, also the commemo-

commemoration of *Thomas Becket*, some-time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which shall be clean omitted, and in the stead thereof, the Ferial Service used.

*Item*; That the knolling of the Avies after Service, and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Bishop of *Rome's* Pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the People do hereafter trust to have Pardon for the saying of their Avies, between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

*Item*; Where in times past Men have used in divers places in their Processions to sing *Ora pro nobis* to so many Saints, that they had no time to sing the good Suffrages following, as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*, it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other Suffrages.

All which and singular Injunctions I minister unto you and your Successors, by the King's Highness Authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same Authority to observe and keep upon pain of Deprivation, Sequestration of your Fruits, or such other coercion as to the King's Highness, or his Vice-gerent for the time being, shall seem convenient.

*These are also in the Bp. of London's Register, Fol. 29, 30. with Bonner's Mandate to his Arch-Deacons for observing them, 30 Sept. 1541. Anno Regn. 32.*

XII. *Injunctions given by Thomas Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, to the Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats in his Visitation, kept (sede vacante) within the Diocess of Hereford, Anno Domini 1538.*

## I.

**F**irst; That ye, and every one of you, shall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, observe, and cause to be observed, all and singular the King's Highness Injunctions, by his Graces Commissaries given in such places as they in times past have visited.

## I I.

*Item*; That ye, and every one of you shall have, by the first day of *August* next coming, as well a whole Bible in *Latin* and *English*, or at the least a *New Testament* of both the same Language, as the Copies of the King's Highness Injunctions.

## I I I.

*Item*; That ye shall every day study one Chapter of the said Bible, or *New Testament*, conferring the *Latin* and *English* together, and to begin at the first part of the Book, and so to continue until the end of the same.

## I V.

*Item*; That ye, or none of you, shall discourage any Lay-Man from the reading of the Bible in *English* or *Latin*, but encourage them to that, admonishing them that they to read it, for reformation of their own  
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Life, and knowledge of their Duty; and that they be not bold or presumptuous in judging of Matters afore they have perfect Knowledge.

V.

*Item*; That ye, both in your Preaching and secret Confession, and all other Works and Doings, shall excite and move your Parishioners unto such Works as are commanded expressly of God, for the which God shall demand of them a strict Reckoning; and all other Works which Men do of their own Will or Devotion, to teach your Parishioners that they are not to be so highly esteemed as the other; and that for the not doing of them God will not ask any accompt.

VI.

*Item*; That ye, nor none of you, suffer no Friar, or Religious Man, to have any Cure or Service within your Churches or Cures, except they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the Ordinary.

VII.

*Item*; That ye, and every one of you, do not admit any young Man or Woman to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, which never received it before, until that he or she openly in the Church, after Mass, or evening Song, upon the Holy-day, do recite, in the vulgar Tongue, the *Pater-Noster*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments*.

VIII.

*Item*; That ye, and every one of you, shall two times in a Quarter declare to your Parishioners the Band of Matrimony, and what great Danger it is to all Men that use their Bodies but with such Persons as they lawfully may by the Law of God. And to exhort in the said Times your Parishioners, that they make no privy Contracts, as they will avoid the extream Pain of the Laws used within the King's Realm, by his Grace's Authority.

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XIII. *A Letter of Cromwell's to the Bishop of Landaff, directing him how to proceed in the Reformation. An Original.*

Cotton Libr.  
Cleop. E. 4.

AFTER my right hearty Commendations to your Lordship, ye shall herewith receive the King's Highness Letters addressed unto you, to put you in remembrance of his Highness Travels, and your Duty touching order to be taken for Preaching, to the Intent the People may be taught the Truth, and yet not charged at the beginning with over-many Novelties; the Publication whereof, unless the same be tempered and qualified with much Wisdom, do rather breed Contention, Division, and Contrariety in Opinion in the unlearned Multitude, than either edifie, or remove from them, and out of their Hearts, such Abuses as, by the corrupt and unflavoury teaching of the Bishop of Rome and his Disciples, have crept in the same. The Effect of which Letters albeit I doubt not, but as well for the Honesty of the Matter, as for your own Discharge, ye will so consider and put in Execution, as shall be to his Grace's Satisfaction in that behalf: Yet forasmuch as it hath pleased his Majesty to appoint and constitute me in the Room and Place of his Supreme and Principal Minister, in all Matters that may touch any thing his Clergy, or their doings, I thought it also my Part, for the Exoneration of my Duty towards his Highness, and the rather to answer to his Grace's Expectation, Opinion, and Trust conceived in me, and in that  
amongst

amongst other committed to my fidelity, to desire and pray you, in such substantial sort and manner, to travel in the execution of the Contents of his Grace's said Letters; namely, for avoiding of Contrariety in Preaching, of the pronounciation of Noveltyes, without wise and discreet qualification, and the repression of the temerity of those, that either privily, or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advance the pretended Authority of the Bishop of Rome; as I be not for my discharge enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have now written unto you for that purpose, and so to charge you with your own fault, and to devise such remedy for the same, as shall appertain: desiring your Lordship to accept my meaning herein, tending only to an honest, friendly, and Christian Reformation, for avoidage of further inconvenience, and to think none unkindness, tho in this Matter, wherein it is almost more than time to speak, I write frankly, compelled and enforced thereunto, both in respect of my private Duty, and otherwise, for my discharge; forasmuch as it pleaseth his Majesty to use me in the lieu of a Counsellor, whose Office is as an Eye to the Prince, to foresee, and in time to provide remedy for such Abuses, Enormities, and Inconveniences, as might else with a little sufferance engender more evil in his Publick Weal, than could be after recovered, with much labour, study, diligence, and travails. And thus most heartily fare you well. From the *Rolls*, the 7th of January.

Your Lordship's Friend,

*Thomas Cromwell.*

#### XIV. The Commission by which Bonner held his Bishoprick of the King.

*Licentia Regia concessa Domino Episcopo ad exercendam Jurisdictionem Episcopalem.*

**H**enicus Octavus, Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, & in Terra Supremum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput, Reverendo in Christo Patri Edmundo Londonensi Episcopo Salutem. Quandoquidem omnis jurisdictionis Autoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur quam Sæcularis, à Regia Potestate velut à Supremo Capite, & omnium infra Regnum nostrum Magistratum fonte & scaturigine, primitus emanavit, sane illos qui jurisdictionem hujusmodi antehac non nisi precario fungebantur, beneficium hujusmodi sic eis ex liberalitate Regiæ indultum gratis animis agnoscere, idque Regiæ Munificentiæ solummodo acceptum referre, eique, quotiens ejus Majestati videbitur, libenter concedere convenit. Quum itaque nos per dilectum Commissarium nostrum Thomam Cromwell Nobilis ordinis Garterii Militem, Dominum Cromwell & de Wymolden nostri privati Sigilli Custodem, nostrumque ad quascunq; causas Ecclesiasticas nostra Authoritate, uti Supremi Capitis dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quomodolibet tractand. sive ventiland. Vicem-gerentem, Vicarium Generalem & Officialem Principalem, per alias Literas Patentes sigillo nostro Majori communitas, constituerimus & præfecerimus. Quia tamen ipse Thomas Cromwell nostris & hujus Regni Angliæ tot & tam arduis

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Bonner. fol.  
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arduis negotiis adeo præpeditus existit, quod ad omnem Jurisdictionem nobis, uti Supremo Capiti hujusmodi competentem, ubiq; locorum infra hoc Regnum nostrum præfatum, in his quæ moram commodenon non patiuntur aut sine nostrorum subditorum injuria differri non possunt, in sua persona expediend. non sufficiet, Nos tuis in hac parte supplicationibus humilibus inclinati, & nostrorum subditorum commodis consulere cupientes, Tibi vices nostras sub modo & forma inferius descriptis committendas fore, Teq; licentiandum esse decernimus, ad ordinandum igitur quoscunq; infra Dioc. tuam London. ubicunq; oriundos, quos moribus & literatura prævio diligenti & rigoroso examine idoneos fore compereris, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Presbyteratus ordines promovendum, præsentatosque ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunq; infra Dioc. tuam London. constituta, si ad curam beneficiis hujusmodi imminentem sustinend. habiles reperti fuerunt & idonei, admittendum ac in & de iisdem instituendum & investigandum; Ac etiam si res ita exigat destituendum, beneficiaq; Ecclesiastica quæcunq; ad tuam collationem sive dispositionem spectantia & pertinentia personis idoneis conferendum, atq; approbandum testamenta & ultimas voluntates quorumcunq; tuæ Diocæseos, bona, jura, sive credita non ultra summam centum librarum in bonis suis vitæ & mortis suarum temporibus habend. necnon administrationes quorumcunq; subditorum nostrorum tuæ Dioc. ab intestato decedend. quorum bona, jura, sive credita non ultra summam prædictam vitæ & mortis suarum temporibus sese extendent, quatenus hujusmodi testatorum approbatio atq; administrationis commissio sive concessio per prædecessores tuos aut eorum alicujus respectively Commissarios retroactis temporibus fiebat ac fieri & committi potuit, & non aliter committendum, Calculumq; ratiocinium & alia in ea parte expedienda causasq; lites & negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. indecis. necnon alias sive alia, quæcunq; sive quæcunq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum pertinentia ad te aut tuos deputatos sive deputand. per viam querelæ aut appellationis sive ex offic. devolvend. sive deducen. quæ extra legum nostrarum & statutorum Reg. nostri offens. coram te aut tuis Deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam sive alicujus Commissariorum per te vigore hujus Commissionis nostræ deputandorum cognitionem devolvi aut deduci valeant & possint, examinand. & decidend. Ad visitandum insuper Capitulum Ecclesiæ tuæ Cathedral. London. civitatemq; London. necnon omnia & singula Monasteria, Abbatias & Prioratus, Collegia & alia loca pia, tam Religiosa quam Hospitalia, quæcunq; clerumq; & populum dict. Dioc. London. quatenus Ecclesiæ, Monasterii, Abbatia, per te sive Prædecessores tuos London. Episcopos visitatio hujusmodi temporibus retroactis exerceri potuit, ac per te sive per eosdem de legibus & statutis ac juribus Regni nostri exerceri potuit & potest, & non aliter: Necnon ad inquirendum per te, vel alium seu alios ad id per te deputandum sive deputandos, tam ex officio mero mixto quam promoti super quorumcunq; excessibus, criminibus seu delictis quibuscunq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum spectantibus infra Dioc. London. ac delinquentes sive criminosos, juxta comperta per te in ea parte per Licita Juris remedia pro modo culpæ, prout natura & qualitas delicti poposcerit, coercendum & puniendum, cæteraq; omnia & singula in Præmissis seu aliquo præmissorum, aut circa ea necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac alia quæcunq; Autoritatem & Jurisdictionem Episcopalem quovismodo respiciend. & concernend. præter & ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus commissâ esse dignoscantur, vice, nomine, & Autoritate nostris exequendum, Tibi, de cujus,

Iana

fana doctrina, conscientie puritate, vitæq; & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerendis fide & industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, Commissarium vel Commissarios, ad præmissa seu eorum aliqua surrogandi & substituendi, eisdemq; ad placitum revocand. tenore præsentium committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus; Teq; licentiam per præsentis ad nostri bene placiti duntaxat duraturas cum cujuslibet congruæ & Ecclesiasticæ coercionis potestate quacunq; inhibitione in te datam præsentium emanata in aliquo non obstante Tuam Conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, & ut summo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo cum periculo corporali respondere intendis: te admonentes ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie & sancte exercere studeas, & ne quem ullo tempore unquam vel ad sacros ordines promoveas, vel ad curam animarum gerend. quovis modo admittas, nisi eos duntaxat quos ad tanti & tam venerabilis Officii functionem vitæ & morum integritas certissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientiæ & aliæ qualitates requisitæ ad hoc habiles & idoneos clare & luculenter ostenderint & declaraverint; Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium, & Maxime Christianæ Religionis corruptelam à malis Pastoribus in populum emanasse, sic ut veram Christi Religionem, vitæq; & morum emendationem à bonis Pastoribus iterum delectis & assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentis Literas nostras inde fieri, & Sigilli nostri quo ad Causas Ecclesiasticas utimur appensione jussimus Communiri. Dat. 12. die mensis Novemb. Anno Dom. 1539. & Regni nostri Anno 31.

XV. *The King's Letters Patents for printing the Bible in English.*

**H**Enry the Eighth, &c. To all and singular Printers and Sellers of Rot. Pat. 31.  
Hen. 8. Books within this our Realm, and all other Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Letters hearing or seeing, Greeting. We let you wit, That being desirous to have our People at all times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledg of God's Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe and keep his Commandments; and also do their Duties better to us, being their Prince and Sovereign Lord: And considering that this our Zeal and Desire cannot by any mean take so good effect, as by the granting to them the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own natural *English* Tongue: so unless it be foreseen that the same pass at the beginning by one Translation to be perused and considered; The frailty of Men is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold Inconveniencies; as when wilful and heady Folk shall confer upon the diversity of the said Translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord *Cromwell*, Keeper of our Privy-Seal, to take for us, and in our Name, special care and charge, that no manner of Person, or Persons, within this our Realm, shall enterprife, attempt, or set in hand to print any Bible in the *English* Tongue of any manner of Volumn, during the space of five Years next ensuing after the Date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said Lord *Cromwell*.

The 13 Novemb. Tricesimo primo Regni.

XVI. *The Attainder of Thomas Cromwell.*

*Item quædam alia petitio, formam cujusdam actus attaindurae in se continens, exhibita est suæ Regiæ Majestati in Parlamento prædicto, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.*

Parlia-  
mentRolls.  
Act 60. An-  
no Regni  
tricesimo se-  
cundo.

**I**N their most humble-wise shewing to your most Royal Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all your most loving and obedient Subjects, the Commons in this your most high Court of Parliament assembled; That where your most Royal Majesty, our Natural Sovereign Lord, is justly, and lawfully, really entituled to be our sole Supream Head and Governour, of this your Realm of *England*, and of the Dominions of the same; to whom, and to none other under God, the Kingly Direction, Order, and Governance of your most loving and obedient Subjects, and People of this your Realm, only appertaineth and belongeth. And the which your most loving and obedient Subjects, your Highness prudently and quietly, without any manner of disturbance by a long time most graciously hath preserved, sustained and defended: And your Highness, for the Quietness, Wealth, and Tranquility of your said humble and obedient Subjects, hath made, and ordained, divers and many most godly, vertuous and wholesome Laws; and for due execution of the same, hath not desisted to travel in your own most Royal Person, to support and maintain, as well the Laws of Almighty God, as the Laws by your Highness made and ordained, by due and condign Execution of the same Laws upon the Transgressors offending contrary to the same: And your Majesty hath always most vertuously studied and laboured, by all ways, and all means, to and for the setting forth thereof, in such wise as might be most to the Honour, Glory, and Pleasure of Almighty God; and for the common accord and wealth of this your Realm, and other your Dominions: And for the true execution of the same, hath elected, chosen and made divers, as well of your Nobles as others, to be of your most Honourable Council, as to the Honour of a Noble Prince appertaineth. And where your Majesty hath had a special Trust and Confidence in your said most trusty Counsellors, that the same your Counsellors, and every of them, had minded and intended, and finally purposed to have followed and pursued your most Godly and Princely Purpose, as of truth the more number hath most faithfully done; Yet nevertheless *Thomas Cromwell*, now Earl of *Essex*, whom your Majesty took and received into your trusty Service, the same *Thomas* then being a Man of very base and low degree, and for singular Favour, Trust and Confidence, which your Majesty bare and had in him, did not only erect and advance the same *Thomas* unto the state of an Earl, and enriched him with manifold Gifts, as well of Goods, as of Lands and Offices, but also him, the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, did erect and make one of your most trusty Counsellors, as well concerning your Grace's Supream Jurisdictions Ecclesiastical, as your most high secret Affairs Temporal. Nevertheless your Majesty now of late hath found, and tried, by a large number of Witnesses, being your faithful Subjects, and Personages of great Honour, Worship, and Discretion, the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, contrary to the singular trust and confidence which your Majesty had in him, to be the most false and corrupt Traitor, Deceiver, and Circumventor



ventor against your most Royal Person, and the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, that hath been known, seen, or heard of in all the time of your most noble Reign : Infomuch that it is manifestly proved and declared, by the Depositions of the Witnesses aforesaid, That the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Effex*, usurping upon your Kingly Estate, Power, Authority, and Office ; without your Grace's Commandment or Assent, hath taken upon him to set at liberty divers Persons being convicted and attainted of Misprision of High Treason ; and divers other being apprehended, and in Prison, for Suspention of High Treason ; and over that, many and divers Times, at sundry Places in this your Realm, for manifold Sums of Money to him given, most traiterously hath taken upon him, by several Writings, to give and grant, as well unto Aliens, as to your Subjects, a great Number of Licences for conveying and carrying of Money, Corn, Grain, Beans, Beer, Leather, Tallow, Bells, Mettals, Horses, and other Commodities of this your Realm, contrary to your Highness's most Godly and Gracious Proclamations made for the Common-wealth of the People of this your Realm in that behalf, and in Derogation of your Crown and Dignity. And the same *Thomas Cromwell*, elated and full of Pride, contrary to his most bounden Duty, of his own Authority and Power, not regarding your Majesty Royal ; And further, taking upon him your Power, Sovereign Lord, in that behalf, divers and many times most traiterously hath constituted, deputed and assigned, many singular Persons of your Subjects to be Commissioners in many, your great, urgent and weighty Causes and Affairs, executed and done in this your Realm, without the Assent, Knowledge, or Consent of your Highness. And further also, being a Person of as poor and low Degree, as few be within this your Realm ; pretending to have so great a Stroke about you, our, and his natural Sovereign Liege Lord, that he letted not to say publickly, and declare, That he was sure of you ; which is detestible, and to be abhorred amongst all good Subjects in any Christian Realm, that any Subject should enterprize or take upon him so to speak of his Sovereign Liege Lord and King. And also of his own Authority and Power without your Highness's Consent, hath made, and granted, as well to Strangers as to your own Subjects, divers and many Pass-ports, to pass over the Seas, with Horses, and great Sums of Money, without any Search. And over that, most Gracious Sovereign Lord, amongst divers other his Treasons, Deceits, and Fallhoods, the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Effex*, being a detestable Heretick, and being in himself utterly disposed to set and sow common Sedition and Variance among your true and loving Subjects, hath secretly set forth and dispersed into all Shires, and other Territories of this your Realm, and other your Dominions, great Numbers of false erroneous Books, whereof many were printed and made beyond the Seas, and divers other within this Realm, comprising and declaring, among many other Evils and Errors, manifest Matters to induce and lead your Subjects, to diffidence, and refusal of the true and sincere Faith and Belief, which Christian Religion bindeth all Christian People to have, in the most Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and other Articles of Christian Religion, most graciously declared by your Majesty, by Authority of Parliament : And certain Matters comprised in some of the said Books, hath caused to be translated into our Maternal and English Tongue : And upon report made unto him by the Translator thereof, that the Matter so trans-

flated hath expressly been against the said most Blessed and Holy Sacrament ; Yet the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, after he had read the same Translation, most heretically hath affirmed the same material Heresie so translated, to be good; and further hath said, that he found no fault therein; and ever that, hath openly and obstinately holden Opinion, and said, That it was as lawful for every Christian Man to be a Minister of the said Sacrament, as well as a Priest. And where also your most Royal Majesty, being a Prince of Vertue, Learning, and Justice, of singular Confidence and Trust, did constitute and make the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, your Highness's Vicegerent within this your Realm of *England*; and by the same, gave unto him Authority and Power, not only to redress and reform all, and all manner of Errors, and erroneous Opinions, insurging and growing among your loving and obedient Subjects of this your Realm, and of the Dominions of the same, but also to order and direct all Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Causes within your said Realm, and Dominions; the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, not regarding his Duty to Almighty God, and to your Highness, under the Seal of your Vicegerent, hath without your Grace's Assent or Knowledge, licensed and authorized divers Persons, detected and suspected of Heresies, openly to teach and preach amongst your most loving and obedient Subjects within this your Realm of *England*. And under the Pretence and Colour of the said great Authorities and Cures, which your Majesty hath committed unto him in the Premises, hath not only, of his corrupt and damnable Will and Mind, actually, at some time, by his own Deed and Commandment, and at other Times by his Letters expressly written to divers worshipful Persons, being Sheriffs, in sundry Shires of this your Realm, falsely suggesting thereby your Grace's Pleasure so to have been, caused to be set at large many false Hereticks, some being there indicted, and some other being thereof apprehended, and in Ward : and commonly, upon Complaints made by credible Persons unto the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, of great and most detestible Heresies committed and sprung in many places of this your Realm, with Declaration of the Specialities of the same Heresies, and the Names of the Offenders therein, the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, by his crafty and subtil Means and Inventions, hath not only defended the same Hereticks from Punishment and Reformation; but being a Fautor, Maintainer, and Supporter of Hereticks, divers times hath terribly rebuked divers of the said credible Persons being their Accusers, and some others of them hath persecuted and vexed by Imprisonment and otherwise. So that thereby many of your Grace's true and loving Subjects have been in much Dread and Fear, to detect or accuse such detestable known Hereticks; the Particularities and Specialities of which said abominable Heresies, Errors, and Offences, committed and done by the said *Thomas Cromwell*, being over-tedious, long, and of too great Number here to be expressed, declared, or written. And to the Intent to have those damnable Errors and Heresies, to be inculcated, impressed, and infixed in the Hearts of your Subjects, as well contrary to God's Laws, as to your Laws and Ordinances. Most Gracious Sovereign Lord, the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, hath allured and drawn unto him by Retainers, many of your Subjects sunderly inhabiting in every of your said Shires and Territories, as well erroneously periwading and declaring to them the Contents of the false erroneous Books, above-written

to be good, true, and best standing with the most Holy Word and Pleasure of God; as other his false and heretical Opinions and Errors; whereby, and by his Confederacies therein, he hath caused many of your faithful Subjects to be greatly infected with Heresies, and other Errors, contrary to the right Laws and Pleasure of Almighty God. And the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, by the false and traitorous Means above-written, supposing himself to be fully able, by Force and Strength, to maintain and defend his said abominable Treasons, Heresies, and Errors, not regarding his most bounden Duty to Almighty God, and his Laws, nor the natural Duty of Allegiance to your Majesty, in the last Day of *March*, in the 30 Year of your most gracious Reign, in the Parish of *St. Peter the Poor*, within your City of *London*, upon Demonstration and Declaration then and there made unto him, that there were certain new Preachers, as *Robert Barnes* Clerk, and other, whereof part were committed to the Tower of *London*, for preaching and teaching of leud Learning against your Highness's Proclamations; the same *Thomas* affirming the same preaching to be good, most detestably, arrogantly, erroneously, wilfully, maliciously, and traiterously, expressly against your Laws and Statutes, then and there did not let to declare, and say, these most traitorous and detestable Words ensuing, amongst other Words of like Matter and Effect; that is to say, *That if the King would turn from it, yet I would not turn; And if the King did turn, and all his People, I would fight in the Field in mine own Person, with my Sword in my Hand against him and all others; and then, and there, most traiterously pulled out his Dagger, and held it on high, saying these Words, Or else this Dagger thrust me to the Heart, if I would not die in that Quarrel against them all: And I trust, if I live one Year or two, it should not lie in the King's Power to resist or let it if he would.* And further, then and there swearing by a great Oath, traiterously affirmed the same his traitorous Saying and Pronunciation of Words, saying, *I will do so indeed*, extending up his Arm, as tho' he had had a Sword in his Hand; to the most perillous, grievous, and wicked Example of all other your loving, faithful and obedient Subjects in this your Realm, and to the Peril of your most Royal Person. And moreover, our most gracious Sovereign Lord, the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, hath acquired and obtained into his Possession, by Oppression, Bribery, Extort, Power, and false Promises made by him, to your Subjects of your Realm, innumerable Sums of Money and Treasure; and being so enriched, hath had your Nobles of your Realm in great Disdain, Derision, and Detestation, as by express words by him most opprobriously spoken hath appeared. And being put in remembrance of others, of his Estate, which your Highness hath called him unto, offending in like Treasons, the last Day of *January*, in the 31 Year of your most noble Reign, at the Parish of *St. Martins in the Fields*, in the County of *Middlesex*, most arrogantly, willingly, maliciously, and traiterously, said, published, and declared, *That if the Lords would handle him so, that he would give them such a Break-fast as never was made in England, and that the proudest of them should know; to the great Peril and Danger, as well of your Majesty, as of your Heirs and Successors: For the which his most detestable and abominable Heresies and Treasons, and many other his like Offences and Treasons over-long here to be rehearsed and declared.* Be it Enacted, Ordained, and Established by your Majesty, with the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Par-

Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, for his abominable and detestable Heresies and Treasons, by him most abominably, heretically, and traitorously practised, committed, and done, as well against Almighty God, as against your Majesty, and this your said Realm, shall be, and stand, by Authority of this present Parliament, convicted and attainted of Heresie and High-Treason, and be adjudged an abominable and detestable Heretick and Traiter; and shall have and suffer such Pains of Death, Losses, and Forfeitures of Goods, Debts, and Chattels, as in case of Heresie and High-Treason, or as in cases of either of them, at the Pleasure of your most Royal Majesty. And that the same *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, shall, by Authority aforesaid, lose, and forfeit to your Highness, and to your Heirs and Successors, all such his Castles, Lordships, Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Services, Possessions, Offices, Rights, Conditions, and all other his Hereditaments, of what Names, Nature, or Qualities soever they be, which he the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, or any other to his Use had, or ought to have had, of any Estate of Inheritance, in Fee-Simple or Fee-Tail, in Reversion or Possession, at the said last Day of *March*, in the said thirtieth Year of your most Gracious Reign, or any time sixth or after, as in Cases of High-Treason. And that all the said Castles, Lordships, Mannors, Lands, Messuages, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Services, Possessions, Offices, and all other the Premises forfeited, as is aforesaid, shall be deemed, invested, and adjudged, in the lawful, real, and actual Possession of your Highness, your Heirs and Successors for ever in the same, and in such Estate, Manner and Form, as if the said Castles, Lordships, Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Services, Possession, Offices, and other the Premises, with their Appurtenances, and every of them, were especially or particularly founden, by Office or Offices, Inquisition or Inquisitions, to be taken by any Escheator or Escheators, or any other Commissioner or Commissioners, by Vertue of any Commission or Commissions to them or any of them, to be directed in any County or Counties, Shire or Shires, within this your Realm of *England*, where the said Castles, and other the Premises, or any of them, been, or do lye, and returned into any of your Majesty's Courts. Saving to all and singular, Person and Persons, Bodies politick and corporate, their Heirs and Successors, and their Successors and Assignes of every of them, other than the said *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, and his Heirs, and all and every other Person and Persons, claiming by the same *Thomas Cromwell*, and to his Use, all such Right, Title, Entrie, Possessions, Interest, Reversions, Remainders, Leate, Leases, Conditions, Fees, Offices, Rents, Annuities, Commons, and all other Commodities, Profits, and Hereditaments whatsoever they or any of them might, should, or ought to have had, if this Act had never been had or made. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that this Act of Attainder, ne any Offence, ne other thing therein contained, extend not unto the Deanery of *Wells* in the County of *Summerset*; nor to any Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments thereunto belonging; nor be in any wise prejudicial or hurtful to the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, nor to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrew* of *Wells*, nor to any of them, nor to any of their Successors; but that the said Bishop,

Dean,

Dean, and Chapters, and their Successors, and every of them, shall and may have, hold, use, occupy, and enjoy, all and singular their Titles, Rights, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, and Services, and all and singular other their Hereditaments, Commodities, and Profits, of what nature, kind, or quality, or condition soever they be, in as ample and large manner and form, as tho' this Act of Attainder, or any Offence therein mentioned, had never been had, committed, nor made; and that from hence-forth the Dean, and his Successors, Deans of the said Cathedral Church that hereafter shall be perfected, elected, and admitted to the same, Shall, by the Authority aforesaid, be Dean of the said Cathedral Church, fully and wholly incorporated with the Chapter of the same, in as ample, large, and like manner and form, to all intents and purposes, as the Deans before this time hath been and used to be, with the said Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of *Wells*. And that the same Dean and Chapter, and their Successors, shall have, occupy, and enjoy, all and singular their such Possessions, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, and Services, and all and singular their Hereditaments, of what nature, kind, name or names they be called or known. And shall be adjudged and deemed in actual and real Possession and Seizin of, and in the same Premises, to all intents and purposes, according to their old Corporation, as tho' this Act of Attainder, or any thing, clause, or matter therein contained had never been had, committed, nor made. This said Act of Attainder, or any other Act, Provision, or any thing heretofore had or made to the contrary notwithstanding. *Cui quidem petitioni cum provisione prædictæ. perlectæ. & intellectæ. per dictum Dominum Regem ex Autoritate & consensu Parliamenti prædicti sic Responsum est.*

*Soit fait come il est desiro.*

XVII. Cromwel's Letter to the King concerning his Marriage with Ann of Cleve. *An Original.*

*To the King, my most Gracious Sovereign Lord  
his Royal Majesty.*

**M**ost Merciful King, and most Gracious Sovereign Lord, may it please the same to be advertised, That the last time it pleased your benign Goodness to send unto me the Right Honourable Lord Chancellor, the Right Honourable Duke off *Norff.* and the Lord Admiral, to examine, and also to declare unto me divers things from your Majesty; among the which, one special thing they moved, and thereupon they charged me, as I would answer before God at the dreadful day of Judgment, and also upon the extream danger and damnation of my Soul and Conscience, to say what I knew in the Marriage, and concerning the Marriage, between your Highness and the Queen. To the which I answered as I knew, declaring unto them the Particulars, as nigh as I then could call to remembrance. Which when they had heard, they, in your Majesty's Name, and upon like charge as they had given me before, commanded me to write to your Highness the Truth, as much as I

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knew

knew in that Matter; which now I do, and the very truth, as God shall save me, to the uttermost of my knowledg. First; After your Majesty heard of the Lady *Ann* of *Cleves* arrival at *Dover*, and that her Journeys were appointed towards *Greenwich*, and that she should be at *Rocheſter* on New-years Even at night, your Highneſs declared to me, that you would privily viſit her at *Rocheſter*, upon New-years day, adding theſe words, *To nourish love*; which accordingly your Grace did upon New-years-day, as is above-ſaid. And the next day, being *Friday*, your Grace returned to *Greenwich*, where I ſpake with your Grace, and demanded of your Majesty, How ye liked the Lady *Ann*: your Highneſs answered, as me thought, heavily, and not pleaſantly, *Nothing ſo well as ſhe was ſpoken of*; ſaying further, *That if your Highneſs had known as much before as ye then knew, ſhe ſhould not have come within this Realm*; ſaying as by the way of lamentation, *What Rewedy?* Unto the which I answered and ſaid, I know none, but was very ſorry therefore; and ſo God knoweth I was, for I thought it a hard beginning. The next day after the receipt of the ſaid Lady, and her entry made unto *Greenwich*, and after your Highneſs had brought her to her Chamber, I then waited upon your Highneſs into your Privy-Chamber; and being there, your Grace called me unto you, ſaying to me theſe words, or the like, *My Lord, is it not as I told you? ſay what they will, ſhe is nothing ſo fair as ſhe hath been reported; howbeit ſhe is well and ſeemly*. Whereunto I answered and ſaid, By my Faith, Sir, ye ſay truth; adding thereunto, that I thought ſhe had a Queenly manner; and nevertheleſs was ſorry that your Grace was no better content: And thereupon your Grace commanded me to call together your Council, which were theſe by Name; The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of *Dureſme*, and my ſelf to commune of theſe Matters, and to know what Commiſſions the Agents of *Cleves* had brought, as well touching the performance of the Covenants ſent before from hence to *Dr. Wotton*, to have been concluded in *Cleves*, as alſo in the Declaration how the Matters ſtood for the Covenants of Marriage, between the Duke of *Lorraine's* Son, and the ſaid Lady *Ann*. Whereupon *Oleſleger* and *Hogelton* were called, and the Matters propoſed; whereby it plainly appeared, that they were much aſtoniſhed and abaſhed, and deſired that they might make answer in the next Morning, which was *Sunday*: And upon the *Sunday* in the Morning your ſaid Counſellors and they met together early, and there ſoon was propoſed unto them, as well touching the Commiſſion for the performance of the Treaty and Articles ſent to *Mr. Wotton*, as alſo touching the Contracts and Covenants of Marriage between the Duke of *Lorraine's* Son, and the Lady *Ann*, and what terms they ſtood in. To which things ſo propoſed, they answered as Men much perplexed, That, as touching Commiſſion, they had none to treat concerning the Articles ſent to *Mr. Wotton*. And as to the Contract and Covenants of Marriage they could ſay nothing, but that a Revocation was made, and that they were but Sponſals. And finally, after much reaſoning, they offered themſelves to remain Priſoners, until ſuch time as they ſhould have ſent unto them from *Cleves* the firſt Articles ratified under the Duke their Maſter's Sign and Seal, and alſo the Copy of the Revocation made between the Duke of *Lorraine's* Son and the Lady *Ann*. Upon the which Answers, I was ſent to your Highneſs by my Lords of your Council, to declare to your Highneſs their Answer; and came to you,

you, by the Privy Way, into your Privy Chamber, and declared unto the same all the Circumstances, wherewith your Grace was very much displeas'd, saying, *I am not well handled*; insomuch that I might well perceive that your Highness was fully determin'd not to have gone through with the Marriage at that time, saying unto me these words, or the like in effect; *That if it were not that she is come so far unto my Realm, and the great Preparations that my States and People have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the World; that is, to mean to drive her Brother into the hands of the Emperor, and the French King's hands, being now together, I would never have ne married her.* So that I might well perceive your Grace was neither content with the Person, ne yet with the Proceedings of the Agents; And at after-dinner, the said *Sunday*, your Grace sent for all your said Counsellors in, repeating how your Highness was handled, as well touching the said Articles, as also the said Matter of the Duke of *Lorrain's* Son. It might, and I doubt not, did appear unto them how loth your Highness was to have married at that time. And thereupon, and upon the Considerations aforesaid, your Grace thought that it should be well done that she should make a Protestation before your said Counsellors and Notaries to be present, that she was free from all Contracts; which was done accordingly. And thereupon I repairing to your Highness, declared how that she had made her Protestation. Whereunto your Grace answered in effect these words, or much like; *Is there none other Remedy, but that I must needs, against my Will, put my Neck in the Yoke?* and so departed, leaving your Highness in a study or pensiveness. And yet your Grace determin'd the next Morning to go through; and in the Morning, which was *Monday*, your Majesty preparing your self towards the Ceremonies; There was one Question, who should lead to the Church? And it was appointed that the Earl of *Essex* deceas'd, and an Earl that came with her, should lead her to the Church. And thereupon one came to your Highness, and said to you, That the Earl of *Essex* was nor come; whereupon your Grace appointed me to be one that should lead her: And so I went into her Chamber, to the intent to have done your Commandment; and shortly after I came into her Chamber, the Earl of *Essex* was come: Whereupon I repaired back again into your Graces Privy-Chamber, and shew'd your Highness how he was come; and thereupon your Majesty advanced towards the Gallery out of your Privy-Chamber; and your Grace being in and about the midst of your Chamber of Presence, called me unto you, saying these words, or the like in Sentence; *My Lord, if it were not to satisfy the World, and my Realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing*; and therewith one brought your Grace Word that she was coming; and thereupon your Grace repaired into the Gallery towards the Closet, and there paused for her coming, being nothing content that she so long tarried, as I judg'd then. And so consequently she came, and your Grace afterwards proceeded to the Ceremonies; and they being finished, travelled the day as appertained, and the night after the custom. And in the morning on *Tuesday*, I repairing to your Majesty into your Privy-Chamber, finding your Grace nor so pleasant as I trust'd to have done, I was so bold to ask your Grace how you liked the Queen? Whereunto your Grace soberly answered, saying, *That I was not all Men, surely, as ye know, I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse*; for, quoth your Highness, *I have felt her Belly, and her Breasts, and thereby, as I can judge, she should*

*be no Maid; which strook me so to the Heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any farther in other Matters; saying, I have left her as good a Maid as I found her: Which methought then ye spake displeasantly, which made me very sorry to hear; Your Highness also after Candlemas, and before Showstie, once or twice said, That ye were in the same case with her as ye were afore, and that your Heart could never consent to meddle with her carnally. Notwithstanding your Highness alledged that ye for the most part used to lay nightly, or every second night by her, and yet your Majesty ever said, That she was as good a Maid for you as ever her Mother bare her, for any thing ye had ministred to her. Your Highness shewed to me also in Lent last passed, at such time as your Grace had some communication with her of my Lady Mary, how that she began to wax stubborn and wilful, ever lamenting your fate, and ever veritying that ye never had any carnal knowledge with her: And also after Easter, your Grace likewise, at divers times, and in the Whitfun-week, in your Grace's Privy-Chamber at Greenwich, exceedingly lamented your fate, and that your greatt grief was, That ye should surely never have any more Children for the comfort of this Realm, if ye should so continue; alsiuring me, that before God ye thought she was never your lawful Wife. At which time your Grace knoweth what answer I made; which was, that I would for my part do my utmost to comfort and deliver your Grace of your Afflictions; and how sorry I was both to see and hear your Grace, God knoweth. Your Grace divers times sithen Whitfuntide, ever alledging one thing, and also saying, That ye had as much to do to move the consent of your Heart and Mind as ever did Man, and that you took God to witness; but ever, you said, the Obstacle could never out of your Mind. And, Gracious Prince, after that you had first seen her at Rochester, I never thought in my heart that ye were or would be contented with that Marriage. And Sir, I know now in what case I stand, in which is only the Mercy of God and your Grace; if I have not, to the uttermost of my remembrance, said the Truth, and the whole Truth in this Matter, God never help me. I am sure there is, as I think, no man in this your Realm that knew more in this than I did, your Highness only excepted. And I am sure, my Lord Admiral calling to his remembrance, can shew your Highness, and be my Witness what I said unto him after your Grace came from Rochester, yea, and after your Grace's Marriage: And also now of late, sithence Whitfuntide, and I doubt not but many and divers of my Lords of your Council, both before your Marriage, and sithence, have right-well perceived that your Majesty hath not been well pleased with your Marriage. And as I shall answer to God, I never thought your Grace content, after you had once seen her at Rochester. And this is all that I know, most gracious and most merciful Sovereign Lord, beseeching Almighty God, who ever hath in all your Causes counselled, preserved, opened, maintained, relieved and defended your Highness; So he will now vouchsafe to counsel you, preserve you, maintain you, remedy you, relieve and defend you, as may be most to your Honour, with Prosperity, Health, and Comfort of your Hearts desire. For the which, and for the long Life, and prosperous Reign of your most Royal Majesty, I shall, during my Life, and whiles I am here, pray to Almighty God, that he of his most abundant Goodness will help, aid, and comfort you, after your continuance of Nestor's Years: that that most noble Imp, the Prince's Grace, your most dear Son, may succeed  
you*



you to reign Long, prosperously, and felicitously to God's pleasure: beseeching most humbly your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I a most woful Prisoner, ready to take the Death, when it shall please God and your Majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for Mercy and Grace for mine Offences; and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you.

Written at the *Tower* this *Wednesday*, the last of *June*, with the heavy Heart, and trembling Hand, of your Highness's most heavy and most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave,

*Thomas Cromwell,*

Most Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.

XVIII. *The King's own Declaration concerning it.*

*An Original.*

**F**irst I depose and declare, That this hereafter written is meerly the Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10. verity intended, upon none sinister affection, nor yet upon none hatred nor displeasure, and herein I take God to witness. Now to the Matter I say and affirm; That when the first communication was had with me for the Marriage of the Lady *Ann* of *Cleves*, I was glad to hearken to it, trusting to have some assured Friend by it; I much doubting that time, both the Emperour, *France*, and the Bishop of *Rome*; and also because I heard so much, both of her excellent Beauty and virtuous Conditions. But when I saw her at *Rochester*, the first time that ever I saw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any Pact or Bond before with her till I saw her my self; for then I adfure you I liked her so ill, and so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came into *England*; and deliberated with my self, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter Yoke with her. Of which misliking, both the great Master, the Admiral that now is, and the Master of the *Horfes*, can and will here record. Then after my Repair to *Greenwich*, the next day after I think, and doubt not, but that the Lord of *Effex* well examined, can, and will, or hath declared what I then said to him in that case; not doubting, but since he is a Person which knoweth himself condemned to dye by Act of Parliament, will not damn his Soul, but truly declare the Truth, not only at the time spoken by me, but also continually till the day of Marriage; and also many times after, whereby my lack of consent, I doubt not, doth or shall well appear; And also lack enough of the Will and Power to consummate the same; wherein both he, my Physitians, the Lord Privy Seal that now is, *Hennage* and *Denny* can, and I doubt not will testify according to truth, which is, That I never for Love to the Woman consented to marry; nor yet if she brought Maiden-head with her, took any from her by true Carnal Copulation. This is my brief, true, and perfect Declaration.

XIX. *The Judgment of the Convocation for annulling of the Marriage with Ann of Cleve.*

Regist.  
Grammar.

**T**enor vero Literarum Testimonialium hujusmodi sequitur, & est talis Excellentissimo in Christo Principi, &c. Thomas Cantuarien. & Edwardus Eboracen. Archiepiscopi, ceteriq; Episcopi & reliquis vestri Regni Angliæ Clerus Autoritate Literarum Commissionum Vestræ Majestatis, Congregati ac Synodum universalem repræsentantes, cum obsequio, reverentia & honore debitis, salutem & felicitatem. Cum nos humilimi & Majestatis Vestræ devotissimi subditi, Convocati & Congregati sumus virtute Commissionis Vestræ magno sigillo Vestro sigillat. dat. 6 Julii Anno felicissimi Regni Vestri tricesimo secundo, quam accepimus in hæc quæ sequuntur verba.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Archiepiscopis Cantuarien. & Eborac. ac cæteris Regni nostri Angliæ Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & universo Clero, salutem. Egerunt apud nos Regni nostri proceres & populus, ut cum nuper quædam emerferint, quæ ut illi putant ad nos Regniq; nostri successionem pertineant, inter quæ præcipua est, causa & conditio Matrimonii quod cum Illustri & Nobili Fœmina Domina Anna Clevensi propter externam quidem conjugii speciem, perplexum alioqui etiam multis ac variis modis ambiguum videtur; Nos ad ejusdem Matrimonii ditquisitionem ita procedere dignaremur, ut opinionem Vestram qui in Ecclesia nostra Anglicana scientiam Verbi Dei & Doctrinam profitemini exquiramus, vobisq; discutiendum Autoritatem ita demandemus, ut si animis Vestris fuerit persuasum Matrimonium cum præfata Domina Anna minime consistere aut coherere debere; nos ad Matrimonium contrahend. cum alia liberos esse, Vestro, Patrum ac reliquæ deinde Ecclesiæ suffragio pronuncietur & confirmetur. Nos autem qui Vestrum in reliquis Ecclesiæ hujus Anglicanæ negotiis gravioribus quæ Ecclesiasticam Oeconomiam & Religionem spectant judicium amplecti solemus, ad veritatis explicandæ testimonium omnino necessarium rati sumus Causæ hujusmodi Matrimonialis seriem & circumstantias vobis exponi & communicari curare, ut quod vos per Dei Leges licere decreveritis, id demum totius Ecclesiæ nostræ Autoritate innixi licite facere & exequi audeamus. Vos itaq; Convocari & in Synodum Universalem nostra Autoritate convenire volentes, vobis conjunctim & divisim committimus atq; mandamus ut inspecta hujus negotii veritate, ac solum Deum præ oculis habentes, quod verum, quod justum, quod honestum, quod factum est, id nobis de communi Concilio scripto annuncietis & de communi consensu licere definiatis: Nempe hoc unum à vobis nostro jure postulamus, ut tanquam fida & proba Ecclesiæ membra causæ huic Ecclesiasticæ, quæ maxima est, in justitia & veritate adesse velitis & eam maturrime juxta Commissionem vobis in hac parte factam absolvere & expedire. In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste incipso apud Westmon. sexto die Julii, Anno Regni nostri tricesimo secundo. Nos tenorem & effectum Vestræ Commissionis per omnia sequentes, postquam matura deliberatione perpendimus & consideravimus omnes Matrimonii præfati inter Vestram Majestatem Illustrissimam & Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevensem circumstantias, nobis multis modis expositas, cognitatas & perspectas, tandem ad definitionem

nem & determinationem sequentem, quam communi omnium consensu justorumq; animorum nostrorum iudicio ac recto conscientiae dictamine protulimus, processimus, in hunc modum & (quod tenor Vestrae Commissionis exigit) Vestrae Nobilissimae Majestati in hoc praesenti scripto referend. duximus, & significamus prout sequitur.

Primum itaq; comperimus & consideravimus Matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram & Nobilem foeminae Dominam Annam Clevensem praetensam pracontracto quodam sive sponsaliorum, sive Matrimonii, inter dictam Dominam Annam & Marchionem Lotharingiae concluso ambiguum, plane impeditum & perplexum reddi; Animadvertimus enim quod quamvis Vestra Majestas in prima hujus Matrimonii praetensi tractatione pracontractus praedicti, & de quo tum sermo multus habebatur, discussionem & declarationem ante solemnizandum cum dicta Domina Anna Matrimonium tanta instantia exegerit, ut pro conditione contrahendi deinde Matrimonii fuisse merito existimari possit, qua conditione defacta nihil ageretur; atq; haec cum ita se haberent tamen neq; ante solemnizationem illa de pracontractu ambiguitas expedita & declarata est, cum id ipsum tum temporis Majestas Vestra denuo exposceret & effligeret, cui clara jam & expedita esse omnia falso renunciabatur, neq; postea quicquam efficax ut promissum ab Oratoribus fuerat, huc transmissum est, quo scrupulus ille ex pracontractu natus eximeretur, tolleretur aut amoveretur, adeo quidem ut praetensum Matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram & Dominam Annam praedictam non modo ex conditionis defectu corruerit, sed si nulla conditio hujusmodi omnino fuisset, certe quidem Matrimonium hujusmodi praetensum ex sola pracontractus hujusmodi causa non explicata in suspenso manserit, in eum etiam casum nullius vigor omnino ac valoris pronuntiandum, quo pracontractum illum verbis de praesenti factum fuisse constiterit, id quod multis de causis est verisimilius & merito suspectum haberi potest.

Consideravimus praeterea ex his quae allegata, affirmata & probata nobis fuerunt, quod praetensum Matrimonium inter Majestatem vestram & Dominam Annam praedictam internum, purum, perfectum & integrum consensum non habuit: imo contra quemadmodum inter ipsa tractationis initia, cum de hoc Matrimonio ageretur, plurimus illecebrarum fucus adhibitus est, & magnus laudationum acervus supra fidem cumulatus, ut hic perduceretur & obtruderetur ignota, ita solemnizationis actus qui instabat à Majestate Vestra animo reluctante & dissentiente exortus est, causis maximis & gravissimis urgentibus & prementibus quae animum invitum & alienum percellere merito possent.

Consideravimus etiam carnalem Copulam inter Majestatem Vestram & praedictam Dominam Annam minime secutam esse, nec cum ea justo impedimento intercedente consequi deinde posse. Quae omnia ex his quas audivimus probationibus, vera & certa esse existimamus. Postremo illud quoq; Consideramus, quod & nobis ab aliis propositum etiam nos verum esse fatemur, agnoscimus & approbamus viz. ut si Majestas Vestra (modo ne fiat divinae jussioni praerudicium) in libertate contrahendi Matrimonii cum alia esse declaratur, maxime totius Regni beneficio id futurum. Cum quidem Regni foelicitas omnis & conservatio, tum in Regia Vestra persona ad Dei honorem & divinarum legum executionem conservandam consistit, tum in vitandis etiam sinistris omnibus opinionibus & scandalis quae de Majestatis Vestrae progenie post naram nobis ex praetenso Matrimonio sobolem suborirentur, si pracontractus ille de quo diximus, & cujus declaratio nulla secuta est, praedictae Dominae Annae objiceretur. His itaq; de causis & considerationibus aliisq; multis  
non

non necessariis quæ exprimentur, cum separatim singulis, tum conjunctim omnibus consideratis & perpensis, Nos Archiepiscopi & Episcopi, cum Decanis, Archidiaconis, & reliquo hujus Regni Clero nunc congregato, circumstantias facti ejusq; veritatem ut antedictum est considerantes, tum vero quid Ecclesia in hujusmodi casibus & possit facere & sæpe numero antehac secerit perpentes, tenore præsentium declaramus & definimus, Majestatem Vestram prædicto Matrimonio prætenso, utpote nullo & invalido, non alligari, sed alio desuper judicio non expectato Ecclesiæ suæ Autoritate fretam posse arbitrio suo ad contrahend. & consummand. Matrimonium cum quavis scemina, divino jure vobiscum contrahere non prohibita, procedere, prætenso illo cum Domina Anna prædicta Matrimonio non obstante.

Similiter Dominam Annam prædictam non obstante Matrimonio prætenso cum Majestate Vestra, quod nullo pacto obstare debere Decernimus, posse arbitrio suo cum quavis alia persona divino jure non prohibita Matrimonium contrahere. Hæc Nos Clerum & doctam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ partem repræsentantes, tum vera, justa, honesta, & sancta esse Affirmamus, tum eidem qui perfectissime, integerrime, & efficacissime ad omnem intentionem, propositum & effectum à nobis exigi potest, Consentimus & Assentimur per præsentem. In quorum omnium & singulorum testimonium hæc scripta manuum nostrarum subscriptione, communimus, utriusq; etiam Archiepiscopi sigillo apposito. Dat. Westmon. nono die mensis Julii; Anno Dom. 1540.

## XX. Ann of Cleve's Letter to her Brother.

### BROTHER,

*Cotton Libr. Orho. C. 10.* **B**Ecause I had rather ye knew the Truth by mine Advertisement, than for want thereof ye should be deceived by vain Reports, I write these present Letters unto you, by which ye shall understand, That being advertised how the Nobles and Commons of this Realm desired the King's Highness here to commit the examination of the Matter of Marriage, between me and his Majesty, to the determination of the Clergy: I did the more willingly consent thereunto, and since the determination made, have also allowed, approved, and agreed unto the same, wherein I have more respect, as becometh me, to Truth and good Pleasure, than any worldly Affection that might move me to the contrary. I account God pleased with that is done, and know my self to have suffered no wrong or injury; but being my Body preserved in the integrity which I brought into this Realm, and I truly discharged from all band of Consent, I find the King's Highness, whom I cannot justly have as my Husband, to be nevertheless as a most kind, loving, and friendly Father and Brother, and to use me as honourably, and with as much Humanity and Liberality as you, I my self, or any of our Kin or Allies could wish or desire; wherein I am, for my own part, so well content and satisfied, that I much desire my Mother, You, and other mine Allies so to understand it, accept, and take it; and so to use your self towards this Noble and Vertuous Prince, as he may have cause to continue his friendship towards you, which on his behalf shall nothing be impaired or altered for this Matter; for so hath it pleased his Highness to signify unto me, that like as he will shew me always a most fatherly and brotherly kindness, and has so provided for me; so will he remain

remain with you, and other, according to such terms as have passed in the same knot of Amity which between you hath been concluded, this Matter notwithstanding, in such wise as neither I, ne you, or any of our Friends shall have just cause of Miscontentment. Thus much I have thought necessary to write unto you, lest for want of true knowledge ye might otherwise take this Matter than ye ought, and in other sort care for me than ye should have cause. Only I require this of you, That ye so use your self, as for your untowardness in this Matter, I fare not the worse; whereunto I trust you will have regard.

XXI. *The Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines, of some Que- Ex M. SS.  
stions concerning the Sacraments; by which it will appear with D. Stil-  
what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation, taken lingfleet.  
from the Originals, under their own hands. Only in copying them,  
I judged it might be more acceptable to the Reader to see every Man's  
Answer set down after every Question; and therefore they are pub-  
lished in this Method.*

### The first Question.

*What a Sacrament is by the Scripture?*

*Answers.*

**T**HE Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is, nevertheless where *Canter-*  
in the Latin Text we have *Sacramentum*, there in the Greek we *bury*.  
have *Mysterium*; and so by the Scripture, *Sacramentum* may be called  
*Mysterium, id est, res occulta sive arcana.*

To the first; In Scripture we neither find definition nor description *Tork.*  
of a Sacrament.

Without prejudice to the Truth, and saving always more better *London.*  
Judgment, *Cum facultate etiam melius deliberandi in hæc parte.*

To the first Question; I think that the Scriptures do use this word  
*Sacrament*, in divers places, according to the Matter it treateth upon,  
*Tobie 12. Rev. 1. Wisd. 2. 6, 12. Dan 2. Eph. 1. 3, 5. Col. 1. 1 Tim.*  
*10. Rev. 17.* as also it doth divers other words: Yet, what a *Sacra-*  
*ment* is by definition, or description of Scripture, I cannot find it expli-  
cated openly. Likewise as I cannot find the definition or description of  
the *Trinity*, nor yet such like things. Marry, what other Men can find,  
being daily and of long season exercised in Scripture, I cannot tell, re-  
ferring therefore this thing to their better knowledge.

I think that where this word *Sacramentum* is found in the Scripture in *Rochester.*  
the Latin Translation, there in the Greek is found this word *Μυστήριον*,  
that is to say, a Mystery, or a secret Thing.

What the word *Sacrament* betokeneth, or what is the definition, de- *Carlisle.*  
scription, or notification thereof, I have found no such plainly set out  
by

by Scripture. But this I find, that it should appear by the same Scripture, that the Latin word *Sacramentum*, and the Greek word *Mysterium*, be in manner always used for one thing; as much as to say as, *Abconditum, Occultatum, vel in occulto.*

- Dr. *Robertson.* *Thomas Robertson.* Ad Quæstiones.  
 Ad primam Respondeo, vocem Sacramenti, mihi in Sacris Literis non reperiri in hæc significatione, nisi quatenus ad Matrimonium applicatur à Paulo, ubi tamen Græce habetur *Mysterium*: & proinde ex meris Scripturis expresse definiri non posse.
- Dr. *Cox.* I find not in Scripture, the definition of a *Sacrament*, nor what a *Sacrament* is.
- Dr. *Day.* I find no definition in Scripture of this word *Sacramentum*, howbeit wheresoever it is found in Scripture, the same is in the Greek *Mysterium*, which signifieth a secret, or hid Thing.
- Dr. *Ogelthorpe.* Non habetur in Scripturis, quid *Sacramentum* proprie sit, nisi quod subinde *Mysterium* dicitur: varia enim, & in Scripturis, & in Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus reperitur ejus nominis significatio; idioque definiri non potest.
- Dr. *Redmayne.* I find no definition of this word *Sacrament* in the Scripture; nor likewise of this word *Gratia*, or *Lex*, with innumerable more; and yet what they signifie, it is known; so the signification of this word *Sacrament* is plain, it is nothing else but a secret hid Thing, or any Mystery.
- Dr. *Edgworth.* Like as *Angelus, Cælum, Terra*, be spoken of in Scripture, yet none of them defined: so altho' *Sacramentum* be spoken of in Scripture, yet it hath no definition there, but is taken divers ways, and in divers Significations.
- Dr. *Symmons.* This word *Sacrament* in Scripture is not defined.
- Dr. *Tresham.* I say this word *Sacrament*, taken in his common signification, betokeneth a Mystery, and hid, or a secret thing: But if ye understand it in his proper signification, as we use to apply it only to the seven Sacraments, the Scripture sheweth not what a *Sacrament* is. And yet lest any man might be offended, thinking, that because the Scripture sheweth not what a *Sacrament* is, therefore the same is a light thing, or little to be esteemed: Here may be remembred, that there are some weighty and goodly things, being also of our Belief, which the Scripture sheweth not expressly what they are. As for Example; We believe the Son is consubstantial to the Father: *Item*; that the Father is unbegotten, yet the Scripture sheweth not what is consubstantial, nor what is unbegotten, neither maketh any mention of the words. Likewise it is true, Baptism is a *Sacrament*, Penance is a *Sacrament*, &c. yet the Scripture sheweth not what a *Sacrament* is.

*Edwardus Leyghon.*

Responſions unto the Questions.

To the firſt Question, I ſay ; That in Holy Scripture I never found, *Dr.*  
and I think there is no Man that will find a Definition or Deſcription *Leyghon.*  
of this word *Sacramentum* ; which is as much to ſay in Engliſh, as a  
Myſtery, a Secret, or a hid thing.

I do read no Definition of this word *Sacramentum* in Scripture ; but *Dr. Coren.*  
ſometimes it is uſed in Scripture, to ſignify a thing ſecret or hid.

In primo articulo conveniunt omnes, non fatiſ conſtare ex Scriptura, *Conveni-*  
quid ſit *Sacramentum* ; Pleriq; tamen dicunt Græce appellari, *Myſteri-*  
um, (i. e.) a Secret or a hid Thing.

In the Anſwer unto the firſt Question, They do all agree, that it is *Agreement.*  
not evident by Scripture, what a *Sacrament* is, but *Myſterium*, that is,  
a ſecret, or a hid Thing.

## 2. Question.

*What a Sacrament is by the Ancient Authors ?*

*Answers.*

**T**HE Ancient Doctors call a Sacrament, *Sacra rei ſignum, viz. viſi-* *Canterbury*  
*bile Verbum, Symbolum, atque pactio qua ſumus conſtricti.*

To the ſecond ; Of *St. Auguſtine's* words, this Deſcription following *York.*  
of a *Sacrament* may be gathered ; *Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis gratiæ, viſi-*  
*bilis Forma.* And this Thing, that is ſuch viſible Form or Sign of invi-  
ſible Grace in Sacraments, we find in Scripture, altho' we find not the  
word *Sacrament*, ſaving only in the Sacrament of Matrimony.

To the ſecond ; I find in Authors this Declaration, *Sacramentum eſt* *London.*  
*Sacra rei ſignum.* Also, *Inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma.* Also, *Viſibilis*  
*Forma inviſibilis Gratiæ imaginem gerens & cauſa exiſtens.* And of the  
Verity and Goodneſs of this Deſcription or Declaration, I refer me to  
the Divines, better acquainted with this Matter than I am.

I think that this word *Sacrament*, as it is taken of the Old Authors, *Rochester.*  
hath divers and ſundry Significations, for ſometimes it is extended to all  
holy Signs, ſometimes to all Myſteries, ſometimes to all Allegories, &c.

*Thomas Waldenſis*, who writeth a ſolemn Work *de Sacramentis*, cauſeth *Carlile.*  
me to ſay, that this word, *Sacramentum in communi*, is defined of the  
ancient Authors ; who after that he had ſhewed how that *Wycliff*, and  
before him *Berengarius* hath ſaid, that *Auguſtine* defineth *Sacramentum*  
thus : *Sacramentum eſt ſacrum ſignum* ; and *Signum* in this wiſe, *Signum*  
*eſt res præter ſpeciem quam ſenſibus ingerit aliquid aliud ex ſe faciens in*  
*cogitationem venire.* He himſelf, with ancient Authors, as he ſaith,  
defineth it thus ; *Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma, vel,*

*Sacramentum est Sacræ rei Signum*: Both these Descriptions (saith he) be of the Ancient Fathers.

Dr. *Robertson*. *Sacramentum* a vetustioribus, quemadmodum fert Hugo de S. Victore, & Thomas Aquinas, nondum reperiri definitum, nisi quod Augustinus, interdum vocet Sacramenta, Sacra signa aut signacula, interdum similitudines earum rerum, quarum sunt Sacramenta. Et Rabanus, Sacramentum dicitur, quod sub tegumento rerum corporalium, virtus Divina secretius salutem eorumdem Sacramentorum operatur, unde & a secretis virtutibus vel Sacris Sacramenta dicuntur.

Dr. *Cox*. The Ancient Authors commonly say, That a Sacrament is, *Sacræ rei Signum*, or *Sacro sanctum Signaculum*; but they do not utterly and properly define what it is.

Dr. *Day*. The Ancient Doctors take this word, *Sacramentum*, diversly, and apply it to many Things.

Dr. *Oglethorp*. Ex Augustino & aliis colligitur, Sacramentum posse dici, Sacræ rei Signum, vel, invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, quanquam hæc posterior definitio non conveniat omnibus Sacramentis, scil. tantum septem istis usitatis; sed nec his quoq; ex æquo, cum non æqualem conferant gratiam.

Dr. *Redm. syn.* Generally it is taken to signify every secret Mystery, and *Sacramenta* be called, *Sacrarum, rerum signa*, or, *Sacra signacula*: And as this word *Sacrament* particularly is attributed to the chief Sacraments of the Church, this Definition of a Sacrament may be gathered of St. *August.* *Invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma*. And also that a Sacrament is a mystical or secret Work which consisteth *ex Verbo & elemento*. And *Cyprian* saith, *Verborum solemnitas & Sacri invocatio nominis, & signa institutionibus Apostolicis Sacerdotum Ministeriis attributa, visibile celebrant Sacramentum, rem vero ipsam Spiritus Sanctus format & efficit*.

Dr. *Edgeworth*. By the Ancient Authors, *Sacramentum* hath many significations, sometimes it is called a secret Counsel. *Tob. 12. Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est. Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* was called *Sacramentum*, *Dan. 2.* The Mystery of Christ's Incarnation, and of our Redemption is so called, *Ephes. 3.* and *1 Tim. 3.* so that every secret Thing having some privy Sense or Signification, is called *Sacramentum*, generally extending the Vocabule: Notwithstanding in one Signification, *Sacramentum*, accordeth properly to them that be commonly called the *Seven Sacraments*; and hath this Definition taken of St. *August.* and others, *Invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, ut ipse imaginem gerat & quodammodo causa existat*.

Dr. *Symmons*. The Ancient Authors of Divinity use this word *Sacrament* in divers Significations, for they call it *Mysterium*; and so the Scripture useth it in many places, as *1 Tim. 3. Tobie 12. Wisd. 2. Dan. 2. Eph. 1. & 3.* The word *Sacrament* is also used for a Figure or a Sign of the Old Testament, signifying *Christ*, as the *Paschal Lamb*, and the *Brazen Serpent*, and divers other Holy Signs. It is also taken of the Holy Authors, to be an Holy sign, which maketh to the sanctification of the Soul, given to God against Sin for our Salvation, as it may be gathered of them; for



for this word *Sacrament* is called by them *Sacrum Signum*; but I have not read any exprefs Definition common to all Sacraments.

This word *Sacrament*, in the ancient Authors, is oft-times used in this general Signification, and so (as it is before said) it is a Mystery, or secret Thing; and sometimes the same word is used as applicable only unto the seven Sacraments; and is thus described, A visible Form of an invisible Grace; and thus also, a thing by the which, under the covering of visible Things, the godly Power doth work our Health. Dr. Tresham.

To the second I say; That *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, is one of the most Ancient Authors that I ever could perceive, took upon him to define or describe a *Sacrament*: Howbeit, I suppose, that this common Description which the Schoolmen use, after the Master of the Sentences, viz. *Sacramentum est invisibilis Gratiae visibilis seu sensibilis Forma*, may be gathered of St. *Austin*, and divers other ancient Authors Words, in many places of their Works. Dr. Leyghton.

I do find no Definition plainly set forth in Old Authors; notwithstanding this Definition, *Invisibilis Gratiae visibilis Forma*, may be gathered out of St. *Augustine*. Dr. Coren.

In secundo Articulo conveniunt omnes, *Sacramentum esse sacrae rei signum*. Tresham, Oglethorpus, & Edgworth, dicunt hanc definitionem, *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis Forma*, his septem convenire. Thurlebeus ait, non convenire omnibus septem, & aequè pluribus posse attribui atque septem. Con.

In the second they put many Descriptions of a *Sacrament*, as the sign of a holy Thing, a visible Word, &c. But upon this one definition, a *Sacrament* is a visible Form of invisible Grace, they do not all agree: For Doctors, Edgworth, Tresham, and Oglethorp say, That it is applicable only, and properly unto the word *Sacrament*, as it signifieth the seven Sacraments usually received. My Lord Elect of *Westminster* saith, That it agreeth not unto all the Seven, nor yet more specially unto the Seven, than unto any other. Agreem.

### 3. Question.

*How many Sacraments there be by the Scripture?*

*Answers.*

**T**He Scripture sheweth not how many Sacraments there be, but *In-carnatio Christi* and *Matrimonium*, be called in the Scripture *Mysteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *Sacramenta*. But one *Sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is, *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, or *Mysterium Meretricis magna & Bestæ*. Canterbury

To the third; In Scripture we find no precise number of Sacraments. York.

To the third; I find not set forth the exprefs number, with exprefs London.

Declaration of this many and no more ; nor yet of these expressly by Scripture which we use, especially under the name of *Sacraments*, saving only of Matrimony.

*Rochester.* I think that in the Scripture be innumerable Sacraments, for all Mysteries, all Ceremonies, all the Facts of Christ, the whole story of the *Jews*, and the Revelations of the *Apocalypse*, may be named Sacraments.

*Carlile.* The certain number of Sacraments, or Mysteries, contained within Scripture, cannot be well expressed or assigned ; for Scripture containeth more than infallibly may be rehearsed.

*Dr. Robertson.* De istis septem, quæ usitate vocamus Sacramenta, nullum invenio nomine Sacramenti appellari, nisi Matrimonium. Matrimonium esse Sacramentum, probat Eckius, Homi 73. & conferre gratiam, ibid.

*Dr. Cox.* There be divers Sacraments by the Scripture, as in *Tobie 12. Sacramentum Regis*, the King's secret. Also *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream, Dan. 2.* is called, *Sacramentum. Incarnatio Christi, Sacramentum, Ephes. 3. Matrimonium, Sacramentum.*

*Dr. Day.* Taking for Sacraments any thing, that this word, *Sacramentum*, doth signify, there be in Scripture, a great number of Sacraments more than seven.

*Dr. Oglesherpe.* Non habetur determinatus Sacramentorum numerus in Scripturis, sunt enim innumera fere illic, quæ passim vocantur Sacramenta ; cum omnis allegoria, omneq ; Mysterium, dicatur Sacramentum. Quin & somnia, ac secreta, subinde Sacramenta vocantur. *Tobie 2. Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est ; & Dan. 2. Imploremus misericordias Dei Cœli super Sacramento isto, & somnio. Paulus etiam Epist. 2. vocat Mysterium Incarnationis Christi Sacramentum : Et in Apoc. 1. vocat Sacramentum septem Stellarum. Ac hoc præcipue observandum venit, nullum a septem Sacramentis, receptis hoc nomine appellari, prætor solum Matrimonium.*

*Dr. Redmayn.* As many as there be Mysteries, which be innumerable ; but by Scripture, I think, the seven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the name.

*Dr. Edgworth.* Speaking of Sacraments generally, they be innumerable spoken of in Scripture ; but properly to speak of Sacraments, there be but seven that may be so called, of which Matrimony is expressly called *Sacramentum*, *Ephes. 5.* and as I think, in the Germane and proper signification of a Sacrament ; so that the indivisible knot of the Man and his wife in one Body, by the Sacrament of Matrimony, is the matter of this Sacrament ; upon which, as on the literal Verity the Apostle foundeth this allegorical saying, *Ego autem dico in Christo, & in Ecclesia* ; for the mystical sense pre-supposeth a verity in the Letter on which that is taken. Six more there be to which the Definition doth agree, as manifestly doth appear by the Scriptures, with the exposition of the ancient Authors.

*Dr. Symmons.* In the Scripture there is no certain number of Sacraments.

I find

I find no more of the seven, called exprelly Sacraments, but only Dr. Matrimony, but extending the name of Sacrament in his most general *Tresham.* Acceptation; there are in Scripture a great number of Sacraments, whereof the Apostle saith, *Si noverint Myſteria omnia, &c.*

To the third; I ſay, that I find not in Scripture any of theſe ſeven Dr. which we commonly call Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*, but only *Leyghon.* *Matrimonium*. But I find divers and many other things called Sacraments in Scripture, as in the 12 of *Tobie*, *Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt.* Item *Apoc. 17. Dicamus tibi Sacramentum.* Item, 1 *Tim. 3. Magnum eſt pietatis Sacramentum. &c.*

I cannot tell how many Sacraments be by Scripture, for they be above Dr. *Corei.* one hundred.

*In tertio conveniunt ſatis: non eſſe certum numerum Sacramentorum per Con. Scripturas. Redmaynus addit,* But by Scripture I think the ſeven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the Name. *Idem ſentit Edgworth, & ſeptem tantum. Matrimonium in Scripturis haberi ſub nomine ſacramenti pleriq; dicunt.*

In the third they do agree, That there is no certain number of Sa- *Agreem.* craments by Scripture, but even as many as there be Myſteries; and none of theſe ſeven called Sacraments, but only Matrimony in Scripture.

#### 4. Queſtion.

*How many Sacraments there be by the ancient Authors?*

*Answers.*

**B**Y the Ancient Authors there be many Sacraments more than ſeven, *Canterbury* for all the Figures which ſignify Chriſt to come, or teſtify that he is come, be called Sacraments, as all the Figures of the Old Law, and in the New Law; *Euchariftia, Baptiſmus, Paſcha, Dies Dominicus, lotio Pedum, ſignum Crucis, Chriſma, Matrimoniam, Ordo, Sabbatum, Impoſitio manuum, Oleum, Conſecratio Olei, Lac, Mel, Aqua, Vinum, Sal, Ignis, Cinis, adapertio Aurium, veſtis candida,* and all the Parables of Chriſt, with the Propheſies of the *Apocalyps*, and ſuch others, be called by the Docters, *Sacramenta.*

To the fourth; There is no preciſe number of Sacraments mentioned *York.* by the Ancient Authors, taking the word *Sarament*, in his moſt general ſignification.

To the fourth; I find that St. *Auſtine* ſpeaketh, *de Baptiſmo, de Eucha- London.* *riſtia, de Matrimonio, de Ordinatione Clericorum, de Sacramento chriſmatis & Unctionis*: Alſo I find in the ſaid St. *Auſtine*, that in the Old Law there were many Sacraments, and in the New Law few.

I think that in the Docters be found many more Sacraments than ſeven, *Rochester.* *viz. Panis Catechumenorum, ſignum Crucis, Oleum, Lac, Sal, Mel, &c.*

That

*Carlike.* That Scripture containeth, by the same Holy Ghost which is Author thereof, the Holy Doctors, and Ancient Fathers expoundeth; So that where in Scripture the number of Sacraments is uncertain, it cannot be among them certain.

*Dr. Robertson.* Apud Augustinum lego Sacramentum Nuptiarum, Sacramentum Baptismi, Sacramentum Eucharistiæ, quod & altaris sive panis vocat; Sacramentum Ordinationis; Sacramentum Chriftmatis, quod datur per manus impositionem Baptizatis; Sacramentum Unctionis.

*Dr. Cox.* I find in the Ancient Authors, that *Baptism* is called *Sacramentum*, *Eucharistia Sacramentum*, *Matrimonium Sacramentum*, *Ordo Sacramentum*, *Christma Sacramentum*, *Impositio Manuum per Baptismum Sacramentum*, *Dilectio Sacramentum*, *Lotio pedum Sacramentum*, *Oleum*, *Mel*, *Lac*, *Sacramenta*; and many others.

*Dr. Day.* There be a great sort of Sacraments found in the Doctors, after the Acception above-said, more than seven.

*Dr. Ogleshorpe.* Apud Scriptores Ecclesiasticos reperiuntur multo plura Sacramenta quam hæc septem.

*Dr. Redmayn.* Taking this word Sacrament universally for Mysteries, or all secret Tokens, there be more Sacraments than can be reckoned; but the seven by old Authors may specially obtain the name. *Lotio pedum* is spoken of in old Authors as a special Sacrament used then in the Church, and as it appeareth, having a great ground in the Scripture; and I think it were better to renew that again, and so to have eight Sacraments, rather than to diminish the number of the seven now used.

*Dr. Edgworth.* Even like as to the next Question before.

*Dr. Symmons.* The ancient Authors acknowledg many more than seven; for they call in their Writings, all Rites and Ceremonies, Sacraments.

*Dr. Tresham.* Generally, as many as Mysteries, specially seven, and no more of like nature to them; for although I find not express mention were Penance is called a Sacrament, yet I think it may be deduced and proved by *Cyprian* in his Sermon *de passione Christi*, in these words; *Deniq; quicunq; sunt Sacramentorum Ministri, per operationem autoritas in figura Crucis omnibus Sacramentis largitur effectum, & cuncta peragit nobis quod omnibus nominibus eminet a Sacramentorum vicariis invocatum; at licet indigni sint qui accipiunt, Sacramentorum tamen reverentia & propinquiorem ad Deum parat accessum, & ubi redierint ad cor constat ablutionis donum, & reddit effectus munerum, nec alias queri aut repeti necesse est salutiferum Sacramentum*; in these words, *redit effectus munerum*; and *nec alias repeti necesse est salutiferum Sacramentum*, must needs be understood Penance, and also that Penance is a Sacrament: For as our first access to God is by the Sacrament *Baptism*, which *Cyprian* there following called *Ablutionem primam*; so if we fall by deadly sin, we cannot *repetere* God again, but by Penance; which *repeting* (*i. e.*) Penance, *Cyprian* calleth *Salutiferum Sacramentum*.

*Dr. Leyghon.* To the fourth, I say; That I find in ancienter Authors every one of these

these seven, which we call commonly Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*; as in *Austin* every one of them is called *Sacramentum* but only Penance; which *Cyprian* calleth *Sacramentum*. Also I find in the ancienter Authors divers other things ( besides the seven ) called Sacraments, as *Lotio Pedum* in *Cyprian*, &c.

More Sacraments be found in old Authors than Seven.

Dr. *Coxe*.

*In quarto conveniunt, plura esse Sacramenta quam septem apud Authores: Con. Redman* addit; But the seven, by old Authors, may specially obtain the name. *Idem putat Edgworth, and Tresbam. Lotio Pedum*, he thinketh were better to be renewed, and so made eight Sacraments, than the number of the seven to be diminished. *Tresbamus citat Cyprianum in Serm. de Passione Christi pro penitentia, quod dicatur Sacramentum, cum alii fere omnes nusquam appellari aiunt Sacramentum apud Authores, & hic locus aperte agit de Baptismo, quod vocat donum ablutionis, & Sacramentum Salutiferum.*

In the fourth they agree, That there is no determinate number of Sacraments spoken of in the old Authors; but that my Lord of *York*, and *Edgworth, Tresbam, Redmayn Crayford, and Simmons*, say, That those seven by old Authors, may specially obtain the name of Sacraments. The Bishop of *St Davids* saith, That there be but four Sacraments in the old Doctors most chiefly spoken of, and they be *Baptism*, the Sacrament of the *Altar, Matrimony* and *Penance*. Agreem.

### 5. Question.

*Whether this word Sacrament, be and ought to be attributed to the seven only? And whether the seven Sacraments be found in any of the old Authors?*

*Answers.*

**I** Know no cause why this word *Sacrament* should be attributed to the *Canterbury* seven only; for the old Authors never prescribed any certain number of Sacraments, nor in all their Books I never read these two words joyned together, *viz. septem Sacramenta*.

To the fifth; To the first part of this Question, this word *Sacra-* *York.*  
*ment* is used and applied in Scripture, to some things that be none of the seven Sacraments. To the second part: The seven Sacraments be found in some of the ancient Authors.

To the fifth, I answer; That this word *Sacrament* in our Language *London.*  
commonly hath been attributed to the seven customably called Sacraments, not for that yet, that the word *Sacrament* cannot be applied to any more, but for that the seven have been specially of very long and ancient season received, continued and taken for things of such sort.

I think that the name of a Sacrament is, and may be attributed to *Rochester.*  
more than seven, and that all the seven Sacraments be found in the old Authors, tho' all peradventure be not found in one Author, But I have not read Penance called by the name of a Sacrament in any of them.

Certain

*Carlile.* Certain it is, that this word Sacrament neither is nor ought to be attributed to seven only, for both Scripture and ancient Authors otherwise applieth it; but yet nothing letteth, but that this Word Sacrament may most especially, and in a certain due Preheminence, be applied to the seven Sacraments, of most ancient name and usage among Christian Men. And that the ancient Authors have so used and applied it, affirmeth the said *Thomas Walden*, convincing *Wycliffe* and *Berengarius*, who enforced the contrary; from *Cyprian*, and also *Augustin*, with other holy Doctors, they may so well be gathered.

*Dr. Robertson.* Vocabulum, Sacramenti, in Sacris Literis, nulli Sacramentorum quod sciam tribuitur, nisi Matrimonio: a vetustis Scriptoribus tribuitur Ceremoniis & umbris legis, Incarnationi Christi, figuris, allegoriis, & festiuitatibus: Apud Paulum legitur divinitatis, voluntatis divinæ, & pietatis Sacramentum. Cæterum loquendo de Sacramentis his, quæ sunt invisibilis gratiæ collatæ in Ecclesia Christi visibilia signa, opinor non plura quam septem inveniri, hisq; magis proprie quam reliquis, sub hac ratione, tribui nomen Sacramenti.

*Dr. Cox.* This word Sacrament is not, nor ought not to be attributed to these seven only. Those that we call seven Sacraments, be found in old Authors, altho' some of them be seldom found called by this name Sacrament.

*Dr. Day.* This word, *Sacramentum*, neither is, nor ought to be so attributed unto these seven, but that it is, and may be attributed to many more things, and so the Ancienter Doctors use it. The seven Sacraments be found in ancient Doctors under the name of Sacrament, saving that I remember not that I have read in them *Penance* called a Sacrament.

*Dr. Ogletorp.* Nomen commune est multis aliis rebus, quam septem istis usitatis Sacramentis. Septem Sacramenta, seorsim & sparsim reperiuntur in veterum monumentis.

*Dr. Reamyn.* To the seven specially and principally, and in general to innumerable more. But I cannot tell whether in any Old Author might be found these two words, *seven Sacraments*, or this number limited; but every one of the seven Sacraments, one by one, be found in the Old Authors.

*Dr. Edzworth.* *Sacramentum*, in his proper signification, is and ought to be attributed to the seven only; and they be all seven found in the Authors.

*Dr. Symmons.* This word, Sacrament, is not only to be attributed to the seven, but that the seven Sacraments especially conferreth Grace, the Old Authors especially accounteth them by the number of seven; and these seven are found in Authors and Scriptures, altho' they be not found by the name of *seven*.

*Dr. Tresham.* I say, this word Sacrament is attributed to the seven; and that the seven Sacraments are found in the ancient Authors.

*Dr. Leyghton.* To the fifth I say, first, (as before) that this word *Sacramentum*, is not applied or attributed in Holy Scripture to any of the seven, but only to *Matrimony*. But it is attributed in Scripture, and ancient Authors to many

many other things besides these. Howbeit, taking this word, *Sacramentum*, for a sensible sign of the invisible Grace of God given unto Christian People, as the Schoolmen, and many late Writers take it; I think that the seven commonly called Sacraments, are to be called only and most properly Sacraments.

This word Sacrament, may well be attributed to the seven; and so it Dr. *Coren.* is found in Old Authors, saying that I do not read expressly in old Doctors, *Penance* to be under the name of a Sacrament, unless it be in *Chryostome*, in the Exposition *ad Hebræ. Homil. 20. sect. 1. cap. 10. in principio.*

Inquinto præter Herfordens. Roffens. Dayium Oglethorpum, Mene-  
vens. & Coxum putant omnes nomen Sacramenti præcipue his sep- *Non. Con.*  
tem convenire. Symons addit. *The seven Sacraments specially confer*  
*Grace*: Eboracens. Curren, Tresham, Symons, aiunt septem Sacra-  
menta inveniri apud veteres, quanquam Curren & Symons mox  
videntur iterum negare.

In the fifth; The Bishops of *Hereford* and *St. Davids*, Dr. *Day*, Dr. *Dissent.*  
*Cox*, say, That this word, Sacrament, in the Old Authors, is not attri-  
buted unto the seven only, and ought not to be attributed. The Bishop  
of *Carlisle* alledging *Waldensis*. Doctors, *Curren*, *Edgworth*, *Symmons*, *Tre-*  
*sham*, say, That it is and may be attributed, And Dr. *Curren*, and Mr.  
*Symmons*, seem to vary against themselves each in their own Answers;  
for Dr. *Curren* saith, That this word *Sacrament* is attributed unto the  
seven in the old Doctors, and yet he cannot find that it is attributed unto  
*Penance*. Dr. *Symmons* saith, That the Old Authors account them by the  
number of seven; and yet he saith, That they be not found there by  
the name of *seven*.

## 2. Question.

*Whether the determinate number of seven Sacraments be a*  
*Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old Authors,*  
*and so to be taught?*

*Answers.*

**T**He determinate number of seven Sacraments is no Doctrine of the *Canterbury*  
Scripture, nor of the Old Authors.

To the sixth; The Scripture maketh no Mention of the Sacraments *York.*  
determined to seven precisely; but the Scripture maketh Mention of  
seven Sacraments, which be used in Christ's Church, and grounded  
partly in Scripture; and no more be in use of the said Church but seven  
so grounded; and some of the ancient Doctors make mention of seven,  
and of no more than seven, as used in Christ's Church so grounded;  
wherefore a Doctrine may be had of seven Sacraments precisely used  
in Christ's Church, and grounded in Scripture.

To the sixth; I think it be a Doctrine set forth by the ancient Fathers, *London.*  
one from another, taking their matter and ground out of Scripture, as  
they understood it; tho' Scripture, for all that, doth not give unto all

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the seven, the special names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the name of Sacrament, except only (as is before-said) the Sacrament of *Matrimony*.

*Rochester.* Albeit the seven Sacraments be in effect found both in the Scripture, and in the Old Authors, and may therefore be so taught; yet I have not read this precise and determinate number of seven Sacraments, neither in the Scripture, nor in the ancient Writers.

*Carlisle.* By what is here before-said, I think it doth well appear, that both the Scripture of God, and holy Expositors of the same, would have the seven Sacraments both taught, and in due Form exhibited to all Christian People, as it shall also better appear by what followeth.

*Dr. Robertson.* In Scriptura tantum unum ex istis septem Sacramentum vocari invenio, nimirum Matrimonium: Apud veteres reperiuntur omnia hæc septem, a nullo tamen, quod sciam, nomine 7. Sacramentorum celebrari, nisi quod Eras. ait 7. a veteribus recenseri: August. loquens de Sacramentis ad Januarium Ep. 118. ait numerum septenarium tribui Ecclesiæ proprie instar universitatis; Item objectum fuisse Husso in Concilio Constantienti quod infideliter senserit de 7. Sacramentis. De perfectione Num Septenarii, vide August. lib. 1. de Civ. cap. 31.

*Dr. Cox.* This determinate number of seven Sacraments, is no Doctrine of Scripture, nor of the Old Authors, nor ought not to be taught as such a determinate number by Scripture and Old Authors.

*Dr. Day.* Neither the Scripture, nor the ancient Authors, do recite the determinate number of the seven Sacraments; but the Doctrine of the seven Sacraments is grounded in Scripture, and taught by the ancient Authors, albeit not altogether.

*Dr. Oglethorpe.* Septenarius Sacramentorum numerus, Doctrina est recentium Theologorum; quam illi partim ex Scriptura, partim ex veterum scriptis, argute in sacrum hunc (ut aiunt) numerum, collegerunt.

*Dr. Redmayn.* I think, as I find by old Authors, the ancient Church used all these seven Sacraments; and so I think it good to be taught.

*Dr. Edgworth.* The determinate number of seven Sacraments, is not taught in any one Process of the Scripture, nor of any one of the old Authors of purpose speaking of them altogether, or in one Process, as far as I can remember; albeit they all seven be there, and there spoken of in Scripture manifestly, and so have the old Authors left them in sundry places of their Writings; and so it ought to be taught.

*Dr. Symmons.* Forasmuch as the Scripture teacheth these seven, and sheweth special Graces given by the same, the which are not so given by others, called *Sacraments*, the old Authors perceiving the special Graces, have accounted them in a certain number, and so have been used by Doctors to be called *seven*, and without Inconvenience may so be taught.

*Dr. Tresham.* I say, The determinate number of seven is not expressly mentioned in the



the Scripture, like as the determinate number of the seven Petitions of the Prayer is not expressly mentioned; and as I think the seven Petitions to have their ground in Scripture, even so do I think of the seven Sacraments, to be grounded in Scripture.

To the sixth, I say as before, That the old Authors call each of these seven, Sacraments; but be it, I cannot remember that ever I read the determinate, precise, and express number of seven Sacraments in any of the ancient Authors, nor in Scripture. Howbeit we may find in Scripture, and the old Authors, also mention made, and the Doctrine of each of these seven, commonly called *Sacraments*. Dr. Leygh-ton.

The determinate number of seven, is a Doctrine to be taught for every one of them be contained in Scripture, tho' they have not the number of seven set forth there, no more than the Petitions of the *Pater Noster* be called seven, nor the Articles of the *Creed* be called twelve. Dr. Corcu.

Priori parti Quæstionis negative Respondent. Herfordens. Menevens. Roffens. Dayus, Dunelmens. Oglethorpus, Thurleby: Posteriori parti, quod sit Doctrina conveniens respondet affirmative Eboracen. Roffen. Carliolen. Londinen. Dayus Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Curren: Londinen. & Redmanus non respondent priori parti Quæstionis, nec Oglethorpus, Tresham, Robinsonus Posteriori. Eboracen. Londin. Symmons, Curren, volente Scripturis peti Doctrinam septem Sacramentorum. Con.

In the sixth, touching the determinate number of the seven Sacraments, the Bishop of *Duresme*, *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, and *Rochester*, the Elect of *Westminster*, *Dr. Day*, and *Dr. Oglethorpe* say, *This prescribed number of Sacraments is not found in the old Authors*. The Bishop of *York*, *Drs. Curren*, *Tresham*, and *Symmons*, say the contrary. Concerning the second part, Whether it be a Doctrine to be taught? The Bishops of *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, and *Dr. Cox*. *Think it ought not to be so taught as such a determinate number by Scripture*. The Bishops of *York*, *London*, *Carlisle*; *Drs. Day*, *Curren*, *Tresham*, *Symmons*, *Crayford*, *Think it a Doctrine meet to be taught*: And some of them say, *That it is founded on Scripture*. Agreem.

## 7. Question.

*What is found in Scripture of the Matter, Nature, Effect, and Vertue of such as we call the seven Sacraments; so as altho' the Name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of?*

*Answers.*

I Find not in the Scripture, the Matter, Nature, and Effect of all these which we call the seven Sacraments, but only of certain of them, as of *Baptism*, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the Blood of Christ: Of *Eucharistia*, in which we be concorporated unto Christ, and made lively Members of his Body, nourished and fed to the Everlasting Life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to

us rather Death than Life. Of *Penance* also I find in the Scripture, whereby Sinners after Baptism returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto God's Favour and Mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of *Penance*, as we call it a Sacrament, consisting in three parts, *Contrition*, *Confession*, and *Satisfaction*; but the Scripture taketh *Penance* for a pure Conversion of a Sinner in Heart and Mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private Confession of all deadly Sins to a Priest, nor of Ecclesiastical Satisfaction to be enjoined by him. Of *Matrimony* also I find very much in Scripture, and among other things, that it is a Mean whereby God doth use the Infirmity of our Concupiscence to the setting forth of his Glory, and encrease of the World, thereby sanctifying the Act of Carnal Commixion between the Man and the Wife to that use; yea, altho' one Party be an Infidel: And in this, *Matrimony* is also a promise of Salvation, if the Parents bring up their Children in the Faith, Love, and Fear of God. Of the Matter, Nature and Effect of the other three, that is to say, *Confirmation*, *Order*, and extream *Unction*, I read nothing in the Scripture, as they be taken for Sacraments.

York.

To the seventh; Of *Baptism*, we find in Scripture the Institution by the Word of Christ; we find also that the Matter of *Baptism* is Water, the Effect and Vertue is Remission of Sins. Of *Confirmation*, we find that the Apostles did Confirm those that were Baptized, by laying their Hands upon them; and that the Effect then was the coming of the Holy Ghost into them, upon whom the Apostles laid their Hands, in a visible sign of the gift of divers Languages, and therewith of ghostly strength to confess Christ, following upon the same. Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, we find the Institution by Christ, and the Matter thereof Bread and Wine, the Effect, Increase of Grace. Of the Sacrament of *Penance*, we find the Institution in the Gospel, the Effect, Reconciliation of the Sinner, and the Union of him to the Mystical Body of Christ. Of the Sacrament of *Matrimony*, we find the Institution both in the Old and New Testament, and the Effect thereof, Remedy against Concupiscence and Discharge of sin, which otherwise should be in the Office of Generation. Of the Sacrament of *Order*, we find that our Saviour gave to his Apostles power to Baptize, to Bind and to Loose sinners, to Remit sins, and to Retain them, to Teach and Preach his Word, and to Consecrate his most precious Body and Blood, which be the highest Offices of Order; and the effect thereof Grace, we find in Scripture. Of extream *Unction*, we find in the Epistle of the Holy Apostle St. James, and of the Effects of the same.

London.

To the seventh, I find that St. *Austin* is of this sentence, That where the Sacraments of the Old Law did promise Grace and Comfort, the Sacraments of the New Law do give it indeed. And moreover he saith, That the Sacraments of the New Law are, factu faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, & feliciora, more easter, more fewer, more wholsomer, and more happy.

Rochester.

The Scripture teacheth of *Baptism*, the Sacrament of the *Altar*, *Matrimony* and *Penance* manifestly: There be also in the Scripture manifest Examples of *Confirmation*, viz. That it was done after Baptism by the Apostles, per *Manuum Impositionem*. The Scripture teacheth also of *Order*, that it was done, per *manuum Impositionem cum oratione & jejuniis*. Of the *Unction* of sick Men, the Epistle of St. James teacheth manifestly.

I think

I think verily, That of the Substance, Effect, and Vertue of these *Sacraments*, seven usual Sacraments, that are to be taken and esteemed above others, we have plainly and expressly by Holy Scripture. Of *Baptism*, That who-soever believeth in Christ, and is Christened, shall be saved; and except that one be born again of Water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot come within the Kingdom of God. Of *Matrimony*, we have in Scripture, both by name, and in effect, in the Old and New Testament, both by Christ and his Apostle *Paul*. Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, I find plainly, expressly, both in the Holy Gospels, and other places of Scripture. Of *Penance* in like manner. Of *Confirmation* we have in Scripture, that when the *Samaritans*, by the Preaching of *Philip*, had received the Word of God, and were Christened, the Apostles hearing of the same, sent *Peter* and *John* unto them; who when they came thither, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost: Then they laid their Hands upon them, and so they received the Holy Ghost; *This*, said *Bede*, is the Office and Duty only of Bishops. And this manner and form, (saith St. *Hierom*) as it is written in the Acts, the Church hath kept, That the Bishop should go abroad to call for the Grace of the Holy Ghost, and lay his Hands upon them, who had been Christened by Priests and Deacons. Of the Sacrament of Orders, we have, That Christ made his Apostles the Teachers of the Law, and Ministers of his Sacraments, that they should duly do it, and Make and Ordain others likewise to do it after them. And so the Apostles Ordained *Matthias* to be one of their number. St. *Paul* Made and Ordained *Timothy* and *Titus*, with others likewise. Of the Sacrament of *Extream Unction*, we have manifestly in the Gospel of *Mark*, and Epistle of St. *James*.

Materia Sacramentorum est Verbum & Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa digne sumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta suam promissionem, nimirum quod sint Sacra Signacula, non tantum signantia, sed etiam sanctificantia. Unde opinor constari hanc Sacramentorum vim esse in Sacris Literis. Dr. Robertson.

I find in Scripture, of such Things as we use to call *Sacraments*. First, *Dr. Cox*. Of *Baptism* manifestly. Of *Eucharistia* manifestly. Of *Penance* manifestly. Of *Matrimony* manifestly. Of *Ordering*, per manus Impositionem & Orationem manifestly. It is also manifest, that the Apostles laid their Hands upon them that were Christened. Of the *Unction* of the sick with Prayer manifestly.

Albeit the seven Sacraments be not found in Scripture expressed by name, yet the thing it self, that is, the Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue of them is found there. Of *Baptism* in divers places; of the most Holy Communion; of *Matrimony*; of *Absolution*; of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, how they were Ordained per Manuum Impositionem cum Oratione; Of laying the Apostles Hands on them that were Christened, which is a part of *Confirmation*; of *Unction* of them that were sick, with Prayer joined withal. Dr. Day.

Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuscujusq; Sacramenti proprietas, seorsim in Scriptura reperitur, ut veteras eam interpretati sunt. Dr. Ogleshorpe.

As it appeareth in the Articles which be drawn of the said seven Sacraments. Dr. Redmayn.

In Scrip-

Dr. *Edgworth.* In Scripture we find of the Form of the Sacraments, as the Words *Sacramental*; and the Matter, as the *Element, Oil, Chrism*; and the Patient receiving the Sacrament; and of Grace and encrease of Vertue given by them, as the Effects.

Dr. *Symmons.* The things are contained in Scripture, as *Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharistia, Pœnitentia, Extrema Unctio, Ordo*, altho' they have not there this name *Sacramentum* as *Matrimony* hath; and every one of them hath his Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue.

Dr. *Tresham.* I think the Thing, the Matter, the Nature, the Effect, and Vertue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there instituted by Gods Authority; for I think that no one Man, neither the whole Church hath Power to Institute a Sacrament, but that such Institution pertaineth only to God.

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the seventh, I say, That we may evidently find in Scripture, the substance of every one of the seven Sacraments, the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of the same; as of *Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Matrimony*, and so forth of the rest.

Dr. *Coren.* Of the Matter, Nature, Vertue, and Effect, of such as we call *Sacraments*, Scripture maketh mention: Of *Baptism* manifestly; of the most *Holy Communion* manifestly; of *Absolution* manifestly; of *Matrimony* manifestly; of *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, Scripture speaketh manifestly, for they were ordered, *per Impositiones Manuum Presbyterii cum Oratione & Jejunio*.

*Con.* Coveniunt præter Menevens. naturam septem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracens. effectus singulorum enumerat, item Carliolens.

*Agreem.* Londinens. non responderet Questioni. Treshamus ait ideo è Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Ecclesia non habet Auctoritatem Instituenti Sacramenta.

In the seventh they do agree, saving this, That the Bishop of *St. Davids* says, That *the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of these seven Sacraments only Baptism, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, Penance, are contained in the Scripture.* The other say, That *the Nature and the Vertue of all the seven, be contained in the Scripture.*

## 8. Question.

*Whether Confirmation, cum Chrismate, of them that be Baptized, be found in Scripture?*

*Answers.*

*Canterbury* **O**F *Confirmation* with *Chrism*, without which it is counted no Sacrament, there is no Mention in the Scripture.

*York.* To the Eighth; We find *Confirmation, cum Impositione Manuum* in Scripture, as before; *cum Chrismate* we find not in the Scripture, but yet we

we find Chrismation with Oyl used even from the time of the Apostles, and so taken as a Tradition Apostolick.

To the Eighth; I find in Scripture in many places, *de Impositione Manuum*, which I think (considering the Usage commonly, and so long withal used) to be Confirmation; and that with Chrism, to supply the visible Appearance of the Holy Ghost, which Holy Ghost was so visibly seen in the Primitive Church; nevertheless for the perfect Declaration of the Verity hereof, I refer it to the Judgment of Men of higher Knowledge in this Faculty.

Altho' Confirmation be found in the Scripture by Example, as I *Rocheſter*. said before, yet there is nothing written *de Chrismate*.

The Imposition of Hands, the holy Doctors take for the same which *Carlike*. we call Confirmation, done upon them which were Christened before, whereof is written in the *Acts*. And as for *Chrisma*, it should seem by *Cyprian*, both as touching the Confection and Usage thereof, that it hath a great Ground to be derived out of Scripture, tho' it be not manifestly therein spoken of.

Res & Effectus Confirmationis continentur in Scriptura, nempe, Impositio Manuum per Apostolos Baptizatis, per quam dabatur Spiritus Sanctus. De Chrismate nihil illic legimus, quia per id tempus Spiritus Sanctus signo visibili descenderit in Baptizatos. Quod ubi fieri desierit, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti cœpit. *Dr. Robertſon*.

I find not in Scripture, that the Apostles laying their Hands upon them that were Baptized, did anoint them *Chrismate*. *Dr. Cox*.

Confirmation *cum Chrismate* I read not in Scripture, but *Impositionem Manuum super Baptizatos*, I find there is, which ancient Authors call *Confirmation*; and Inunction with *Chrisma* hath been used from the Primitive Church. *Dr. Day*.

De impositione manuum cum Oratione, expressa mentio est in Scripturis, quæ nunc usitato nomine, a Doctoribus dicitur, Confirmatio. Sacrum Chrisma, Traditio est Apostolica ut ex veteribus liquet. *Dr. Ogleshorpe*.

The Question is not simple, but as if it were asked, Whether *Eucharistia in infermentato*, be in the Scripture, or *Baptismus cum sale*. Imposition of the Apostles Hands, in which was conferred the Holy Ghost for Confirmation of them who were Baptized, is found in Scripture. *Chrisma* is a Tradition deduced from the Apostles, as may be gathered by Scripture, and by the Old Authors, and the Mytery thereof is not to be despised. *Dr. Redmayn*.

This Sacrament is one, *unitate integritatis*, as some others be: Therefore it hath two parts; of which one, that is, *Imposito Manuum*, is taken *Heb. 6. & Act. 8*. The other part, that is, *Chrisme*, is taken of the Tradition of the Fathers, and so used from the Primitive Church. *Vid. Cyp. Epist. lib. 1. Ep. 12*. *Dr. Edgworth*.

Confirmation is found in Scripture, and Confirmation *cum Chrismate*, is gathered from the Old Authors. *Dr. I say, Symmons*.

Dr. *Tresham*. I say, Confirmation is found in Scripture, but this Additament, *Cum Chrismate*, is not of the Scripture, yet it is a very ancient Tradition, as appeareth by *Cyp. de Unct. Chrism.*

Dr. *Leighton*. To the eighth Question, I say, That Confirmation of them that be Baptized, is found in Scripture, but *cum Chrismate* it is not found in Scripture, but it was used *cum Chrismate* in the Church soon after the Apostles Time, as it may evidently appear by the cited Authors.

Dr. *Coren*. The laying of the Bishops Hands upon them that be Christened, which is a part of Confirmation, is plainly in Scripture; and the Unction with *Chrisme*, which is another part, hath been observed from the Primitive Church, and is called of St. *Austin*, *Sacramentum Chrismatis*. Unction of the Sick with Oil, and the Prayer is grounded expressly in Scripture.

*Con.* Convenient omnes Confirmationem cum Chrismate non haberi in Scripturis. Eboracens. Tresham, Coren, Day, Ogelthorpe, Edgworth, Leighton, Simmons, Redman, Robinsonus, Confirmationem in Scripturis esse contendunt; ceterum Chrisma esse traditionem Apostolicam: addit Robertsonus, & ubi fieri desiderat miraculum Consecrandi Spiritus Sancti, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti cepit; Convenit illi Loadinens.

Carliolens. putat usum Chrismatis ex Scripturis peti posse; Putant omnes tum in hoc Articulo, tum superiori, Impositionem Manuum esse Confirmationem.

*Agrecin.* In the eighth they do agree all, except it be the Bishop of *Carlisle*, That *Confirmatio cum Chrismate* is not found in Scripture, but only *Confirmatio cum Manuum Impositione*. And that also my Lord of *St. Davids* denieth to be in Scripture, as we call it a *Sacrament*. My Lord of *Carlisle* saith, That *Chrisma*, as touching the consecration and usage thereof, hath a ground to be derived out of Scripture. The other say, That it is but a Tradition.

### 9. Question.

*Whether the Apostles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that Necessity, or by Authority given by God?*

*Answers.*

*Canterbury* **A**LL Christian Princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole Cure of all their Subjects, as well concerning the Administration of God's Word, for the cure of Souls, as concerning the Ministration of Things Political and civil Governance: And in both these Ministrations, they must have sundry Ministers under them to supply that, which is appointed to their several Offices. The civil Ministers under the King's Majesty, in this Realm of *England*, be those whom it shall please his Highness for the time to put in Authority under him: As for Example; The Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Great Master, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Admiral, Majors Sheriffs, &c. The Ministers of God's Word under his Majesty, be the Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and such other Priests as be appointed by his Highness to that Ministration: As for Example, the Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Durresme*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Parson of *Winwick*, &c. All the said Officers

Officers and Ministers, as well of that sort as the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected; and in every place, by the Laws and Orders of Kings and Princes. In the Admission of many of these Officers, be divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities used, which be not of Necessity, but only for a good Order and seemly Fashion; for if such Offices and Ministrations were committed without such Solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed: And there is no more Promise of God, that Grace is given in the committing of the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in the committing of the Civil Office. In the Apostles time, when there was no Christian Princes, by whose Authority Ministers of God's Word might be appointed, nor Sins by the Sword corrected, there was no Remedy than for Correction of Vice, or appointing of Ministers, but only the Consent of Christian Multitudes among themselves, by an uniform Consent, to follow the Advice and Perswasion of such Persons whom God had most endued with the Spirit of Counsel and Wisdom: And at that time, forasmuch as the Christian People had no Sword, nor Governor amongst them, they were constrained of Necessity to take such Curats and Priests, as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by others that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such Knowledge in the Profession of Christ, such Wisdom, such Conversation and Counsel, that they ought even of very Conscience to give Credit unto them, and to accept such as by them were presented: And so sometimes the Apostles and others, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed Ministers of God's Word; sometimes the People did chuse such as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or sent by the Apostles or others, the People of their own voluntary Will with Thanks did accept them; not for the Supremity, Empire, or Dominion; that the Apostles had over them to command, as their Princes and Masters, but as good People, ready to obey the Advice of good Counsellors, and to accept any thing that was necessary for their Edification and Benefit.

To the Ninth; We find in Scripture, that the Apostles used the Power to *York.* make Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; which Power may be grounded upon these Words: *Sicut misit me vivens Pater, sic ego mitto vos, &c.* And we verily think, that they durst not have used so high Power, unless they had had Authority from Christ; but that their Power to ordain Bishops, Priests or Deacons, by Imposition of Hands, requireth any other Authority, than Authority of God, we neither read in Scripture nor out of Scripture.

To the Ninth; I think the Apostles made Bishops by the Law of God, *London.* because, *Acts 22.* it is said, *In quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit:* Nevertheless, I think if Christian Princes had been then, they should have named by Right, and appointed the said Bishops to their Rooms and Places.

I think that the Apostles made Bishops by Authority given them from *Rocheſter.* God.

That Christ made his Apostles, Priests and Bishops, and that he gave them *Carlisle.* Power to make others like, it seemeth to be the very Trade of Scripture.

Opinor Apostolos Authoritate Divina creasse Episcopos & Presbyteros, ubi publicus Magistratus permittit.

B b b b

Dr.  
*Robertson.*  
Altho'

Dr. Cox. Altho' the Apostles had no Authority to force any Man to be Priest, yet (they moved by the Holy Ghost) had Authority of God to exhort and induce Men to set forth God's Honour, and so to make them Priests.

Dr. Day. The Apostles made, that is to say, Ordained Bishops by Authority given them by God; Joh. 20. *Sicut misit me vivens Pater, ita & ego mitto vos. Item Joan. ult. & Act. 20. and 1 Tim. 4. Paulus ordinavit Timotheum & Titum, & præscribit quales illi debeant ordinare. 1 Tim. 1. Tit. 1.*

Dr. Ogletborp. Apostoli Authoritate & mandato Dei, Ordinabant ac Inffituebant Episcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Principe ac Magistratu (ut opinor) qui tum præerat.

Dr. Redmayn. Christ gave his Apostles Authority to make other Bishops and Ministers in his Church, as he had received Authority of the Father to make them Bishops; but if any Christian Prince had then been, the Apostles had been, and ought to have been Obedient Subjects, and would nothing have attempted, but under the Permission and Assent of their Earthly Governors: Yet was it meet that they which were Special and most Elect Servants of our Saviour Christ, and were sent by him to convert the World; and having most Abundantly the Holy Ghost in them, should have Special Ordering of such Ministry as pertained to the Planting and Encreasing of the Faith; whereunto I doubt not, but a Christian Prince, of his godly Mind, would most lovingly have condescended. And it is to be considered, that in this Question, with other like, this Word, *making of a Bishop, or Priest*, may be taken two ways: For understanding the Word, to Ordain or Consecrate, so it is a thing which pertaineth to the Apostles and their Successors only; but if by this Word (*Making*) be understood the Appointing, or Naming to the Office; so, it pertaineth specially to the Supream Heads and Governours of the Church, which be Princes.

Dr. Edgworth. The Apostles made Bishops and Priests by Authority given them of God, and not for lack of any Higher Power: Notwithstanding where there is a Christian King, or Prince, the Election, Deputation and Assignment of them, that shall be Priests or Bishops, belongeth to the King or Prince, so that he may forbid any Bishop within his Kingdom, that he give no Orders, for Considerations moving him, and may assign him a time when he shall give Orders, and to whom: Example of King David, 1 Chron. 24. dividing the Levites into 24 Orders, deputing over every Order one chief Bishop, prescribing an Ordinal and Rule how they should do their Duties, their Courses; and what Sacrifices, Rights and Ceremonies, they should use every Day, as the Day and time required. And his Son, King Solomon, diligently executed and commanded the same Usages to be observed in the Temple, after he had erected and finished it, 2 Chron. 8.

Dr. Symmons. The Apostles made Bishops and Priests, by Authority given them of God.

Dr. Tresham. I say, that the Apostles had Authority of God to make Bishops; yet if there had been a Christian King in any place where they made Bishops, they would, and ought, to have desired Authority also of him, for the executing



executing of such their godly Acts, which no Christian King would have denied.

To the ninth, I say, that the Apostles (as I suppose) made Bishops by Authority given unto them of Christ: Howbeit I think they would and should have required the Christian Princes Consent and License thereto, if there had been any Christian Kings or Princes. Dr. Leighton.

The Apostles made Bishops and Priests by Authority given them of God: Notwithstanding if there had been a Christian King at that time, it had been their Duties, to have had his License and Permission to do the same. Dr. Curren.

Omnes Conveniunt Apostolos Divinitus accepisse Potestatem creandi Episcopos; Eboracens. addit, non opus fuisse alia autoritate Apostolis quam divina: Sic Thirleby & Edgworth, Redmanus distinguit de Institutione Presbyteri, Ordinationem & Consecrationem tribuit tantum Apostolis & eorum Successoribus, nominationem & electionem Magistratibus: Sic Londinens., Leightonus, Redman, Tresham, Curren, ajunt petendam fuisse Potestatem a Magistratu Christiano, si tum fuisset. Robertsonus non respondet Quæstioni, concedit enim datam esse Apostolis Potestatem creandi Episcopos ubi Magistratus permittit. Oglethorpus putat eos impetrasse potestatem a principibus: Carliolens. Roffens. Dayus, non respondent ultimæ Parti. Con.

In the ninth, touching the Authority of the Apostles in making Priests, the Bishop of York, the Elect of Westminster, Dr. Edgworth, say, That *the Apostles made Priests by their own Power, given them by God, and that they had no need of any other Power.* The Bishop of St. Davids saith, *That because they lacked a Christian Prince, by that necessity they Ordained other Bishops.* Dr. Leighton, Curren, Tresham, and Redman, suppose, *That they ought to have asked license of their Christian Governors, if then there had been any.* Agreem.

### 10. Question.

*Whether Bishops or Priests were first? And if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop.*

#### Answers.

**T**HE Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were no two things, *Canterbury* but both one Office in the beginning of Christ's Religion.

To the tenth; We think that the Apostles were Priests before they were Bishops; and that the Divine Power which made them Priests, made them also Bishops; and altho' their Ordination was not by all such Court as the Church now useth, yet that they had both visible and invisible Sanctification, we may gather of the Gospel, where it is written, *Sicut misit me Pater vivens, & ego mitto vos: & cum hac dixit, insufflavit in eos & dixit, accipite Spiritum Sanctum: Quorum remiseritis, &c.* And we may well think, that then they were made Bishops, when they had not only a Flock, but also Shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a Governance committed to them by the Holy Ghost to oversee both; for the name of a Bishop, is not properly a name of Order, but a name of

Office, signifying an Overseer. And altho' the inferior Shepherds have also Cure to oversee their Flock, yet forasmuch as the Bishops Charge is also to oversee the Shepherds, the name of Overseer is given to the Bishops, and not to the other; and as they be in degree higher, so in their Consecration we find difference even from the Primitive Church.

*London.* To the tenth; I think the Bishops were first, and yet I think it is not of importance, whether the Priest then made the Bishop, or else the Bishop the Priest; considering (after the Sentence of St. Jerome) that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or if it were, very small) difference between a Bishop and Priest, especially touching the signification.

*Rochester.* I find in Scripture, that Christ being both a Priest and a Bishop, Ordained his Apostles, who were both Priests and Bishops; and the same Apostles did afterwards Ordain Bishops, and commanded them to Ordain others.

*Carlisle.* Christ made his Apostles Exorcists, as it appeareth in the 10. *Mat.* Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, as partly there, and after, in the 20 of St. John, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* and were he said, *Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem* In the *Acts*, *Ceterorum nemo audebat se conjungere illis.* So that they were all these together; and so being according to the Ordinance of Christ, who had made after them 72 other Priests, as it appeareth in the 10th of St. Luke, they made and Ordained also others the Seven Principal Deacons, as it is shewed in the 6th of the *Acts*; where it is said, That they Praying laid their Hands upon them. In the 13 of the *Acts*, certain there named at the Commandment of the Holy Ghost, severed Saul and Barnabas to that God had taken them, Fasting, Praying, and laying their Hands upon them; the which Saul, Ananias the Disciple had Baptized, laying his Hand upon him, that he might be replenished with the Holy Ghost. And Paul so made, Ordained Timothy and Tite, willing them to do likewise as he had done, and Appointed to be done from City to City, James was Ordained the Bishop of Jerusalem, by Peter, John, and James. So that Example otherwise we read not.

*Dr. Robertson.* Incertus sum utri fuere priores, at si Apostoli in prima professione Ordinati erant, apparet Episcopos fuisse priores, nempe Apostolos nam postea designavit Christus alios septuaginta duos. Nec opinor absurdum esse, ut Sacerdos Episcopum Consecret, si Episcopum haberi non potest.

*Dr. Cox.* Altho' by Scripture (as St. Hierome saith) Priests and Bishops be one, and therefore the one not before the other: Yet Bishops, as they be now, were after Priests, and therefore made of Priests.

*Dr. Day.* The Apostles were both Bishops and Priests, and they made Bishops and Priests, as Titus and Timotheus made Priests. *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter*, Act. 1. *Presbyteros qui in vobis sunt, obsecro & ego Compresbyter*, 1 Pet. 5. And in the Beginning of the Church, as well that Word *Episcopus* as *Presbyter*, was common and attributed both to Bishops and Priests.

*Dr. Ogletborp.* Utrique primi a Deo facti, Apostoli, Episcopi; Septuaginta discipuli (ut conjectura ducor) Sacerdotes. Unde verisimile est Episcopos praecessisse, Apostoli enim prius vocati erant.

They

They be of like begining, and at the begining, were both one, as Dr. St. *Jerome* and other old Authors shew by the Scripture, wherefore *Redmayn*. one made another indifferently.

Christ our Chief-Priest and Bishop, made his Apostles Priests and Bishops all at once; and they did likewise make others, some Priests, and some Bishops; and that the Priests in the Primitive Church made Bishops, I think no inconvenience; (as *Jerome* saith) in an *Epist. ad Evagrium*. Even like as Souldiers should chuse one among themselves to be their Captain: So did Priests chuse one of themselves to be their Bishop, for consideration of his Learning, Gravity, and good Living, &c. and also for to avoid Schisms among themselves by them, that some might not draw the People one way, and others another way, if they lacked one Head among them. Dr. *Edgworth*

Christ was and is the great High Bishop, and made all his Apostles Bishops; and they made Bishops and Priests after him, and so hath it evermore continued hitherto. Dr. *Symmons*.

I say, Christ made the Apostles first Priests, and then Bishops, and they by this Authority made both Priests and Bishops, but where there had been a Christian Prince, they would have desired his Authority to the same. Dr. *Tresham*.

To the tenth.—

Dr. *Leighton*.

The Apostles were made of Christ, Bishops and Priests, both at the first; and after them, *Septuaginta duo Discipuli*, were made Priests. Dr. *Coren*.

Menevens. Thirleby, Redmanus, Cokus, asserunt in initio eisdem fuisse Episcopos & Presbyteros. Londinens. Carliolens. Symmons, putant Apostolos fuisse institutos Episcopos a Christo, & eos postea instituisse alios Episcopos & Presbyteros, & 72 Presbyteros postea fuisse Ordinatos: Sic Oglethorpus, Eboracens. & Tresham aiunt Apostolos primo fuisse Presbyteros, deinde Episcopos, cum aliorum Presbyterorum credita esset illis cura. Robertsonus incertus est utri fuere priores, non absurdum tamen esse opinatur, ut Sacerdos consecret Episcopum, si Episcopus haberi non potest. Sic Londinens. Edgworth, Dayus, putant etiam Episcopos, ut vulgo de Episcopis loquimur, fuisse ante Presbyteros. Leightonus nihil Responderet. Con.

In the tenth; Where it is asked, Whether Bishops or Priests were first? The Bishop of St. *David's*, my Lord Elect of *Westminster*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Redmayn*, say, That at the begining they were all one. The Bishops of *Tork*, *London*, *Rocheſter*, *Carlisle*; Drs. *Day*, *Tresham*, *Symmons*, *Oglethorp*, be in other contrary Opinions. The Bishop of *Tork*, and Doctor *Tresham*, think, That the Apostles first were Priests, and after were made Bishops, when the overseeing of other Priests was committed to them. My Lords of *Duresme*, *London*, *Carlisle*, *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Symmons* and *Crafford*, think, That the Apostles first were Bishops, and they after made other Bishops and Priests. Dr. *Coren* and *Oglethorpe*, say, That the Apostles were made Bishops, and the 72 were after made Priests. Dr. *Day* thinks, That Bishops as they be now-a-days called, were before Priests. My Lord of *London*, Drs. *Edgworth* and *Robertson*, think it no inconvenience, if a Priest made a Bishop in that time. *Agreem.*

## II. Question.

*Whether a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?*

*Answers.*

*Canterbury* A Bishop may make a Priest by the Scripture, and so may Princes and Governors also, and that by the Authority of God committed to them, and the People also by their Election; for as we read that Bishops have done it, so Christian Emperors and Princes usually have done it, and the People before Christian Princes were, commonly did Elect their Bishops and Priests.

*Tork.* To the eleventh; That a Bishop may make a Priest, may be deduced of Scripture; for so much as they have all Authority necessary for the ordering of Christ's Church, derived from the Apostles, who made Bishops and Priests, and not without Authority, as we have said before to the ninth Question; and that any other than Bishops or Priests may make a Priest, we neither find in Scripture, nor out of Scripture.

*London.* To the eleventh, I think, That a Bishop duly appointed hath Authority by Scripture, to make a Bishop, and also a Priest: Because Christ being a Bishop did so make himself; and because alive, his Apostles did the like.

*Rochester.* The Scripture sheweth by example, that a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest; albeit no Bishop being subject to a Christian Prince, may either give Orders to Excommunicate, or use any manner of Jurisdiction, or any part of his Authority, without Commission from the King who is Supream Head of that Church whereof he is a Member; but that any other Man may do it besides a Bishop, I find no example, either in Scripture, or in Doctors.

*Carlisle.* By what is said before, it appeareth, that a Bishop by Scripture may make Deacons and Priests, and that we have no Example otherwise.

*Dr. Robertson.* Opinor Episcopum habere Autoritatem creandi Sacerdotem, modo id Magistratus publici permisso fiat. An vero ab alio quam Episcopo id rite fieri possit, haud scio, quamvis ab alio factum non memini me legisse. Ordin. conferr. gratiam, vid. Eck. Homil. 60.

*Dr. Cox.* Bishops have Authority, as is aforesaid, of the Apostles, in the tenth Question, to make Priests, except in cases of great necessity.

*Dr. Day.* Bishops have Authority by Scripture, to ordain Bishops and Priests; Joh. 20. *Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Cretæ ut constituas oppidatim Presbyteros,* Tit. 1. Act. 14.

*Dr. Ogleshorpe.* *Autoritas Ordinandi Presbyteros data est Episcopis per verbum, nulli usque; aliis quos lego.*

*Dr. Redmayn.* To the first part, I answer, Yea; for so it appeareth *Tit. 1.* and *1. Tim. 5.* with other places of Scripture. But whether any other but only a Bishop may

may make a Priest, I have not read, but by singular priviledge of God, as when *Moses* (whom divers Authors say was not a Priest) made *Aaron* a Priest. Truth it is, that the Office of a Godly Prince is to oversee the Church, and the Ministers therof; and to cause them do their duty, and also to appoint them special Charges and Offices in the Church, as may be most for the Glory of God, and Edifying of the People: and thus we read of the good Kings in the Old Testament, *David*, *Joas*, *Ezekias*, *Josias*. But as for *Making*, that is to say, Ordaining and Consecrating of Priests, I think it specially belongeth to the Office of a Bishop, as far as can be shewed by Scripture, or any Example, as I suppose from the beginning.

A Bishop hath Authority by Scripture to make a Priest, and that any other ever made a Priest since Christ's time I read not. Albeit *Moses* who was not Anointed Priest, made *Aaron* Priest and Bishop, by a special Commission or Revelation from God, without which he would never so have done. Dr. Edgworth.

A Bishop placed by the Higher Powers, and admitted to Minister, may make a Priest; and I have not read of any other that ever made Priests. Dr. Symmons.

I say, a Bishop hath Authority by Scripture to make a Priest, and other than a Bishop, hath not Power therein, but only in case of necessity. Dr. Tresham.

To the eleventh; I suppose that a Bishop hath Authority of God, as his Minister, by Scripture to make a Priest; but he ought not to admit any Man to be Priest, and Consecrate him, or to appoint him unto any Ministry in the Church, without the Princes License and Consent, in a Christian Region. And that any other Man hath Authority to make a Priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any Example thereof. Dr. Leighton.

A Bishop being licensed by his Prince and supream Governour, hath Authority to make a Priest by the Law of God. I do not read that any Priest hath been ordered by any other than a Bishop. Dr. Coren.

Ad primam partem Quæstionis respondent omnes & convenit omnibus præter Menevent. Episcopum habere Authoritatem instituendi Presbyteros. Roffens. Leighton, Curren, Robertsonus, addunt, Modo Magistratus id permittat. Ad secundam partem Respondent Coxus & Tresham in necessitate concedi potestatem Ordinandi aliis. Eboracen. videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc Authoritatem Redmayn, Symmons, Robertson, Leighton, Thirleby, Curren, Roffens. Edgworth, Oglethorp, Carliolen. nusquam legerunt alios usos fuisse hac potestate, quanquam (privilegio quodam) data sit Moyfi, ut Redmanus arbitratur & Edgworth. Nihil respondent ad secundam partem Quæstionis Londinensis & Dayus. Con.

In the eleventh; To the former part of the Question, the Bishop of *St. Davids* doth answer, That *Bishops have no Authority to make Priests without they be Authorized of the Christian Prince*. The others, all of them do say, That *they be Authorized of God*. Yet some of them, as the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Dr. Curren*, *Leighton*, *Robertson*, add, That *they cannot use this Authority without their Christian Prince doth permit them*. To the Agreem.

the second part the Answer of the Bishop of *St. Davids* is, That *Laymen have other-whiles made Priests*. So doth *Dr. Edgworth* and *Redmayn* say, That *Moses, by a Priviledg given him of God, made Aaron his Brother Priest*. *Dr. Tresham, Crayford, and Cox* say, That *Laymen may make Priests in time of Necessity*. The Bishops of *York, Duresme, Rochester, Carlisle*, Elect of *Westminster*, *Dr. Curren, Leighton, Symmons*, seem to deny this thing; for they say, *They find not, nor read not any such example*.

## 12. Question.

*Whether in the New Testament be required any Consecration of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient?*

*Answers.*

*Canterbury* **I**N the *New Testament*, he that is appointed to be a Bishop, or a Priest, needeth not Consecration by the Scripture, for Election or appointing thereto is sufficient.

*Tork.* To the twelfth Question; The Apostles ordained Priests by Imposition of the Hand, with Fasting and Prayer; and so following their steps we must needs think, that all the foresaid things be necessarily to be used by their Successors: And therefore we do also think, that Appointment only without visible Consecration and Invocation for the Assistance and Power of the Holy Ghost, is neither convenient nor sufficient; for without the said Invocation, it becometh no Man to appoint to our Lord, Ministers, as of his own Authority; whereof we have example in the *Acts of the Apostles*; where we find, that when they were gathered to chuse one in the place of *Judas*, they appointed two of the Disciples, and commended the Election to our Lord, that he would chuse which of them it pleased him, saying, and praying, *Lord thou that knowest the hearts of all Men, shew whether of these two thou dost chuse to succeed in the place of Judas*. And to this purpose in the *Acts*, we read *Dixit Spiritus Sanctus segregate mihi Barnabam, &c.* And again, *Quos posuit Spiritus Sanctus regere Ecclesiam Dei*. And it appeareth also that in the *Old Testament*, in the ordering of Priests, there was both Visible and Invisible Sanctification; and therefore in the *New Testament*, where the Priest-hood is above comparision higher than in the *Old*, we may not think that only Appointment sufficeth without Sanctification, either Visible or Invisible.

*London.* To the twelfth; I think Consecration of a Bishop and Priest be required, for that in the *Old Law* (being yet but a shadow and figure of the *New*) the Consecration was required, as appears *Levit. 8.* yet the truth of this I leave to those of higher Judgments.

*Rochester.* The Scripture speaketh, *de Impositione Manus & de Oratione*: And of other manner of Consecrations, I find no mention in the *New Testament* expressly; but the *Old Authors* make mention also of Inunctions.

*Carlisle.* Upon this Text of *Paul to Timothy*; *Noli negligere gratiam qua in te est, quae data est tibi per Prophetiam cum Impositione Manuum Presbyterii*;  
St. Anselm

*St. Anselm* saith, This Grace to be the Gift of the Bishops Office, to the which God of his meer goodness had called and preferred him. The Prophecy (he saith) was the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, by the which he knew what he had to do therein. The Imposition of the Hands is that by the which he was Ordained and received that Office: And therefore saith *St. Paul*) God is my Witness, that I have discharged my self, showing you as I ought to have done. Now look you well upon it whom that ye take to Orders, lest ye lose your self thereby. Let Bishops therefore, who as saith *St. Hierome*) hath Power to make Priests, consider well under what Law the order of Ecclesiastical Constitution is bounden; and let them not think those words of the Apostle to be his, but rather the words of Christ himself.

Opinor requiri Consecrationem quandam, hoc est impositionem manuum, Orationem, Jejunium, &c. tamen nusquam hoc munere fungi posse, nisi ubi Magistratus inviter, jubeat, aut permittat. Dr. Robertson.

By Scripture there is no Consecration of Bishops and Priests required, but only the appointing to the Office of a Priest, *cum Impositione Manuum*. Dr. Cox.

Consecration of Bishops and Priests I read not in the *New Testament*, but *Ordinatio per Manuum Impositionem cum Oratione* is read there as in the places above; and the only appointment, as I think, is not sufficient. Dr. Day.

Præter vocationem, ceu designationem externam, quæ vel a Principe fiat, vel a populo per electionem & suffragia, requiritur *Ordinatio alia per manuum impositionem, idque per Verbum Dei*. Dr. Oglethorp.

Besides the appointing to the Office, it appeareth that in the Primitive Church, the Apostles used certain Consecration of the Ministers of the Church, by imposition of Hands and Prayer, *Acts 6.* and with Fasting, *Acts 14, &c.* The Office of Priest-hood is too dangerous to set upon, when one is but appointed only: Therefore for the confirmation of their Faith, who take in hand such Charge, and for the obtaining of farther Grace requisite in the same, Consecration was Ordained by the Holy Ghost, and hath been always used from the beginning. Dr. Redmayn.

Deputation to the Office, is not sufficient to make a Priest, or a Bishop, as appeareth by *David* and *Solomon*, who deputed the 24 above mentioned to their Offices, yet they made none of them Priests, nor any other. Dr. Edgworth.

The appointing to the Office *per Manuum Impositionem*, is in Scripture, and the Consecration of them hath of long time continued in the Church. Dr. Symmons.

There is a certain kind of Consecration required, which is Imposition of the Bishops Hands with Prayer, and the appointing only is not sufficient. Dr. Tresham.

To the twelfth; I suppose that there is a Consecration required, as by Imposition of Hands; for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles. Dr. Leyghon.

In the *New Testament* is required to the making of a Bishop, *Impositio Manuum cum Oratione*, which I take for Consecration, and Appointment unto the Office is not sufficient; for King *David*, *1 Chron. 24.* did

Appoint 24 to be Bishops, who after were Consecrated; so that both the Appointment and the Consecration be requisite.

*Con.* Respondent Eboracens. Londinens. Carliolens. Leighton, Tresham, Robertsonus, Edgworth, Curren, Dayus, Oglethorp, Consecrationem esse requisitam. Redmanus ait eam receptam esse ab Apostolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto institutam ad conferendam gratiam Dayus, Roffens. Symmons, aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manuum impositionem, idq; è Scripturis; Consecrationem vero diu receptam in Ecclesiâ: Cokus Institutionem cum manuum impositione sufficere, neq; per Scripturam requiri Consecrationem. Robertsonus, addit supra alios nusquam hoc munere fungi posse quempiam, nisi ubi Magistratus invitet, jubeat aut permittat.

*Agreem.* In the twelfth Question, where it is asked, Whether in the *New Testament* be required any Consecration of a Bishop, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient? The Bishop of St. *David's* saith, That *only the Appointing*. Dr. *Cox*, That *only Appointing*, cum Manuum Impositione, is sufficient without Consecration. The Bishops of *York, London, Duresm, Carlisle*, Drs. *Day, Curren, Leighton, Tresham, Edgworth, Oglethorp*, say, That *Consecration is requisite*. Dr. *Reamayn* saith, That *Consecration hath been received from the Apostles Time, and institute of the Holy Ghost to confer Grace*. My Lord of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Day*, and *Symmons*, say, That *Priesthood is given per manuum impositionem, and that by Scripture; and that Consecration hath of long time been received in the Church*.

### 13. Question.

*Whether (if it fortun'd a Christian Prince Learned, to conquer certain Dominions of Infidels, having none but temporal learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he and they should Preach and Teach the word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute Priests, or no?*

#### *Answers.*

*Canterbury* **I**T is not against God's Law, but contrary they ought indeed so to do; and there be Histories that witnesseth, that some Christian Princes, and other Laymen un-consecrate have done the same.

*York.* To the thirteenth; To the first part of this Question, touching Teaching and Preaching the Word of God in case of such need; we think that Laymen not ordered, not only may, but must Preach Christ and his Faith to Infidels, as they shall see opportunity to do the same, and must endeavour themselves to win the Miscreants to the Kingdom of God, if that they can; for as the Wise Man saith, *God hath given charge to every Man of his Neighbour*; and the Scripture of God *chargeth every Man to do all the good that he can to all Men*: And surely this is the highest Alms to draw Men from the Devil the Usurper, and bring them to God the very Owner. Wherefore in this case every Man and Woman may be an Evangelist, and of this also we have example. But touching the second part, for case of Necessity; As we neither find Scripture, nor Example, that will bear, that any Man, being himself no Priest, may make, that is to say,



ſay, may give the Order of Priest-hood to another, and Authority therewith to miniſter in the ſaid Order, and to uſe ſuch Powers and Offices, as appertaineth to Priest-hood grounded in the Goſpel. So we find in ſuch caſe of need, what hath been done in one of the ancient Writers; altho' this Authority to Ordain, after form afore-mentioned, be not to Laymen expreſſly prohibited in Scripture; yet ſuch a Prohibition is implied, in that there is no ſuch Authority given to them, either in Scripture or other-ways; for ſo much as no Man may uſe this or any other Authority which cometh from the Holy Ghoſt, unleſs he hath either Commiſſion grounded in Scripture, or elſe Authority by Tradition, and ancient uſe of Chriſt's Church univerſally received over all.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I think that neceſſity *London.* herein, might either be a ſufficient Rule and Warrant to determine and order ſuch Caſes, conſidering that *tempore neceſſitatis mulier Baptizat, & Laicus idem facit, & audit confeſſionem*: Or elſe that God would inſpire in the Princes Heart, to provide the beſt and moſt handſome Remedy therein: And hard were it peradventure to find ſuch great neceſſity, but either in the Train of the ſaid Prince, or in the Regions adjoining thereunto, there might be had ſome Priests for the ſaid purpoſes; or finally, That the Prince himſelf, godlily inſpired in that behalf, might, for ſo good purpoſes and intents, ſet forth the Act indeed, referring yet this thing to the better judgment of others.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I never read theſe caſes, *Rocheſter.* neither in Scripture, nor in the Doctors, and therefore I cannot answer unto them by Learning, but think this to be a good Answer for all ſuch Questions, *viz. Neceſſitas non habet Legem.*

It is to be thought, that Chriſt may call, as it pleaſeth him; inwardly, *Carlile.* outwardly, or by both together: So that if no Priest might be had, it cannot be thought, but that a Chriſtian Prince, with others Learned, inwardly moved and called, might moſt charitably and godlily proſecute that ſame their Calling in the moſt acceptable Work, which is to bring People from the Devil to God, from Infidelity to true Faith, by whatſoever means God ſhall inſpire.

In hoc caſu exiſtimarem accerſendos Verbi & Sacramentorum Miniſtros, ſi qui forent vicini; quin ſi nulli invenirentur, Principem illum *Dr. Robertſon.* Chriſtianum haberemus pro Apoſtolo, tanquam miſſum a Deo, licet externo Sacramento non eſſet commendatus, quum Deus Sacramentis ſuis non ſit alligatus.

To the Thirteenth, and Fourteenth following; it is not againſt God's *Dr. Cox.* Law, that the Prince, and his Learned temporal Men, may Preach and Teach, and in theſe caſes of extream Neceſſity, make and Inſtitute Miniſters.

In this caſe (as I think) the Prince and other temporal Learned Men *Dr. Day.* with him, may by God's Law, Teach and Preach the Word of God, and Baptize; and alſo (the ſame Neceſſity ſtanding) Eleſt and appoint Men to thoſe Offices.

Dr. *Oglethorp.* In summa necessitate Baptizare & prædicare possunt & debent, hæc etenim duo, necessaria sunt media ad salutem; at ordinare (ut conjecture ducor) non debent, sed aliunde Sacrificos accersire, quos si habere nequeant, Deus ipse (cujus negotium agitur,) vel oraculo admonet, quid faciendum erit, vel necessitas ipsa (quæ sibi ipsi est Lex) modum Ordinandi suggeret ac suppeditabit.

Dr. *Redmayn.* I think they might, in such case of Necessity; for in this case the Laymen made the whole Church there, and the Authority of Preaching and Ministering the Sacraments, is given immediately to the Church; and the Church may appoint Ministers, as is thought convenient. There be two Stories good to be considered for this Question, which be written in the 10th Book of the *History Ecclesiastick*; the one of *Fruventius*, who Preached in *India*, and was after made Priest and Bishop by *Athanasius*. And the other Story is of the King of the *Iberians*, of whom *Rassine* the Writer of the Story saith thus; *Et nondum initiatus Sacris sit sue gentis Apostolus*. Yet nevertheless it is written there, *That an Ambassade was sent to Constantine the Emperor, that he would send them Priests for the further Establishment of the Faith there.*

Dr. *Edgworth.* The Prince and his temporal Learned Men, might and ought, in that necessity, to Instruct the People in the Faith of Christ, and to Baptize them, *ut idem rex sit & sue gentis Apostolus*, and these be sufficient for the Salvation of his Subjects. But as concerning other Sacraments, he ought to abide and look for a special Commission from Almighty God, as *Moses* had, or else to send unto other Regions where Priests or Bishops may be had, and else not to meddle. Examples in *Eccles. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 1. de Fruventio. & cap. 2. de Ancella captiva qua convertit gentem Hiberorum cujus captivæ monitis ad Imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur, res gesta exponitur, Sacerdotes mittere exorantur qui captum erga se Dei munus implerent; &c.*

Dr. *Symons.* I think that in such a Necessity, a Learned Christian Prince, and also temporal Men Learned, be bound to Preach and Minister either Sacraments, so that the same Ministers be orderly assigned by the High Power, and the Congregation.

Dr. *Fresham.* I say, to the first part, That such a King, and his temporal Learned Men, not only might, but were also bound to Preach God's Word in this case. And as to the second part, I say, That if there could no Bishop be had to Institute, the Prince might in that of necessity do it.

Dr. *Leybton.* To the thirteenth; I suppose the Affirmative thereof to be true; *Quamvis potestas clavium residet præcipue in Ecclesia.*

Dr. *Coren.* In such a case, I do believe that God would illuminate the Prince; so that either he himself should be made a Bishop, by internal working of God (as *Paul* was) or some of his Subjects, or else God would send him Bishops from other parts, And as for Preaching of the Word of God, the Prince might do it himself, and other of his Learned Subjects, altho' they were no Priests.

Con. In prima parte Questionis Conveniunt omnes, etiam Laicos, tali rerum statu,

statu, non solum posse sed debere docere. Menevens. Thirlebeus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Tresham, Redmanus, Robertsonus, etiam potestatem Ministrandi Sacramenta, & Ordinandi Ministros, concedunt illis. Eboracens. hanc prorsus potestatem de-negat. Coren credit Principem Divinitus illuminandum & consecrandum fore in Episcopum interne, aut aliquem ex suis, Pauli exemplo. Simile habet Herefordensis & Carliolensis. Dayus nihil responder de Ordinandis Presbyteris in hæc necessitate.

In the thirteenth; Concerning the first part, Whether Laymen may Preach and Teach God's Word? They do all agree, in such a case, *That not only they may, but they ought to teach.* But in the second part, touching the Constituting of Priests of Laymen, my Lord of York, and Doctor Edgworth, doth not agree with the other; they say, *That Laymen in no wise can make Priests, or have such Authority.* The Bishops of Duresme, St. Davids, Westminster, Drs. Tresham, Cox, Leighton, Crayford, Symmons, Redmayn, Robertson, say, *That Laymen in such case have Authority to Minister the Sacraments, and to make Priests.* My Lord's of London, Carlisle, and Hereford, and Dr. Coren, think, *That God in such a case would give the Prince Authority, call him inwardly, and illuminate him or some of his, as he did St. Paul.* *Agreem.*

#### 14. Question.

*Whether it be forefended by God's Law that (if it so fortune that all the Bishops and Priests of a Region were dead, and that the Word of God should remain there un-preached, and the Sacrament of Baptism, and others un-ministred) that the King of that Region should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same, or no?*

*Answers.*

**I**T is not forbidden by God's Law.

*Canterbury,*

To the fourteenth; In this case, as we have said in the next Article *York.* afore, Teaching of the Word of God may be used by any that can and would use it, to the Glory of God; and in this case also the Sacrament of Baptism may be Ministred by those that be no Priests; which things altho' we have not of Scripture, yet the universal Tradition and Practice of the Church, doth teach us: And peradventure contract of Matrimony might also be made, the Solemnization thereof being only Ordained by Law positive, and not by any ground, either of Scripture, or of Tradition; altho' for very urgent causes, the said Solemnization is to be observed when it may be observed; but that the Princes may not Make, that is, may not Order Priests nor Bishops, not before Ordered to Minister the other Sacraments, the Ministry whereof in Scripture is committed only to the Apostles, and from them derived to their Successors, even from the Primitive Church, hitherto, and by none other used, we have answered in the thirteenth Article.

*Ut supra, Quæst. 13.—*

*London.*

*Ut supra, Quæst. 13.—*

*Not Rochester.*

*Article.* Not only it is given of God to Supream Governors, Kings and Princes immediate under them, to see, cause, and compel all their Subjects, Bishops, Priests, with all others, to do truly and uprightly their bounden Duties to God, and to them, each one according to his Calling: But also if it were so, that any-where such lacked to do and fulfil that God would have done, right well they might, by the inward moving and calling of God, supply the same.

Dr. *Robertson.* Huic Questioni idem Respondendum, quod priori, arbitrator.

Dr. *Cox.* Ut supra, Quest. 13. —

Dr. *Day.* To this case, as to the first, I answer; That if there could no Bishops be had to order new Priests there, by the Princes assignation and appointment; then the Prince himself might Ordain and Constitute with the consent of the Congregation, both Priests and Ministers, to Preach and Baptize, and to do other Functions in the Church.

Dr. *Oglethorpe.* Si ab aliis Regionibus Sacerdotes haberi non poterint, opinor ipsum principem deputare posse etiam Laicos ad hoc Sacrum Officium; sed omnia prius tentanda essent, ut supra.

Dr. *Redmayn.* To this, I think, may be answered, as to the last Question before; howbeit the surest way, I think, were to send for some Ministers of the Church dwelling in the next Regions, if they might be conveniently had.

Dr. *Edgworth.* Likewise as to the next Question afore.

Dr. *Symmons.* If the King be also a Bishop, as it is possible, he may appoint Bishops and Priests to Minister to his People; but hitherto I have not read that ever any Christian King, made Bishop or Priest.

Dr. *Tresham.* I make the same answer, as to the 13<sup>th</sup> Question is made.

Dr. *Leyhton.* To the fourteenth; I suppose the Affirmative to be true in case that there can no Bishops nor Priests be had forth of other Countries, conveniently.

Dr. *Coren.* In this case I make answer as before, That God will never suffer his Servants to lack that thing that is necessary; for there should, either from others parts, Priests and Bishops be called thither, or else God would call inwardly some of them that be in that Region to be Bishops and Priests.

*Con.* Fatentur ut prius, omnes, Laicos posse Docere. Eboracens. Symmons, Oglethorp negant posse Ordinare Presbyteros, tamen concedit Eboracens. baptizare & contrahere Matrimonia, Edgworth tantum baptizare posse; nam sufficere dicit ad salutem. Alii omnes eandem potestatem concedunt, quam prius. Roffens. non aliud respondet his duabus Questionibus, quam quod necessitas non habeat Legem.

*Agreem.* In the fourteenth they agree for the most part as they did before, That Laymen in this case may Teach and Minister the Sacraments. My Lord of York, Dr. Symmons, and Oglethorp say, They can make no Priests, altho' Symmons

Symmons said they might Minister all Sacraments, in the Question before. Yet My Lord of York, and Edgworth, do grant, That they may Christen. The Bishops of London, Rochester, and Dr. Crayford, say, That in such a case, *Necessitas non habet Legem.*

## 15. Question.

Whether a Man be bound by Authority of this Scripture, (*Quorum Remiseritis*) and such-like, to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, if he may have him, or no ?

## Answers.

A Man is not bound, by the Authority of this Scripture, *Quorum* Canterbury *Remiseritis*, and such-like, to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, altho' he may have him.

To the fifteenth ; This Scripture is indifferent to secret and open Sins ; York. nor the Authority given in the same is appointed or limited, either to the one, or to the other, but is given commonly to both : And therefore seeing that the Sinner is in no other place of Scripture discharged of the Confession of his secret Sins, we think, that this place chargeth him to confess the secret Sins, as well as the open.

To the fifteenth ; I think that as the Sinner, is bound by this Authority to confess his open Sins, so also is he bound to confess his secret Sins, because the special end is, to wit, *Absolutionem a peccato cuius fecit se servum*, is all one in both cases : And that all Sins as touching God are open, and in no wise secret or hid.

I think that Confession of secret deadly Sins is necessary for to attain *Rochester.* Absolution of them ; but whether every Man that hath secretly committed deadly Sin, is bound by these words to ask Absolution of the Priest, therefore, it is an hard Question, and of much Controversy amongst Learned Men, and I am not able to define betwixt them ; but I think it is the surest way, to say that a Man is bound to Confess, &c.

I think that by the mind of most ancient Authors, and most holy Expositors, this Text, *Quorum Remiseritis peccata, &c.* with other-like ferveth well to this intent ; That Christian Folk should confess their secret deadly Sins to a Priest there to be assoiled, without which Mean, there can be none other like Assurance.

Opinor obligare, modo aliter conscientia illius satisfieri nequeat.

Dr.  
Robertson.

I cannot find that a Man is bound by Scripture to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, unless he be so troubled in his Conscience, that he cannot be quieted without Godly Instruction.

The matter being in controversy among Learned Men, and very doubtful, yet I think rather the truth is, That by Authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* and such-like, a Man is bound to confess his secret deadly Sins, which grieve his Conscience, to a Priest,  
if

if he may conveniently have him. Forasmuch as it is an ordinary way Ordained by Christ in the Gospel, by Absolution to remit Sins; which Absolution I never read to be given, *sine Confessione previa*.

Dr. *Oglethorpe*. Confitenda sunt opinor, etiam peccata abdita ac secreta propter Absolutionem ac conscientia tranquillitatem. & precipue pro vitanda desperatione, ad quam plerumq; adiguntur multi in extremis, dum sibi ipsis de remissione peccatorum nimium blandiuntur, nullius (dum sani sunt) censuram subeuntes nisi propriam.

Dr. *Redmayn*. I think, that altho' in these words Confession of privy Sins, is not expressly commanded; yet it is insinuated and shewed in these words, as a necessary Medicine or Remedy, which all Men that fall into deadly sin ought, for the quieting of their Consciences seek, if they may conveniently have such a Priest as is meet to hear their Confession.

Dr. *Edgworth*. Where there be two ways to obtain remission of Sin, and to recover Grace, a Man is bound by the Law of Nature to take the surer way, or else he should seem to contemn his own Health, which is unnatural. Also because we be bound to love God above all things, we ought by the same Bond to labour for his Grace and Favour: So that because we be bound to love God, and to love our selves in an Order to God, we be bound to seek the best and surest Remedy to recover Grace for our selves. Contrition is one way; but because a Man cannot be well assured, whether his Contrition, Attrition, or Displeasure for his Sin be sufficient to satisfy or content Almighty God, and able or worthy to get his Grace; Therefore it is necessary to take that way that will not fail, and by which thou mayest be sure, and that is Absolution of the Priest, which by Christ's Promise will not deceive thee, so that thou put no step or bar in the way; as, if thou do not then actually sin inwardly nor outwardly, but intend to receive that the Church intendeth to give thee by that Absolution, having the efficacy of Christ's Promise, *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c. Now the Priest can give thee no Absolution from that Sin that he knoweth not: Therefore thou art bound, for the causes aforesaid, to confess thy Sin.

Dr. *Symmons*. This Scripture, as ancient Doctors expound it, bindeth all Men to confess their secret deadly Sins.

Dr. *Tresham*. I say, That such Confession is a thing most consonant to the Law of God, and it is a wise point, and a wholesome thing so far to do, and God provoketh and allureth us thereto, in giving the Active Power to Priests to assail in the words, *Quorum Remiseritis*. It is also a safer way for Salvation to confess, if we may have a Priest: Yet I think that Confession is not necessarily deduced of Scripture, nor commanded as a necessary Precept of Scripture, and yet it is much consonant to the Law of God, as a thing willed, not commanded.

Dr. *Leyghton*. To the fifteenth; I think that only such as have not the knowledge of the Scripture, whereby they may quiet their Consciences, be bound to confess their secret deadly Sins unto a Priest: Howbeit no Man ought to contemn such Auricular Confession, for I suppose it to be a Tradition Apostolical, necessary for the unlearned Multitude.

A Man

A Man whose Conscience is grieved with mortal secret sins, is bound Dr. *Coren.* by these words, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* to confess his Sin to a Priest, if he may have him conveniently.

Eboracens. Londinens. Dayus, Oglethorpus, Coren, Redmayn, asse- *Con.*  
runt obligari. Coxus, Tresham, & Robertsonus dicunt non obligari,  
si aliter Conscientiæ illorum satisfieri queat; Menevens. nullo mo-  
do obligari. Carliolens. & Symmons aiunt, secundum veterum  
interpretationem, hac Scriptura quemvis obligari peccatorem.  
Rossens. Herefordens. & Thirleby non respondent, sed dubitant.  
Leightonus solum indoctos obligari ad Confessionem. Edgworth  
tradit duplicem modum remissionis peccatorum, per Contritionem  
sive Attritionem, & per Absolutionem: & quia nemo potest cer-  
tus esse, num attritio & dolor pro peccato sufficiat ad satisfaciend-  
um Deo & obtinendum gratiam, ideo tutissimam viam deligen-  
dam, scilicet, Absolutionem a Sacerdote, quæ per promissionem  
Christi est certa, Absolvere non potest nisi cognoscat peccata; Er-  
go peccata per Confessionem sunt illi revelanda.

In the fifteenth; Concerning Confession of our secret deadly Sins. *Agreement*  
The Bishops of York, Duresme, London, Drs. Day, Coren, Oglethorp, Red-  
mayn, Crayford, say, That Men be bound to confess them of their secret Sins.  
Drs. Cox, Tresham, Robertson, say, They be not bound, if they may quiet  
their Consciences otherwise. The Bishop of St. David's also saith, That  
this Text bindeth no Man. Dr. Leighton saith, That it bindeth only such as  
have not the knowledg of Scripture. The Bishop of Carlisle and Symmons  
say, That by ancient Doctors Exposition, Men be bound, by this Text, to con-  
fess their deadly Sins.

### 16. Question.

*Whether a Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate, and for  
what Crimes? And whether they only may Excommunicate  
by God's Law?*

*Answers.*

**A** Bishop or a Priest by the Scripture is neither commanded nor for- *Canterbury*  
bidden to Excommunicate, but where the Laws of any Region  
giveth him Authority to Excommunicate, there they ought to use the  
same in such Crimes, as the Laws have such Authority in; and where  
the Laws of the Region forbiddeth them, there they have no Authority  
at all; and they that be no Priests may also Excommunicate, if the Law  
allow thereunto.

To the sixteenth: The power to Excommunicate, that is, to dis sever *York.*  
the Sinner from the Communion of all Christian People, and so put them  
out of the Unity of the Mystical Body for the time, *donec resipiscat*, is  
only given to the Apostles, and their Successors in the Gospel, but for  
what Crimes, altho' in the Gospel doth not appear, saving only for Diso-  
bedience against the Commandment of the Church, yet we find example  
of Excommunication used by the Apostles in other cases: As of the For-  
nicator by Paul, of Hymeneus and Alexander for their Blasphemy by the  
same; and yet of other Crimes mentioned in the Epistle of the said Paul

writing to the *Corinthians*. And again of them that were Disobedient to his Doctrine, 2 *Theff.* 3. We find also charge given to us, by the Apostle St. *John*, that we shall not Commune with them, nor so much as salute him with *Ave*, that would not receive his Doctrine. By which it may appear that Excommunication may be used for many great Crimes, and yet the Church at this day doth not use it, but only for manifest Disobedience. And this kind of Excommunication, whereby Man is put out of the Church, and dissevered from the Unity of Christ's Mystical Body, which Excommunication toucheth also the Soul, no Man may use, but they only, to whom it is given by Christ.

*London.* To the sixteenth; I think that a Bishop may Excommunicate, taking example of St. *Paul* with the *Corinthian*; and also of that he did to *Alexander* and *Hymeneus*. And with the Lawyers it hath been a thing out of Question, That to Excommunicate solemnly, appertaineth to a Bishop altho' otherwise, both inferior Prelates and other Officers, yea and Priests too in notorious Crimes, after divers Mens Opinions, may Excommunicate seemably, as all others that be appointed Governors and Rulers over any Multitude, or Spiritual Congregation.

*Rochester.* I answer Affirmatively to the first part, in open and manifest Crimes, meaning of such Priests and Bishops as be by the Church Authorized to use that Power. To the second part I answer, That it is an hard Question, wherein I had rather hear other Men speak, than say my own Sentence; for I find not in Scripture, nor in the Old Doctors, that any Man hath given Sentence of Excommunication, save only Priests; but yet I think, that it is not against the Law of God, that a Layman should have Authority to do it.

*Carlisle.* Divers Texts of Scripture seemeth, by the Interpretation of ancient Authors, to shew, that a Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate open deadly Sinners continuing in Obstinacy with contempt. I have read in Histories, also, that a Prince hath done the same.

Dr. *Robertson.* Opinor Episcopum aut Presbyterum Excommunicare posse, tanquam ministrum & os Ecclesiae, ab eadem mandatum habens. Utrum vero id juris nulli nisi Sacerdotibus in mandatis dari possit, non satis scio, Excommunicandum esse opinor pro hujusmodi criminibus, qualia recenset Paulus, 1 *Cor.* 5. si, is qui frater nominatur, est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, aut maledicus, aut ebrius, aut rapax, cum hujusmodi ne cibum sumere, &c.

Dr. *Cox.* A Bishop or a Priest, as a publick Person appointed to that Office, may excommunicate for all publick Crimes, And yet it is not against God's Law, for others than Bishops or Priests to Excommunicate.

Dr. *Day.* A Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate by God's Law for manifest and open Crimes: Also others appointed by the Church, tho' they be no Priests, may exercise the Power of Excommunication.

Dr. *Oglethorpe.* Non solum Episcopus Excommunicare potest, sed etiam tota Congregatio, idq; pro lethalibus criminibus ac publicis, e quibus scandalum Ecclesiae provenire potest. Non tamen pro re pecuniaria uti olim solebant.

They



They may Excommunicate, as appeareth, 1 *Cor.* 5. 1 *Tim.* 1. and that for open and great Crimes, whereby the Church is offended; and for such Crimes as the Prince and Governors determine, and thinketh expedient, Men to be Excommunicate for, as appeareth in *novellis Constitutionibus Justiniani*. Whether any other may pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication, but a Bishop or a Priest, I am uncertain. Dr. Redmayn.

A Bishop, or a Priest only, may Excommunicate a notorious and grievous Sinner, or obstinate Person from the Communion of Christian People, because it pertaineth to the Jurisdiction which is given to Priests, *Job.* 26. *Quorum Remiseritis, &c. Et Quorum retinetis, &c.* There is one manner of Excommunication spoken of, 1 *Cor.* 5. which private Persons may use. *Si is qui frater nominatur inter vos est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, &c. cum hujusmodi ne cibum quidem capiat.* Excluding filthy Persons, covetous Persons, Brawlers and Quarrellers out of their Company, and neither to Eat nor Drink with them. Dr. Edgworth.

Whosoever hath a place under the Higher Power, and is assigned by the same to execute his Ministry given of God, he may Excommunicate for any Crime, as it shall be seen to the High Power, if the same Crime be publick. Dr. Symmons.

A Bishop and Priest may Excommunicate by Scripture: As touching for what Crimes? I say, for every open deadly Sin and Disobedience. And as touching, Whether only the Priest may Excommunicate? I say, not he only, but such as the Church Authorizes so to do. Dr. Tresham.

To the sixteenth, I say, That a Bishop or a Priest having License and Authority of the Prince of the Realm, may Excommunicate every obstinate and inobedient Person, for every notable and deadly Sin. And further, I say, That not only Bishops and Priests may Excommunicate, but any other Man appointed by the Church, or such as have Authority to appoint Men to that Office, may Excommunicate. Dr. Leygton.

A Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate an Obstinate Person for publick Sins. Forasmuch as the Keys be given to the whole Church, the whole Congregation may Excommunicate; which Excommunication may be pronounced by such a one as the Congregation does appoint, altho' he be neither Bishop nor Priest. Dr. Coren.

Menevens. Herefordens. Thirleby, Dayus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Coren, concedunt Autoritatem excommunicandi etiam Laicis, modo a Magistratu deputentur. Eboracens. & Edgworth prorsus negant datum Laicis, sed Apostolis & eorum Successoribus tantum. Roffensis, Redmaynus, & Robertsonus ambigunt, num detur Laicis, Londinens. non respondet Questioni: Oglethorpus & Thirleby aiunt, Ecclesie datum esse potestatem excommunicandi; Idem Treshamus.

In the sixteenth, of Excommunication, they do not agree. The Bishops of York, Duresme, and Dr. Edgworth say, That Lay-men have not the Authority to Excommunicate, but that it was given only unto the Apostles and their Successors. The Bishops of Hereford, St. David's, Westminster; Doctors, Day, Coren, Leighton, Cox, Symmons, say, That Laymen may Excommunicate, Agreement.

cate, if they be appointed by the High Ruler. My Lord Elect of Westminster, Dr. Tresham, and Dr. Ogleshorp, say further, That the Power of Excommunication was given to the Church, and to such as the Church shall Institute.

## 17. Question.

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to Remit Venial Sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient Authors?

Answers.

*Canterbury* **U**NCTION of the Sick with Oil, to Remit Venial Sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in the Scripture, nor in any ancient Authors.

These are the Subscriptions which are at the end of every Man's Paper.

*T. Cantuarien.* This is mine Opinion and Sentence at this present, which I do not temerariouly define, but do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty.

*York.* To the seventeenth; Of Unction of the Sick with Oil, and that Sins thereby be remitted, St. James doth teach us; but of the Holy Prayers, and like Ceremonies used in the time of the Unction, we find no special mention in Scripture, albeit the said St. James maketh also mention of Prayer to be used in the Ministry of the same.

*Edward Ebor.*

*London.* To the seventeenth; I think that albeit it appeareth not clearly in Scripture, whether the usage in extream Unction now, be all one with that which was in the beginning of the Church: Yet of the Unction in time of Sicknes, and the Oil also with Prayers and Ceremonies, the same is set forth in the Epistle of St. James, which place commonly is alledged, and so hath been received, to prove the Sacrament of extream Unction.

Ita mihi *Edmundo Londinensi* Episcopo pro hoc tempore dicendum videtur, salvo iudicio melius sentientis, cui me prompte & humiliter subijcio.

*Rochester.* Inunction of them that be Sick with Oil, and praying for them for remission of Sins, is plainly spoken of in the Epistle of St. James, but after what form or fashion the said Inunction was then used, the Scripture telleth not.

*Written on the back of the Paper,  
The Bishop of Rochester's Book.*

*Carlile.* Extream Unction is plainly set out by St. James, with the which maketh also that is written in the 6th of St. Mark, after the mind of right good ancient Doctors.

*Robert Carliolen.*

*Dr. Robertson.* De unctione infirmorum nihil reperio in Scripturis, prater id quod scribitur, Marc. 6. & Jacob. 5.

*Thomas Robertson.*

*T. Can-*

*T. Cantuarien.*

Unction of the Sick with Oil consecrate, as it is now used, is not Dr. Cox.  
spoken of in Scripture. *Richardus Cox.*

Unction of the Sick with Praying for them is found in Scripture. Dr. Day.  
*George Day.*

## Opiniones non Assertiones.

De Unctione Infirmorum cum oleo, adjecta Oratione, expressa men- Dr.  
tio est in Scripturis quanquam nunc addantur alii ritus, honestatis gratiâ *Oglethorp*  
(ut in aliis Sacramentis) de quibus in Scripturis nulla mentio.  
*Owinus Oglethorpus.*

Unction with Oil, adjoined with Prayer, and having promise of Re- Dr.  
mission of Sins, is spoken of in St. James, and ancient Doctors; as for *Redmayn.*  
the use which now is, if any thing be amiss, it would me amended.  
*J. Redmayn.*

It is spoken of, in *Mark 6.* and *James 5.* *Augustine* and other ancient Dr.  
Authors speaketh of the same. *Edgworth.* *Edgworth.*

The Unction of the Sick with Oil, to Remit Sins, is in Scripture, and Dr.  
also in ancient Authors. *Symon Matthew.* *Symmons.*

Unction with Oil is grounded in the Scripture, and expressly spoken of; Dr.  
but with this Additament (as it is now used) it is not specified in Scrip- *Tresham.*  
ture, for the Ceremonies now used in Unction, I think meer Traditions  
of Man. *William Tresham.*

To the seventeenth, I say, That Unction of the Sick with Oil and Pra- Dr.  
yer to Remit Sins, is manifestly spoken of in St. James's Epistle and an- *Leighton.*  
cient Authors, but not with all the Rites and Ceremonies as be now com-  
monly used. Per me *Edwardum Leighton.*

*T. Cantuarien.*

Unction with Oil to Remit Sins is spoken of in Scripture. Dr. Coren.  
*Richard Coren.*

Menevens. & Cokus negant Unctionem Olei (ut jam est recepta) ad Con.  
remittenda peccata contineri in Scripturis. Eboracens. Carliolens.  
Edgworth, Coren, Redmayn, Symmons, Leightonus, Oglethorp  
aiunt haberi in Scripturis: Roffens. Thirleby, Robertsonus, præ-  
terquam illud Jacobi 5. & Marci 6. nihil proferent. Herefordensis  
ambigit. Tresham vult Unctionem Olei tradi nobis è Scripturis,  
sed Unctionis Cæremonias traditiones esse humanas.

In the last; The Bishop of St. David's, and Dr. Cox, say, That Un- *Agreem.*  
ction of the Sick with Oil consecrate, as it is now used to Remit Sin, is not  
spoken of in Scripture. My Lords of York, Duresme, Carlisle, Drs. Coren,  
Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Leighton, and Oglethorp say, That it is  
found in Scripture.

XXII. *Dr. Barnes's Renunciation of some Articles informed against him.*

**B**E it known to all Men, That I *Robert Barnes*, Doctor of Divinity, have as well in Writing, as in Preaching, over-shot my self, and been deceived, by trusting too much to mine own heady Sentence, and giving judgment in and touching the Articles hereafter ensuing; whereas being convented, and called before the Person of my most gracious Sovereign Lord King *Henry the Eighth of England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth supream Head, immediately under God of the Church of *England*; It pleased his Highness; of his great Clemency and Goodness, being assisted with sundry of his most discreet and Learned Clergy, to enter such Disputation and Argument with me upon the Points of my over-sight, as by the same was fully and perfectly confuted by Scriptures, and enforced only for Truths sake, and for want of defence of Scriptures to serve for the maintenance of my part, to yield, confess, and knowledg my ignorance, and with my most humble submission, do promise for ever from henceforth to abstain and beware of such rashness: And for my further declaration therein, not only to abide such order for my doings passed, as his Grace shall appoint and assign unto me, but also with my heart to advance and set forth the said Articles ensuing, which I knowledg and confess to be most Catholick, and Christian, and necessary to be received, observed, and followed of all good Christian People. Tho' it so be, that Christ by the Will of his Father, is he only which hath suffered Passion and Death for Redemption of all such as will and shall come unto him, by perfect Faith and Baptism; and that also he hath taken upon him *gratis* the burden of all their Sins, which as afore will, hath, or shall come to him, paying sufficient Ransom for all their Sins, and so is becomed their only Redeemer and Justifier; of the which number I trust and doubt not but that many of us now a days be of: Yet I in heart do confess, that after, by the foresaid Means we become right Christian Folks, yet there by not following our Masters Commandments and Laws, we do lose the Benefits and Fruition of the same, which in this case is irrecuperable, but by true Penance, the only Remedy left unto us by our Saviour for the same; wherefore I think it more than convenient and necessary, that whensoever Justification shall be Preached of, that this Deed be joined with all the fore-part, to the intent that it may teach all true Christian People a right knowledg of their Justification.

By me *Robert Barnes*.

Also I confess with my Heart, That Almighty God is in no wise Author, causer of Sin, or any Evil; and therefore whereas Scripture saith, *Induravit Dominus Cor Faraonis, &c.* and such other Texts of like sense, they ought to understand them, *quod Dominus permittit eum indurari*, and not otherwise; which doth accord with many of the ancient Interpreters also.

By me *Robert Barnes*.

Further I do confess with my Heart, That whensoever I have offended my Neighbour, I must first reconcile my self unto him, e're I shall get Remission of my Sins; and in case he offend me, I must forgive him,  
e're

e're that I can be forgiven; for this doth the *Pater Noster*, and other places of Scripture teach me.

By me *Robert Barnes*.

I do also confesse with my Heart, That good Works limited by Scripture, and done by a Penitent and true reconciled Christian Man, be profitable and allowable unto him, as allowed of God for his benefit, and helping to his Salvation.

By me *Robert Barnes*.

Also do confesse with my Heart, That Laws and Ordinances made by Christian Rulers, ought to be obeyed by the Inferiours and Subjects, not only for Fear, but also for Conscience; for who so breaketh them, breaketh God's Commandments.

By me *Robert Barnes*.

All and singular the which Articles before written, I the foresaid *Robert Barnes* do approve and confesse to be most true and Catholick, and promise with my Heart, by God's Grace, hereafter to maintain, preach, and set forth the same to the People, to the uttermost of my Power, wit, and cunning.

By me *Robert Barnes*.

By me *William Jerome*.

By me *Thomas Gerard*.

### XXIII. *The Foundation of the Bishoprick of Westminster.*

**R**EX omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Cum nuper Cænobium quoddam sive Monasterium, quod ( dum extitit ) Monasterium Sancti Petri Westmon. vulgariter vocabatur, omnia & singula ejus Maneria, Dominia, Mesuagia, Terræ, Tenementa, Hæreditamenta, Dotationes & Possessiones, certis de causis specialibus & urgentibus, per Willielmum ipsius nuper Cænobii sive Monasterii Abbatem, & ejusdem loci Conventum, nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum jamdudum data fuerunt & concessa, prout per ipsorum nuper Abbatis & Conventus cartam sigillo suo communi sive conventuali sigillatam & in Cancellar, nostram irrotulat manifeste liquet; quorum pretextu nos de ejusdem nuper Cænobii sive Monasterii situ, septu & præcinctu, ac de omnibus & singulis prædict nuper Abbatis & Conventus Maneriis, Dominiis & Mesuagiis, Terris, Tenementis, Hæreditamentis, Dotationibus & Possessionibus, ad præsens pleno jure seisciti sumus in dominico nostro, ut de feodo. Nos utiq; sic de eisdem seisciti existem. divinaq; nos clementia inspirante nihil magis ex animo affectantes, quam ut vera religio verusq; Dei cultus inibi non modo aboleatur, sed in integrum potius restituatur, & ad primitivam sive genuinæ sinceritatis normam reformetur, correctis enormitatibus in quas monachorum vita & professio longo temporum lapsu deplorabiliter exorbitaverit, operam dedimus, quatenus humana perspicere potest infirmitas, ut imposterum ibidem sacrorum eloquiorum documenta & nostræ salutiferæ Redemptionis Sacramenta pure administrantur, bonorum morum disciplina sincere observetur Juventus in literis liberaliter instituat, senectus viribus defectis, eorum præsertim qui circa personam nostram, vel alioquin circa Regni nostri negotia publice bene & fideliter nobis servierunt, rebus ad victum necessariis condigne foveatur, & deniq; elemosinarum in pauperes Christi largitiones, viarum pontiumque reparationes, & cætera omnis generis pietatis officia illinc exuberanter in omnia vicina loca longe lateq; dimanent, ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam,

gloriam, & ad subditorum nostrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemque: Idcirco nos considerantes quod situs dicti nuper Monasterii Sancti Petri Westmon. in quo multa tum percharissimi patris nostri, tum aliorum Inclitorum, quondam Regum Angliæ, præclara monumenta conduntur, sit locus aptus, conveniens & necessarius instituendi, erigendi, ordinandi & stabilendi sedem Episcopalem, & quandem Ecclesiam Cathedrali de uno Episcopo, de uno Decano Presbytero, & duodecim Præbendariis Presbyteris, ibidem, Omnipotenti Deo & in perpetuum survitium, ipsum situm dicti nuper Monast. Sancti Petri Westmon. ac locum & Ecclesiam ipsius in sedem Episcopalem ac in Ecclesiam Cathedrali. creari, erigi, fundari & stabiliri decrevimus, prout per præsentis decernimus. & eandem Ecclesiam Cathedrali. de uno Episcopo, de uno Decano Presbytero, & duodecim Præbendariis Presbyteris, tenore præsentium, realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, fundamus, ordinamus, facimus, constituimus & stabilimus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam, & sic stabiliri ac in perpetuum inviolabiliter observari volumus & jubemus per præsentis. Volumus itaq; & per præsentis Ordinamus quod Ecclesia Cathedrali prædicta sit, & deinceps in perpetuum erit Ecclesia Cathedrali & Sedes Episcopalis, ac quod tota villa nostra Westmon. ex nunc & deinceps in perpetuum sit Civitas, ipsamq; Civitatem Westm. vocari & nominari volumus & decernimus, ac ipsam Civitatem & totum Comit. nostrum Midd. prout per metas & limites dignoscitur, & limitatur, tota Parochia de Fulham in eodem Comit. de Midd. tantummodo exceptit. ab omni Jurisdictione, Autoritate & Dioc. Episcopi London. & successorum suorum pro tempore existen. separamus, dividimus, eximimus, exoneramus, & omnino per præsentis liberamus: ac omnem Jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra eandem Civitatem & Comit. Midd. exceptis præ-exceptis, Episcopo Westmon. a nobis per has Literas nostras Patentes nominand. & eligend. & successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. ac prædict. Episcopat. Westm. adjungimus & unimus, ac ex dictis Civitate & Com. Diocesim facimus & Ordinamus per præsentis, illamq; Diocesim Westm. in perpetuum similiter vocari, appellari, nuncupari & nominari volumus & ordinamus. Et ut hæc nostra intentio debitum & uberius fortiatum effectum, Nos descientia, moribus, probitate & virtute dilecti nostri Consilarii Thome Thyrlbeii Clerici, Decani Capellæ nostræ plurimum confidentes, eundem Thomam Thyrlbeii ad Episcopatum dictæ Sedis Westm. nominamus & eligimus, ac ipsum Thomam Episcopum West. per præsentis eligimus, nominamus, facimus, & creamus, & volumus; ac per præsentis Concedimus & Ordinamus, quod idem Episcopatus sit corpus incorporatum in re & nomine, ipsumq; ex uno corpore declaramus & acceptamus, Ordinamus, facimus & constituimus in perpetuum, habeatq; successionem perpetuum, ac quod ipse & successores sui per nomen & sub nomine Episcopi Westm. nominabitur & vocabitur, nominabuntur & vocabuntur in perpetuum, & quod ipse & successores sui per idem nomen & sub eo nomine prosequi, clamare & placitare, ac placitari, defendere & defendi, respondere & responderi, in quibuscunq; Curiis & locis legum nostrarum, ac hæredum & successorum nostrorum, & alibi, in & super omnibus & singulis causis, actionibus, sectis, brevibus, demand. & querelis, realibus, personalibus & mixtis, tam temporalibus quam spiritualibus, ac in omnibus aliis rebus, causis & materiis quibuscunq; & per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, Rectorias, Pensiones, Portiones & alia quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, Possessiones, proficua & emolumenta,

tam

tam spiritualia sive Ecclesiastica, quam temporalia, ac alia quæcunq; per Literas Patentes præfato Episcopo & Successoribus suis, per nos seu hæredes nostros debito modo fiend. vel per quæcunq; aliam personam seu quascunq; alias personas secundum leges nostras, & hæredum sive successorum nostrorum dand. seu concedend. capere, recipere, gaudere & perquirere ac dare, alienare & dimittere possit & possint, valeat & valeant, & generaliter omnia alia & singula recipere, gaudere, & facere, prout & eisdem modo & forma quibus cæteri Episcopi infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ recipere aut facere possint, aut aliquis Episcopus infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ recipere aut facere possit, & non aliter nec ullo alio modo. Et ulterius volumus & ordinamus, quod Ecclesia Cathedralis prædicta sit, & deinceps in perpetuum erit Ecclesia Cathedralis & Sedes Episcopalis dicti Thomæ & successorum suorum Episcoporum Westm. ipsamq; Ecclesiam Cathedralem honoribus, dignitatibus, & insigniis Sedes Episcopalis per præsentem decoramus, eandemq; Sedem Episcopalem præfato Thomæ & successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. damus & concedimus per præsentem habend. & gaudend. idem Thomæ & Successoribus suis in perpetuum. Ac etiam volumus & ordinamus per præsentem, quod præfatus Thomas & successores sui Episcopi West. prædict. omnimodam jurisdictionem, potestatem & auctoritatem ordinarias & Episcopales, infra Ecclesiam Cathedralem Westm. & prædict. Diocef. exercere, facere, & uti possit, & debeat, possint & debeant, in tam amplis modo & forma, prout Episcopus London. infra Diocef. London. secundum leges nostras exercere, facere & uti solet, possit aut debet. Et quod dictus Thomas Episcopus Westm. & successores sui Episcopi Westm. deinceps in perpetuum habeat sigillum authenticum, seu sigilla authentica pro rebus & negotiis suis agendis servitur. ad omnem juris effectum simili modo & forma, & non aliter nec aliquo alio modo, prout Episcopus London. habet aut habere potest. Et ut Ecclesia Cathedralis prædict. de personis congruis in singulis locis & gradibus suis preimpleatur & decoretur, dilectum nobis Willielmum Benson Sacræ Theologiæ Professore primum & originalem, & modernum Decanum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, ac Simonem Haynes Sacræ Theologiæ Professore primum, & præsent. Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Redmayn secundum Presbyterum, Præbendarium, ac Edvardum Leyghton tertium Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Antonium Belafys quartum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Britten quintum Presbyterum, Præbendarium, ac Dionysium Dalyon sextum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Humphredum Perkins septimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Esflex octavum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Ellforde nonum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Malvern decimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Harvey undecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Gerardum Carleton duodecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, tenore præsentium facimus & ordinamus. Per præsentem volumus etiam & ordinamus, ac eisdem Decano & Præbendariis concedimus per præsentem, quod prædictus Decanus & duodecim Præbendarii dicti sint de se in re & nomine unum corpus incorporatum, habeantq; successionem perpetuam & se gerent, exhibebunt, & occupabunt Sedem, ordinationem, regulas & statuta, eis per nos in quadam Indentura in posterum fiend. specificand. & declarand. Et quod idem Decanus & Præbendarii & successores sui, Decanus & Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Petri Westm. in perpetuum vocabuntur, appellabuntur: Et quod præfatus Decanus & Præbendarii Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ & successores sui sint & in

perpetuum erunt Capitulum Episcopatus Westm. perpetuus futuris temporibus annexum, incorporatum & unitum eisdem modo & forma quibus Decanus & Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli in Civitate nostra London. Episcopo London. aut Sedi Episcopali London. annexa, incorporata & unit. exist. ipsosq; Decanum & Præbendarios unum corpus incorporatum in re & nomine facimus, creamus, & stabilimus, & eos pro uno corpore facimus declaramus, ordinamus & acceptamus, habeantq; successionem perpetuam; Et quod ipse Decanus & Capitulum eorumq; successores per nomen Decani & Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Beati Petri Westm. prosequi, clamare, placitare possint & implacitare, defendere & defendi, respondere, & responderi, in quibuscunq; tempore & Curis legum nostrarum & alibi, in & super omnibus & singulis causis, actionibus, sectis, demand. brevibus & querelis, realibus, spiritualibus, personalibus & mixtis, & in omnibus aliis rebus, causis & materiis, prout Decanus & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. agere aut facere possunt: Et per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa & cætera quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, possessiones, proficua, & emolumenta tam Spiritualia sive Ecclesiastica quam temporalia, & alia quæcunq; per nos per literas nostras Patentes, hæredum vel successorum nostrorum, seu per aliquam personam vel personas quascunq; eis & successoribus suis vel aliter secundum leges nostras, vel hæredum seu successorum nostrorum dand. seu concedend. capere, recipere, & perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere possint & valeant, & generaliter omnia alia & singula capere, recipere perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere, ac facere & exequi, prout & eisdem modo & forma, quibus Decanus & capitulum prædict. Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli in prædicta civitate nostra London. capere, recipere, perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere, ac facere aut exequi possint, & non aliter, neq; aliquo alio modo: Et quod Decanus & capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Westm. & Successores sui in perpetuum habebunt commune Sigillum, ad omnimodas cartas, evidencias, & cætera scripta, vel facta sua fiend. eos vel Ecclesiam Cathedralis prædict. aliquo modo tangen. sive continend. sigilland. Et insuper volumus & per præsentis concedimus & ordinamus, quod prædict. Episcopus Westm. & quilibet successorum suorum pro tempore existen. & prædictus Decanus & Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Westm. & quilibet successorum suorum habeant plenam potestatem & facultatem faciendi, recipiendi, dandi, alienandi, dimittendi, exequendi & agendi omnia & singula quæ Episcopus London. & Decanus & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. conjunctim & divisim facere, recipere, dare, alienare, dimittere, exequi aut agere possint. Volumus etiam & ordinamus, ac per præsentis Statuimus, quod Archidiaconus Midd. qui nunc est & successores sui sunt deinceps in perpetuum separati & exonerati & prorsus liberati a jurisdictione, potestate, jure & autoritate Episcopi London. & successorum suorum, ac ab Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. ab omnique jure, potestate & autoritate ejusdem ipsiusq; Archidiaconi, & successores suos per præsentis separamus, exoneramus, penitus in perpetuum liberamus, eundemq; Archidiaconum & successores suos decernimus, Statuimus, Ordinamus, ac stabulimus in simili Statu, modo, forma & jure esse, ac deinceps in perpetuum fore, in prædicta Ecclesia Cathedrali Westm. quibus ipse aut aliquis prædecessorum suorum unquam fuit in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. Statuimus etiam & ordinamus ac per præsentis volumus & concedimus, quod prædictus Thomas Episcopus Westm. & successores sui Episcopi Westm. habeant, teneant & possideant



fideant, in omnibus & per omnia auctoritatem, potestatem, ius & jurisdictionem, de & super Archidiaconatu Midd. & Archidiacono & successoribus suis, tam plene & integre ad omnem effectum quam Episcopus London. quid nunc est aut aliquis predecessorum suorum habet aut habuit, aut habere debuit vel usus fuit. Volumus autem ac per presentes concedimus tam prefato Episcopo quam Decano & Capitulo, quod habeat & habebit, habeant & habebunt, has Literas nostras Patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Anglæ debito modo factas & sigillatas, absq; sine seu feod. magno vel parvo nobis in Hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad usum nostrorum, proinde quoquo modo reddend. solvend. vel faciend. eo quod expressa mentio, & cet. In cuius rei, &c. Teste Rege apud Westm. decimo septimo die Decembris Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi trigesimo secundo.

## XXIV.

*A Proclamation ordained by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Honourable Council, for the Bible of the largest and greatest Volume to be had in every Church; devised the sixth of May, the 33 Year of the King's most gracious Reign.*

**W**Hereby Injunctions heretofore set forth by the Authority of the King's Royal Majesty, Supream Head of the Church of this his Realm of *England*, it was ordained and commanded, amongst other things, That in all and singular Parish-Churches, there should be provided, by a certain day now expired, at the costs of the Curats and Parishioners, Bibles containing the Old and New Testament in the English Tongue, to be fixed and set up openly in every of the said Parish Churches; the which godly Commandment and Injunction, was to the only intent that every of the King's Majestys loving Subjects, minding to read therein, might, by occasion thereof, not only consider and perceive the great and ineffable Omnipotent Power, Promise, Justice, Mercy and Goodness of Almighty God; but also to learn thereby to observe God's Commandments, and to obey their Sovereign Lord, and High Powers, and to exercise godly Charity, and to use themselves according to their Vocations, in a pure and sincere Christian Life, without murmur or grudging: By the which Injunctions, the King's Royal Majesty intended that his loving Subjects should have and use the commodities of the reading of the said Bibles, for the purpose above rehearsed, humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any of them should read the said Bibles with high and loud Voices, in time of the celebration of the Holy Mass, and other Divine Services used in the Church; or that any his Lay Subjects reading the same, should presume to take upon them any common Disputation, Argument, or Exposition of the Mysteries therein contained; but that every such Lay-man should, humbly, meekly, and reverently, read the same for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his Life, according to God's Holy Word therein mentioned. And notwithstanding the King's said most godly and gracious Commandment and Injunction, in form as is aforesaid, his Royal Majesty is informed, That divers and many Towns and Parishes

Regist.  
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Fol. 21.

within this his Realm, have neglected their Duties in the accomplishment thereof, whereof his Highness marvelleth not a little; and minding the execution of his said former most godly and gracious Injunctions, doth straitly charge and command, That the Curats and Parishioners, of every Town and Parish within this his Realm of *England*, not having already Bibles provided within their Parish Churches, shall on this side the Feast of *All-Saints* next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest and greatest Volume, and caule the same to be set and fixed in every of the said Parish-Churches, there to be used as is aforesaid, according to the said former Injunctions, upon pain that the Curat and Inhabitants of the Parishes and Towns, shall lose and forfeit to the King's Majesty, for every month that they shall lack and want the said Bibles, after the same feast of *All-Saints*, 40 s. the one half of the same Forfeit to be to the King's Majesty, and the other half to him or them which shall first find and present the same to the King's Majesties Council. And finally, the King's Royal Majesty doth declare and signify to all and singlar his loving Subjects, that to the intent they may have the said Bibles of the greatest Volume, at equal and reasonable prices, his Highness, by the Advice of his Council, hath ordained and taxed, That the Sellers thereof shall not rake for any of the said Bibles unbound, above the price of ten Shillings; and for every of the said Bibles well and sufficiently Bound, trimmed and clasped, not above twelve Shillings, upon pain the Seller to lose, for every Bible sold contrary to his Highness's Proclamation, four Shillings; the one Moiety thereof to the King's Majesty, and the other Moiety to the finder and presenter of the Defaulter, as is aforesaid. And his Highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, That all and singular Ordinaries, having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within this his Church and Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, that they, and every of them, shall put their effectual endeavours, that the Curats and Parishioners shall obey and accomplish this his Majesty's Proclamation and Commandment, as they tender the advancement of the King's most gracious and godly Purpose in that behalf, and as they will answer to his Highness for the same.

*God save the KING.*

XXV. *An Admonition and Advertisement given by the Bishop of London, to all Readers of this Bible in the English Tongue.*

Register,  
Bouncr.

**T**O the intent that a good and wholsome thing, godly and virtuously, for honest intents and purposes, set forth for many, be not hindred or maligned at, for the abuse, default, and evil Behaviour of a few, who for lack of discretion, and good advisement, commonly without respect of time, or other due Circumstances, proceed rashly and unadvisedly therein; and by reason thereof rather hinder than set forward the thing that is good of it self: It shall therefore be very expedient, that whosoever repaireth hither to read this Book, or any such like, in any other place, he prepare himself chiefly and principally with all devotion, humility, and quietness, to be edified and made the better thereby; adjoining thereto his perfect and most bounden duty of Obedience to the King's Majesty, our most gracious and dread Sovereign Lord, and Supreme Head, especially in accomplishing his Graces most honourable Injunctions

junctions and Commandments, given and made in that behalf. And right expedient, yea, necessary it shall be also, that leaving behind him vain Glory, Hypocrisy, and all other carnal and corrupt Affections, he bringing with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour, to and for the edification of his own Soul, without the hindrance, lett, or disturbance of any other his Christian Brother; evermore foreseeing that no number of People be specially congregated therefore to make a multitude; and that no Exposition be made thereupon otherwise than it is declared in the Book it self; and that especially regard be had, no reading thereof be used, allowed, and with noise in the time of any Divine Service, or Sermon; or that in the same be used any Disputation, Contention, or any other misdemeanour; or finally that any Man justly may reckon himself to be offended thereby, or take occasion to grudg or malign thereat.

*God save the KING.*

XXVI. *Injunctions given by Bonner, Bishop of London, to his Clergy.*

**I**njunctions made by the Consent and Authority of me *Edmund Bonner* Regist. Bonner. Fol. 38. Bishop of *London*, in the Year of our Lord God 1542. and in the 34 Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England, France, and Ireland*, Defender of Faith, and Supreme Head here in Earth, next under God, of the Church of *England and Ireland*. All which and singular Injunctions, by the Authority given to me of God, and by our said Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, I exhort, require, and also command, all and singular Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and Chauntry-Priests, with other of the Clergy, whatsoever they be, of my Diocess and Jurisdiction of *London*, to observe, keep, and perform, according as it concerneth every of them, in vertue of their Obedience, and also upon Pains expressed in all such Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm, as they may incur, and be objected against them, now, or at any time hereafter, for breaking and violating of the same, or any of them.

*First*; That you and every of you, shall, with all diligence, and faithful obedience, observe and keep, and cause to be observed and kept, to the uttermost of your Power, all and singular the Contents of the King's Highness most gracious and godly Ordinances, and Injunctions given and set forth by his Graces Authority; and that ye, and every of you, for the better performance thereof, shall provide to have a Copy of the same in writing, or imprinted, and so to declare them accordingly.

*Item*; That every Parson, Vicar, and Curat, shall read over and diligently study every day one Chapter of the Bible, and that with the gloss ordinary, or some other Doctor or Expositor, approved and allowed in this Church of *England*, proceeding from Chapter to Chapter, from the begining of the Gospel of *Matthew*, to the end of the New Testament; and the same so diligently studied to keep still and retain in memory, and to come to the rehearsal and recital thereof, at all such time and times as they, or any of them, shall be commanded thereunto by me, or any of my Officers or Deputies.

*Item*; That every of you do procure and provide of your own, a Book called, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, otherwise called the

*Bishops*

*Bishops Book*; and that ye, and every of you, do exercise your selves in the same, according to such Precepts as hath been given heretofore or hereafter to be given.

*Item*; That ye being absent from your Benefices, in cases lawfully permitted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, do suffer no Priest to keep your Cure, unless he being first by you presented, and by me or my Officers thereunto abled and admitted. And for the more and better assurance and performance thereof to be had, by these Presents I warn and monish peremptorily, all and singular beneficed Parsons having Benefices with Cure, within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, that they and every of them, shall either be personally resident upon their Benefices and Cures, before the Feast of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel now next ensuing; or else present, before the said Feast, to me the said Bishop, my Vicar-General, or other my Officers deputed in that behalf, such Curats as upon examination made by me, or my said Officers, may be found able and sufficient to serve and discharge their Cures in their absence; and also at the said Feast, or before, shall bring in and exhibit before my said Officers their sufficient Dispensations authorized by the King's Majesty, as well for Non-residence, as for keeping of more Benefices with Cure than one.

*Item*; That every Parson, Vicar, and other Curats, once in every quarter, shall openly in the Pulpit exhort and charge his Parishioners, that they in no wise do make any privy or secret contract of Matrimony between themselves, but that they utterly defer it until such time as they may conveniently have the Father and Mother, or some other Kinsfolks or Friends of the Person that shall make such Contract of Matrimony; or else two or three honest Persons to be present, and to hear and record the words and manner of their Contract, as they will avoid the extream pains of the Law provided in that behalf, if they presumptuously do or attempt the contrary.

*Item*; That in the avoiding of divers and grievous Offences and Enormities, and specially the most detestable Sin of Adultery, which oftentimes hath happen'd by the negligence of Curats in marrying Persons together which had been married before, and making no due proof of the death of their other Husbands and Wives at the times of such Marriages, I require and command you, and monish peremptorily by these Presents, all manner of Parsons, Vicars, and Curats, with other Priests, being of my Diocess and Jurisdiction, that they, nor any of them from henceforth do presume to solemnize Matrimony in their Churches, Chappels, or elsewhere, between any persons that have been married before, unless the said Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Priest, be first plainly, fully, and sufficiently informed and certified of the Decease of the Wife or Husband of him or her, or of both, that he shall marry, and that in writing, under the Ordinaries Seal of the Diocess, or place where he or she inhabited or dwelt before, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwise to be punished for doing the contrary, according to the the Laws provided and made in that behalf.

*Item*; That ye, and every of you that be Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and also Chantry-Priests and Stipendiaries, do instruct, teach, and bring up in Learning the Best ye can, all such Children of your Parishioners as shall come to you for the same; or at the least, to teach them to read English, taking moderately therefore of their Friends that be able to pay, so that thereby they may the better learn and know how to Believe, how to Pray, how to live to God's Pleasure.

*Item*;

*Item*; That every Curat do at all times his best diligence to stir, move and reduce such as be at Discord, to Peace, Concord, Love, Charity, and one to remit and forgive one another, as often and howsoever they shall be grieved or offended: And that the Curat shew and give example thereof, when and as often as any variance or discord shall happen to be between him and any of his Cure.

*Item*; Where some froward Persons, partly for malice, hatred, displeasure, and disdain; neglect, contemn, and despise their Curats, and such as have the Cure and Charge of their Souls; and partly to hide and cloak their leud and naughty living, as they have used all the Year before, use at length to be confessed of other Priests which have not the Cure of their Souls; Wherefore I will and require you to declare, and show to your Parishioners, That no Testimonials brought from any of them, shall stand in any affect; nor that any such Persons shall be admitted to God's Board, or receive their Communion, until they have submitted themselves to be confessed of their own Curats. (Strangers only except) or else upon arduous and urgent Causes and Considerations, they be otherwise dispensed with in that behalf, either by me, or by my Officers aforesaid.

*Item*; That whereupon a detestable and abominable practice universally reigning in your Parishes, the young People, and other ill-disposed Persons doth use upon the *Sundays* and *Holy-days*, in time of Divine Service, and Preaching the Word of God, to resort to Ale-houses, and there exercise unlawful Games, with great Swearing, Blasphemy, Drunkenness, and other Enormities, so that good and devout Persons be much offended therewith: Wherefore I require and command you, to declare to such as keepeth Ale-houses, or Taverns, within your Parishes that at such times from henceforth, they shall not suffer in their Houses any such unlawful and ungodly Assemblies; neither receive such Persons to Bowling and drinking at such Seasons, into their Houses, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwise to be punished for their so doing, according to the Laws in that behalf.

*Item*; That all Curats shall declare openly in the Pulpit, twice every Quarter, to their Parishioners, the seven deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments, so that the people thereby may not only learn how to obey, honour, and serve God, their Prince, Superiours, and Parents but also to avoid and eschew Sin and Vice, and to live vertuously, following God's Commandments and his Laws.

*Item*; That where I am credibly informed, that certain Priests of my Diocess and Jurisdiction, doth use to go in an unseemly and unpriestly Habit and Apparel, with unlawful Tonsures, carrying and having upon them also Armour and weapons, contrary to all wholsome and godly Laws and Ordinances, more like Persons of the Lay, than of the Clergy, which may and doth minister occasion to light Persons, and to Persons unknown, where such Persons come in place, to be more licentious both of their Communication, and also of their Acts, to the great slander of the Clergy: Wherefore in the avoiding of such slander and obloquy hereafter, I admonish and command all and singular Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Priests whatsoever they be, dwelling, or inhabiting, or hereafter shall dwell and inhabit within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, That from henceforth they, and every of them, do use and wear meet, convenient, and decent Apparel, with their Trussures accordingly, whereby they may be known at all times from Lay-people, and to be of the Clergy, as they intend to avoid and eschew the Penalty of the Laws ordained in that behalf.

*Item*;

*Item* ; That no Parson, Vicar, or other beneficed Men, having Cure within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, do suffer any Priest to say Mass, or to have any Service within their Cure, unless they first give knowledge, and present them with the Letters of their Orders to me as Ordinary, or to my Officers deputed in that behalf; and the said Priest so presented, shall be by me, or my said Officers, found able and sufficient thereunto.

*Item* ; That every Curat, not only in his Preachings, open Sermons, and Collations made to the People, but also at all other times necessary, do perswade, exhort, and monish the People, being of his Cure, whatsoever they be, to beware and abstain from swearing and blaspheming of the Holy Name of God, or any part of Christ's most precious Body or Blood. And likewise to beware, and abstain from Cursing, Banning, Chiding, Scolding, Backbiting, Slandering, and Lying. And also from talking and jangling in the Church, especially in time of Divine Service or Sermon-time. And semblably to abstain from Adultery, Fornication, Gluttony, and Drunkenness: And if they, or any of them, be found notoriously faulty or infamed upon any of the said Crimes and Offences, then to detect them at every Visitation, or sooner, as the Case shall require, so that the said Offenders may be corrected and reformed to the example of others.

*Item* ; That no Priest from henceforth do use any unlawful Games, or frequently use any Ale-house, Taverns, or any suspect place at any unlawful Times, or any light Company, but only for their Necessaries, as they, and any of them, will avoid the danger that may ensue thereupon.

*Item* ; That in the Plague-time, no dead Bodies or Corpses be brought into the Church, except it be brought straight to the Grave, and immediately buried, whereby the People may the rather avoid Infection.

*Item* ; That no Parsons, Vicars, ne Curates, permit or suffer any manner of common Plays, Games, or Interludes, to be Played, set forth, or declared, within their Churches, or Chappels, *where the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is, or any other Sacrament Ministred, or Divine Service said or sung*: Because they be places Constitute and Ordained to well disposed People for Godly Prayer, and wholsom Consolation. And if there be any of your Parishioners, or any other Person or Persons, that will obstinately or violently inforce any such Plays, Interludes, or Games to be Declared, set Forth or Played in your Churches, or Chappels, contrary to this our Forbidding and Commandment, that then you, or either of you, in whose Churches or Chappels any such Games, Plays, or Interludes, shall be so used, that immediately thereupon make relation of the Name of the Person, or Persons, so Obstinately and Disobediently using themselves, unto Me, my Chancellor, or other my Officers, to the intent that they may be therefore Reformed and Punished according to the Laws.

*Item* ; That all Priests shall take this Order when they Preach; first, They shall not rehearse no Sermons made by other Men within this 200 or 300 Years; but when they shall Preach, they shall take the Gospel, or Epistle of the Day, which they shall recite and declare to the People plainly, distinctly, and sincerely, from the beginning to the end thereof, and then to desire the People to Pray with them for Grace, after the usage of the Church of *England* now used: And that done, we will that every Preacher shall declare the same Gospel, or Epistle, or both, even from the beginning, not after his own Mind, but after the Mind of some Catholick Doctors allowed in this Church of *England*, and in no wise to affirm any thing, but that which he shall be ready always to shew in  
some

some ancient Writer; and in no wise to make rehearsal of any Opinion not allowed, for the intent to reprove the same, but to leave that for those that are and shall be admitted to Preach by the King's Majesty, or by me, the Bishop of *London*, your Ordinary, or by mine Authority. In the which Epistle and Gospel, ye shall note and consider diligently, certain godly and devout places, which may incense and stir the Hearers to obedience of good Works and Prayers: And in case any notable Ceremony used to be observed in the Church, shall happen that day when any preaching shall be appointed, it shall be meet and convenient that the Preacher declare and set forth to the People the true meaning of the same, in such sort that the People may perceive thereby, what is meant and signified by such Ceremony, and also know how to use and accept it to their own edifying. Furthermore, That no Preacher shall rage or rail in his Sermon, but coldly, discreetly, and charitably, open, declare and set forth the excellency of Vertue, and to suppress the abomination of Sin and Vice; every Preacher shall, if time and occasion will serve, instruct and teach his Audience, what Prayer is used in the Church that day, and for what thing the Church prayeth, specially that day, to the intent that all the People may pray together with one Heart for the same; and as occasion will serve, to shew and declare to the People what the Sacraments signifieth, what strength and efficacy they be of, how every Man should use them reverently and devoutly at the receiving them. And to declare wherefore the Mass is so highly to be esteemed and honoured, with all the Circumstances appertaining to the same. Let every Preacher beware that he do not feed his Audience with any Fable, or other Histories, other than he can avouch and justify to be written by some allowed Writer. And when he hath done all that he will say and utter for that time, he shall then in few words recite again, the Pith and Effect of his whole Sermon, and add thereunto as he shall think good.

*Item*; That no Parson, Vicar, Curat, or other Priest, having Cure of Souls within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, shall from henceforth permit, suffer, or admit any manner of Person, of whatsoever estate or condition he be, under the degree of a Bishop, to preach, or make any Sermon or Collation, openly to the People within their Churches, Chappels, or elsewhere within their Cures, unless he that shall so preach have obtained before special Licence in that behalf, of our Sovereign Lord the King, or of me *Edmund*, Bishop of *London*, your Ordinary; And the same Licence so obtained, shall then and there really bring forth in writing under Seal, and shew the same to the said Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Priest, before the begining of his Sermon, as they will avoid the extream Penalties of the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, provided and established in that behalf, if they presumtuously do attempt any thing to the contrary.

*Item*; I desire, require, exhort, and command you, and every of you, in the Name of God, That ye firmly, faithfully, and diligently, to the uttermost of your powers, do observe, fulfil, and keep all and singular these mine Injunctions. And that ye, and every of you, being Priests, and having cure, or not cure, as well Benefice as not Beneficed, within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, do procure to have a copy of the same Injunctions, to the intent ye may the better observe, and cause to be observed the contents thereof.

*The Names of Books Prohibited, delivered to the Curates, Anno 1542. to the intent that they shall present them with the Names of the Owners, to their Ordinary, if they find any such within their Parishes.*

- T**He Disputation between the Father and the Son.  
 The Supplication of Beggars; the Author *Fish*.  
 The Revelation of Antichrist.  
 The Practice of Prelates; written by *Tindall*.  
 The Burying of the Mass, in English Rithme.  
 The Book of Friar *Barnes*, twice Printed.  
 The Matrimony of *Tindall*.  
 The Exposition of *Tindall*, upon the 7th. chap. to the *Corinth*.  
 The Exposition of *Tindall*, upon the Epistles Canonick of St. *John*.  
 The New Testament of *Tindall's* Translation, with his Preface before the whole Book, and before the Epistles of St. *Paul, ad Rom*.  
 The Preface made in the English Prymmers, by *Marshall*.  
 The Church of *John Rastall*.  
 The Table, Glosses, Marginal, and Preface before the Epistle of St. *Paul Roman*, of *Thomas Matthews* doing, and Printed beyond the Sea without priviledg, set in his Bible in English.  
 The *A. B. C.* against the Clergy.  
 The Book made by Frier *Roys* against the Seven Sacraments.  
 The wicked Mammon.  
 The Parable of the wicked Mammon.  
 The Liberty of a Christian Man.  
*Ortulus Animar* in English.  
 The Supper of the Lord, by *G. Joye*.  
*Friths* Disputation against Purgatory.  
*Tindall's* Answer to Sir. *T. Mores* Defence of Purgatory.  
 The Prologue to *Genesis*, Translated by *Tindall*.  
 The Prologues to the other four Books of *Moses*.  
 The Obedience of a Christian Man.  
 The Book made by Sir *J. Oldcastle*.  
 The Summe of Scripture.  
 The Preface before the Psalter in English.  
 The Dialogue between the Gentleman and Ploughman.  
 The Book of *Jonas* in English.  
 The Dialogue of *Goodale*.  
*Defensorium Paris*.  
 The summe of Christianity.  
 The Mirrour of them that be Sick and in Pain.  
 Treatise of the Supper of the Lord, by *Calwyn*.  
 Every one of *Calwyn's* Works.



XXVII. A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, made by *Cranmer*, to shew the necessity of reforming it.

*An Original.*

Dist. 22. *Omnes de Major. & obedient. solit. Extra. De Majorit & obedient. Unam Sanctam.*

**H**E that knowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of *Rome*, Ex M. SS. and that the Bishop of *Rome* is ordained by God to have Prima-D. Stillcy over all the World, is an Heretick, and cannot be saved, nor is not *ingsfleet*. of the Flock of Christ.

Dist. 10. *De Sententia Excommunicationis, Noverit. 25. q. 11. omne.*

Princes Laws, if they be against the Canons and Decrees of the Bishop of *Rome*, be of no force nor strength.

Dist. 19, 20, 24. q. 1. *A recta memor. Quotiens hac est 25. q. 1. General. violatores.*

All the Decrees of the Bishop of *Rome* ought to be kept perpetually of every Man, without any repugnancy, as God's Word spoken by the Mouth of *Peter*; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them the Catholick Faith, nor the four Evangelists, but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

35. q. 1. *Generali.*

All Kings, Bishops, and Noblemen, that believe or suffer the Bishop of *Rome's* Decrees in any thing to be violate, be accursed, and for ever culpable before God, as transgressors of the Catholick Faith.

Dist. 21. *Quamvis, & 24. q. 1. A recta memor.*

The See of *Rome* hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.

55. q. 1. *Ideo de Senten. & re judicata; de jurejurando licet ad Apostolicæ li. 6. de jurejurando.*

The Bishop of *Rome* is not bound to any Decrees, but he may compel, as well the Clergy as Lay-men, to receive his Decrees and Canon-Law.

9. q. 2. *Ipsi cuncta. Nemo 2. q. 6. dudum aliorum. 17. q. 4. Si quis de Baptis. & ejus effectu majores.*

The Bishop of *Rome* hath Authority to judge all Men, and specially to discern the Articles of the Faith, and that without any Council, and may assail them that the Council hath damned; but no Man hath Authority to judge him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath judged, neither Emperor, King, People, nor the Clergy: And it is not lawful for any Man to dispute of his Power.

gr. *Duo sunt 25. q. 6. Alios Nos Sanctorum juratos in Clemen. de Hereticis aut officium*

The Bishop of *Rome* may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, depose

pose them from their States, and assoil their Subjects from their Oath and Obedience to them, and so constrain them to Rebellion.

*De Major. & obediē. solit. Clement. de sententia & re  
judicata. Pastoral.*

The Emperor is the Bishop of Rome's Subject, and the Bishop of Rome may revoke the Emperor's Sentence in Temporal Causes.

*De Elect. & Electi potestate Venerabilem.*

It belongeth to the Bishop of Rome to allow or disallow the Emperor after he is elected; and he may translate the Empire from one Region to another.

*De supplenda Negligen. pralat. Grand. li. 6.*

The Bishop of Rome may appoint Coadjutors unto Princes.

*Dist. 17. Si modo synodum Regula. Nec licuit multum.  
Concilia. 96. ubinam.*

There can be no Council of Bishops without the Authority of the See of Rome; and the Emperor ought not to be present at the Council, except when Matters of the Faith be entreating, which belong universally to every Man.

2. q. 6.

Nothing may be done against him that appealeth unto Rome.

1. q. 3. *Aliorum* Dist. 40. *Si Papa.* Dist. 96. *Satis.*

The Bishop of Rome may be judged of none but of God only; for altho' he neither regard his own Salvation, nor no Mans else, but draw down with himself innumerable People by heaps unto Hell; yet may no mortal Man in this World presume to reprehend him: Forasmuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of Man, for God may be judged of no Man.

3. z. q. 5.

The Bishop of Rome may open and shut Heaven unto Men.

*Dist. 40. Non nos.*

The See of Rome receiveth holy Men, or else maketh them holy.

*De Penitentia. Dist. 1. Serpens.*

He that maketh a Lye to the Bishop of Rome committeth Sacriledg.

*De consecra. Dist. 1. De locorum precepta. Ecclesia de Elect.  
& Electi potestate Fundamenta.*

To be Senator, Captain, Patrician, Governor, or Officer of Rome, none shall be elected or pointed, without the express licence and special consent of the See of Rome.

De

*De Electione & Electi potestate Venerabilem.*

It appertaineth to the Bishop of Rome to judge which Oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

*De iurejurand. Si vero. 15. q. 6. Auctoritatem.*

And he may absolve Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and absolve from other Oaths that ought to be kept.

*De foro competent. Ex tenore. De donat. inter Virum & Uxorem dependentia. Qui Filii sunt legitime ver venerabilem. De Elect. & Electi potestate Fundamenta. Extravag. de Majorit. & Obedient. unam Sanctam De judiciis Novit.*

The Bishop of Rome is Judge in Temporal Things, and hath two Swords, Spiritual and Temporal.

*De Hæreticis Multorum.*

The Bishop of Rome may give Authority to arrest Men, and imprison them in Manacles and Fetters.

*Extrav. de Consuetudine super gentes.*

The Bishop of Rome may compel Princes to receive his Legats.

*De Truga & Pace. Trugas.*

It belongeth also to him to appoint and command Peace and Truce to be observed and kept, or not.

*De Præbend. & dig. dilectus & li. 6. licet.*

The Collation of all Spiritual Promotions appertain to the Bishop of Rome.

*De Excessibus Prælatorum. Sicut unire.*

The Bishop of Rome may unite Bishopricks together, and put one under another at his pleasure.

*Li. 6. de pænis Felicis.*

In the Chapter *Felicis li. 6. de pænis*, is the most partial and unreasonable Decree made by *Bonifacius 8.* that ever was read or heard, against them that be Adversaries to any Cardinal of Rome, or to any Clerk, or Religious Man of the Bishop of Rome's Family.

*Dist. 28. Consulendum. Dist. 96. Si Imperator. 11. q. 1. Quod Clericus. Nemo nullus. Clericum, &c. & q. 2. Quod vero de sentent. Excommunication. Si iudex q. 2. q. 5. Si quis de foro competent. Nullus Si quis Ex transmissa. de foro compet. in 6 Seculares.*

Lay-men may not be judges to any of the Clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted Debts, but the Bishops only must be their Judges.

*De foro Competent. Cùm sit licet.*

Rectors of Churches may convent such as do them wrong, whether they will, before a Spiritual Judge, or a Temporal.

*Idem*

*Idem ex parte Dilecti.*

A Lay-man being spoiled, may convent his Adversaries before a spiritual Judge, whether the Lords of the Feod consent thereto or not.

*Ibidem Significasti, & II. q. I. placuit.*

A Lay-man may commit his Cause to a Spiritual Judge; but one of the Clergy may not commit his Cause to a Temporal Judge, without the consent of the Bishop.

*Ne Clerici vel Monachi. Secundum.*

Lay-men may have no Benefices to Farm.

*De Sententia Excommunicationis. Noverit extra. de Penitentii & Remiss. &c. et si.*

All they that make, or write any Statutes contrary to the Liberties of the Church; and all Princes, Rulers, and Counsellors, where such Statutes be made, or such Customs observed, and all the Judges and others that put the same in Execution; and where such Statutes and Customs have been made and observed of old Time, all they that put them not out of their Books be Excommunicate, and that so grievously, that they cannot be assoiled but only by the Bishop of Rome.

*De Immunitate Ecclesie. Non minus adversus. Quia Quam & in 6. Clericis.*

The Clergy, to the relief of any common necessity, can nothing confer without the consent of the Bishop of Rome; nor it is not lawful for any Lay-man to lay any Imposition of Taxes, Subsidies, or any Charges upon the Clergy.

*Dist. 97. Hoc capitulo & 63. Nullus & quæ sequuntur. Non alia cum Laic.*

Lay-men may not meddle with Elections of the Clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

*De jurejurando. Nimis.*

The Clergy ought to give no Oath of Fidelity to their temporal Governors, except they have Temporalities of them.

*Dist. 96. Bene Quidem. 12. q. 2. Apostolicos. Quisquis.*

The Goods of the Church may in no wise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them, is bound to Restitution; and if the Church have any Ground which is little or nothing worth, yet it shall not be given to the Prince; and if the Prince will needs buy it, the Sale shall be void and of no strength.

13. q. 2. *Non liceat.*

It is not lawful for the Bishop of *Rome* to alienate or Morgate any Lands of the Church, for every manner of Necessity, except it be Houses in Cities, which be very chargeable to support and maintain.

Dist. 96. *Quis nunquam*, 3. q. 6. *Accusatio* II. q. 1. *Continua nullus Testimonium Relatum Experientie. Si quisquam Si qua. Sicut Statuimus, nullus de persona. Si quis.*

Princes ought to obey Bishops, and the Decrees of the Church, and to submit their Heads unto the Bishops, and not to judge over the Bishops; for the Bishops ought to be forborn, and to be judged of no Lay-man.

*De Major. & obediens. solite.*

Kings and Princes ought not to set Bishops beneath them, but reverently to rise against them, and to assign them an Honourable Seat by them.

11. q. 1. *Quæcunque. Relatum. Si qui omnes volumus. Placuit.*

All manner of Causes, whatsoever they be, Spiritual or Temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the Clergy.

*Ibidem Omnes.*

No Judge ought to refuse the Witness of one Bishop, altho' he be but alone.

*De Hereticis ad abolendam, & in Clementinis ut officium.*

Whosoever teacheth or thinketh of the Sacraments otherwise than the See of *Rome* doth teach and observe, and all they that the same See doth judge Hereticks, be Excommunicate.

And the Bishop of *Rome* may compel by an Oath, all Rulers and other People, to observe, and cause to be observed, whatsoever the See of *Rome* shall ordain concerning Heresie, and the Fautors thereof; and who will not obey, he may deprive them of their Dignities.

*Clement. de reliq. & venerat. Sanctorum. Si Dominus extravag. de reliq. & venerat Sanctorum. Cum præ excelsa: De pœnitent. & remiss. antiquorum, & Clemen. unigenitus. Quemadmodum.*

We obtain Remission of Sin, by observing of certain Feasts, and certain Pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other prescribed Times, by virtue of the Bishop of *Rome's* Pardons.

*De penitentiis & remissionibus extravag. ca. 3. Et si Dominici.*

Whosoever offendeth the Liberties of the Church, or doth violate any Interdiction that cometh from *Rome*, or conspireth against the Person, or Statute of the Bishop, or See of *Rome*; or by any ways offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the said Bishop, or See; or that killeth a Priest, or offendeth personally against a Bishop, or other Prelate;

or

or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth Lands belonging to the Church of *Rome*, or to any other Church, immediatly subject to the same; or whosoever invadeth any Pilgrims that go to *Rome*, or any Suitors to the Court of *Rome*, or that let the devolution of Causes unto that Court, or that put any new Charges or Impositions, real or personal upon any Church, or Ecclesiastical Person; and generally all others that offend in the Cases contained in the Bull, which is usually Published by the Bishops of *Rome* upon *Maundy Thursday*; all these can be assailed by no Priest, Bishop, Arch-Bishop, nor by none other, but only by the Bishop of *Rome*, or by his expresse licence.

2. 4. 9. 2.

Robbing of the Clergy, and poor Men, appertaineth unto the judgment of the Bishops.

23. 9. 9.

He is no Man-slayer that slayeth a Man which is Excommunicate.

Dist. 63. *Tibi Domino de Sententia Excommunicationis. Si iudex.*

Here may be added the most Tyrannical and abominable Oaths which the Bishop of *Rome* exacts of the Emperors; in *Clement. de jurejurando Romani dist. 6. 3. Tibi Domino.*

*De Consecra. Dist. 1. Sicut.*

It is better not to Consecrate, than to Consecrate in a place not Hallowed.

*De Consecrat. Dist. 5. De his Manus, ut Jejuni.*

Confirmation, if it be Ministred by any other than a Bishop, is of no value, nor is no Sacrament of the Church; also Confirmation is more to be had in reverence than Baptism; and no Man by Baptism can be a Christian Man without Confirmation.

*De pœnitent. Dist. 1. Multiplex.*

A penitent Person can have no Remission of his Sin, but by supplication of the Priests.

## XXVIII. A Mandate for Publishing and using the Prayers in the *English* Tongue.

*Mandatum Domino Episcopo London. direct: Pro publicatione Regiarum Injunctionum.*

Register,  
Domes.  
Vol. 48.

**M**ost Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved we greet you well, and let you wit, That calling to our remembrance the miserable State of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel Wars, Hatred, and Dissentions, as no place of the same almost (being the whole reduced to a very narrow Corner) remaineth in good Peace, Agreement, and Concord; the Help and Remedy whereof far exceeding the Power of any Man, must be called for of him who only is able to grant our Petitions,

ous, and never forsaketh nor repealeth any that firmly believe, and faithfully call on him; unto whom also the example of Scripture encourageth us, in all these and other our Troubles and Necessities, to fly and to cry for Aid and Succour; being therefore resolved to have continually from henceforth general Processions, in all Cities, Towns, Churches, and Parishes of this our Realm, said and sung, with such Reverence and Devotion as appertaineth. Forasmuch as heretofore the People, partly for lack of good Instruction and Calling, and partly for that they understood no part of such Prayers or suffrages as were used to be sung and said, have used to come very slackly to the Procession, when the same have been commanded heretofore: We have set forth certain godly Prayers and Suffrages in our Native English Tongue, which we send you herewith, signifying unto you, That for the special trust and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earnest desire, to the setting forward of the Glory of God, and the true worshipping of his most Holy Name, within that Province committed by us unto you, we have sent unto you these Suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed, and after slenderly considered, as other our Injunctions have to our no little marvel, been used; but to the intent that as well the same, as other our Injunctions, may be earnestly set forth by Preaching good Exhortations and otherwise to the People, in such sort as they feeling the godly taste thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the same, as appertaineth. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will answer unto us for the contrary, not only to cause these Prayers and Suffrages aforesaid to be published, frequented, and openly used in all Towns, Churches, Villages, and Parishes of your own Diocess, but also to signify this our Pleasure, unto all other Bishops of your Province, willing and commanding them in our Name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the same accordingly. Unto whose Proceedings, in the execution of this our Commandment, we will that you have a special respect, and make report unto us, if any shall not with good dexterity accomplish the same; not failing, as our special trust is in you.

At St. James's, Junii—Regni. 36. Directed to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

### XXIX. *The Articles acknowledged by Shaxton, late Bp. of Sarum.*

**T**He *First*; Almighty God by the Power of his Word, pronounced by the Priest at Mass in the Consecration, turneth the Bread and Wine, into the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; so that after the Consecration, there remaineth no Substance of Bread and Wine, but only the Substance of Christ, God and Man. Register,  
Bonner.  
Fol. 100

The *Second*; The said Blessed Sacrament, being once Consecrate, is and remaineth still the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, although it be reserved, and not presently distributed.

The *Third*; The same Blessed Sacrament being Consecrate, is and ought to be worshipped and adored with godly honour wheresoever it is, forasmuch as it is the Body of Christ inseparably united to the Deity.

The *Fourth*; The Church, by the Ministration of the Priest, offereth daily at the Mass for a Sacrifice to Almighty God, the self-same Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of Bread and Wine, in the remembrance and representation of Christ's Death and Passion.

The *Fifth*; The same Body and Blood which is offered in the Mass, is the very propitiation and satisfaction for the sins of the World; forasmuch as it is the self-same in Substance which was offered upon the Cross for our Redemption: And the Oblation and Action of the Priest is also a Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving unto God for his Benefits, and not the satisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that is only to be attributed to Christ's Passion.

The *Sixth*; The said Oblation, or Sacrifice, so by the Priest offered in the Mass, is available and profitable both for the Quick and the Dead, altho' it lieth not in the Power of Man to limit how much, or in what measure the same doth avail.

The *Seventh*; It is not a thing of necessity, that the Sacrament of the Altar should be Ministred unto the People under both kinds of Bread and Wine: And it is none abuse that the same be Ministred to the People under the one kind; forasmuch as in every of both the kinds, whole Christ, both Body and Blood is contained.

The *Eighth*; It is no derogation to the vertue of the Mass, altho' the Priest do receive the Sacrament alone, and none other receive it with him.

The *Ninth*; The Mass used in this Realm of *England*, is agreeable to the institution of Christ; and we have in this Church of *England*, the very true Sacrament, which is the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of Bread and Wine.

The *Tenth*; The Church of Christ hath, doth, and may lawfully order some Priests to be Ministers of the Sacraments, altho' the same do not preach, nor be not admitted thereunto.

The *Eleventh*; Priests being once dedicated unto God by the Order of Priest-hood, and all such Men and Women as have advisedly made Vows unto God of Chastity or Widowhood, may not lawfully Marry after their said Orders received, or Vows made.

The *Twelfth*; Secret auricular Confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, continued, and frequented in the Church of Christ.

The *Thirteenth*; The Prescience and Predestination of Almighty God, altho' in it self it be infallible, induceth no necessity to the Action of Man, but that he may freely use the Power of his own Will or Choice, the said Prescience or Predestination notwithstanding.

I *Nicholas Shaxton*, with my Heart,  
do believe, and with my Mouth  
do confesse all these Articles above-  
written to be true in every part.

*Ne despicias hominem avertentem se a peccato, neque im-  
properes ei: Memento quoniam omnes in corruptione  
sumus, Eccles. 8.*



XXX. *A Letter written by Lethington the Secretary of Scotland, to Sir William Cecil, the Queen of England's Secretary, touching the Title of the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England: By which it appears that K. Henry's Will was not signed by him.*

I Cannot be ignorant that some do object as to her Majestys Foreign Birth, and hereby think to make her incapable of the Inheritance of *England*. To that you know for Answer what may be said by an *English* Patron of my Mistriss's Cause, altho' I being a *Scot* will not affirm the same, that there ariseth amongst you a Question, Whether the Realm of *Scotland* be forth of the Homage and Leageance of *England*? And therefore you have in sundry Proclamations preceeding your Wars making, and in sundry Books at sundry times, laboured much to prove the Homage and Fealty of *Scotland* to *England*. Your Stories also be not void of this intent. What the judgment of the Fathers of your Law is, and what commonly is thought in this Matter, you know better than I, and may have better intelligence than I, the Argument being fitter for your Assertion than mine.

Another Question there is also upon this Objection of Foreign Birth; That is to say, Whether Princes inheritable to the Crown, be in case of the Crown, exempted or concluded as private Persons being Strangers born forth of the Allegiance of *England*. You know in this case, as divers others, the State of the Crown: The Persons inheritable to the Crown at the time of their Capacity, have divers differences and prerogatives from other Persons; many Laws made for other Persons take no hold in case of the Prince, and they have such Priviledges as other persons enjoy not; as in cases of Attainders, and other Penal Laws: Examples, *Hen. 7.* who being a Subject, was attainted; and *Ed. 4.* and his Father *Richard Plantagenet* were both attainted; all which notwithstanding their Attainders had right to the Crown, and two of them attained the same. Amongst many Reasons to be shewed, both for the differences, and that Foreign Birth doth not take place in the case of the Crown, as in common persons, the many experiences before the Conquest, and since, of your King's, do plainly testify. 2. Of purpose I will name unto you, *Hen. 2d.* *Maud* the Empress Son, and *Richard of Bourdeaux* the Black Princes Son, the rather for that neither of the two was the King of *England's* Son, and so not *Enfant du Roy*, if the word be taken in this strict signification. And for the better proof that it was always the common Law of your Realm, that in the case of the Crown, Foreign Birth was no Bar; You do remember the words of the *Stat. 25. Ed. 3.* where it is said, the Law was ever so: Whereupon if you can remember it, you and I fell out at a reasoning in my Lord of *Leicester's* Chamber, by the occasion of the Abridgment of *Rastal*, wherein I did shew you somewhat to this purpose; also these words, *Infant* and *Ancestors* be in *Pradicamento ad aliquid*, and so Correlatives in such sort, as the meaning of the Law was not to restrain the understanding of this word *Infant*, so strict as only to the Children of the King's Body, but to others inheritable in remainder; and if some Sophisters will needs cavil about the precise understanding of *Infant*, let them be

answered with the scope of this word *Ancestors* in all Provisions, for *Filii*, *Nepotes* and *Liberi*, you may see there was no difference betwixt the first degree, and these that come after by the Civil Law. *Liberorum appellatione, comprehenduntur non solum Filii, verum etiam Nepotes, Pronepotes, Abnepotes, &c.* If you examine the Reason why Foreign Birth is excluded, you may see that it was not so needful in Princes cases, as in common Persons. Moreover, I know that *England* hath oftentime married with Daughters, and married with the greatest Foreign Princes of *Europe*. And so I do also understand, that they all did repute the Children of them, and of the Daughters of *England*, inheritable in Succession to that Crown, notwithstanding the Foreign birth of their Issue: And in this case I do appeal to all Chronicles, to their contracts of Marriages, and to the opinion of all the Princes of Christendom. For tho' *England* be a noble and puissant Country, the respect of the Alliance only, and the Dowry, hath not moved the great Princes to match so often in Marriages, but the possibility of the Crown in Succession. I cannot be ignorant altogether in this Matter, considering that I serve my Sovereign in the room that you serve yours. The Contract of Marriage is extant betwixt the King, my Mistress's Grandfather, and Queen *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Henry* the 7th, by whose Person the Title is devolved on my Sovereign; what her Father's meaning was in bestowing of her, the World knoweth, by that which is contained in the *Chronicles* written by *Polidorus Virgilius*, before (as I think) either you or I was born; at least when it was little thought that this Matter should come in question. There is another Exception also laid against my Sovereign, which seems at the first to be of some weight, grounded upon some Statutes made in King *Hen.* 8. time, (*viz.*) of the 28th, & 35th of his Reign, whereby full Power and Authority was given him the said King *Henry*, to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit, by his Letters, Patents under his Great Seal, or else by his last Will made in writing, and signed with his Hand at his pleasure, from time to time thereafter the Imperial Crown of that Realm, &c. Which Imperial Crown is by some alledged and constantly affirmed to have been limited and disposed, by the last Will and Testament of the said King *Hen.* 8. signed with his Hand before his Death unto the Children of the Lady *Francis*; and *Eleonor*, Daughter to *Mary* the French Queen, Younger Daughter of *Hen.* 7. and of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*; so as it is thought the Queen, my Sovereign, and all others, by course of Inheritance, be by these Circumstances excluded, and fore-closed: So as it does well become all Subjects, such as I am, so my liking is, to speak of Princes, of their Reigns and Proceedings modestly, and with respect; yet I cannot abstain to say, that the *Chronicles* and *Histories* of that Age, and your own Printed Stautes being extant, do contaminate and disgrace greatly the Reign of that King in that Time. But to come to our purpose, what equity and justice was that to dis-inherit a Race of Foreign Princes of their Possibility, and maternal Right, by a municipal Law or Statute made in that, which some would term abrupt time, and say, that That would rule the Roast, yea, and to exclude the right Heirs from their Title, without calling them to answer, or any for them: Well it may be said, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing is not to be allowed; but since it is done it cannot be avoided, unless some Circumstances material do annihilate the said limitation and disposition of the Crown.

Now

Now let us examine the manner and circumstances how King *Hen. 8.* was by Statute inabled to dispose the Crown. There is a form in two sorts prescribed him, which he may not transgress, that is to say, either by his Letter Patents, sealed with his Great Seal, or by his last Will, signed with his Hand: For in this extraordinary case he was held to an ordinary and precise form; which being not observed, the Letters Patents, or Will, cannot work the intent or effect supposed. And to disprove, that the Will was signed with his own Hand; You know, that long before his death he never used his own signing with his own Hand; and in the time of his Sickness, being divers times pressed to put his Hand to the Will written, he refused to do it. And it seemed God would not suffer him to proceed in an Act so injurious and prejudicial to the right Heir of the Crown, being his Niece. Then his death approaching, some as well known to you as to me, caused *William Clarke*, sometimes Servant to *Thomas Henneage*, to sign the supposed Will with a stamp, (for otherwise signed it was never); and yet notwithstanding some respecting more the satisfaction of their Ambition, and others their private Commodity, then just and upright dealing, procured divers honest Gentlemen, attending in divers several Rooms about the King's Person, to testify with their Hand-writings the Contents of the said pretended Will, surmised to be signed with the King's own Hand. To prove this dissembled and forged signed Testament, I do refer you to such Trials as be yet left. First; The Attestation of the late Lord *Paget*, published in the Parliament in *Queen Mary's* Time, for the restitution of the Duke of *Norfolk*. Next, I pray you, on my Sovereign's behalf, that the Depositions may be taken in this Matter of the Marquess of *Winchester*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre* then one of King *Henry's* Secretaries, Sir *Henry Nevell*, Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Doctor *Buts*, *Edmond Harman Baker*, *John Osborn* Groom of the Chamber, Sir *Anthony Dennis*, if he be living, *Terris*, the Chirurgion, and such as have heard *David Vincent* and others speak in this case; and that their Attestations may be enrolled in the *Chancery*, and in the *Arches*, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*.

Thirdly; I do refer you to the Original Will surmised to be signed with the King's own Hand, that thereby it may most clearly and evidently appear by some differences, how the same was not signed with the Kings Hand, but stamped as aforesaid. And albeit it is used both as an Argument and Calumination against my Sovereign to some, that the said Original hath been embezelled in *Queen Mary's* Time, I trust God will and hath reserved the same to be an Instrument to relieve the Truth, and to confound false Surmises, that thereby the Right may take place, notwithstanding the many Exemplifications and Transcripts, which being sealed with the great Seal, do run abroad in *England*, and do carry away many Mens minds, as great presumptions of great Verity and Validity. But, Sir, you know in cases of less importance, that the whole Realm of *England* Transcripts and Exemplifications be not of so great force in Law to serve for the recovery of any thing, either real or personal: And in as much as my Sovereign's Tittle in this case shall be little advanced, by taking Exceptions to others pretended and crased Titles, considering her Precedency, I will leave it to such as are to claim after the issue of *Hen. the 7th*, to lay in Bar the Poligamy of *Charles Brandon* the Duke of *Suffolk*; and also the vitiated and clandestine Contract, ( if  
it

it may be so called) having no witness nor solemnization of Christian Matrimony, nor any lawful matching of the Earl of *Hartford* and the Lady *Katherine*. Lastly; The seemably compelling of Mr. *Kay*, and the Lady *Mary* Sister to the Lady *Katherine*.

And now, Sir, I have, to answer your desire, said somewhat briefly to the Matter, which indeed is very little, where so much may be said; for to speak truly, the Cause speaketh for it self. I have so long forbore to deal in this Matter, that I have almost forgotten many things which may be said for Roboration of her Right, which I can shortly reduce to my remembrance, being at *Edinburgh* where my Notes are: So that if you be not by this satisfied, upon knowledg from you of any other Objection, I hope to satisfy you unto all things may be said against her. In the mean time I pray you so counsel the Queen, your Sovereign, as some effectual reparation may follow without delay, of the many and sundry traverses and disfavourings committed against the Queen, my Sovereign: As the publishing of so many exemplifications of King *Henry's* supposed Will, the secret embracing of *John Halles* Books, the Books printed and not avowed the last Summer, one of the which my Mistress hath sent by *Henry Killigrew* to the Queen your Sovereign; The Disputes and Proceedings of *Lincolns-Inn*, where the Case was ruled against the Queen my Sovereign; the Speeches of sundry in this last Session of Parliament, tending all to my Sovereign's derision, and nothing said to the contrary by any Man, but the Matter shut up with silence, most to her prejudice; and by so much the more as every Man is gone home settled and confirmed in his Error. And lastly, The Queen, your Sovereign's Resolution to defend now by Proclamations, all Books and Writings containing any discussion of Titles when the whole Realm hath engendred by these fond Proceedings, and other favoured Practises, a settled Opinion against my Sovereigns, to the advancement of my Lady *Katherine's* Title. I might also speak of another Book lately printed and set abroad in this last Session, containing many Untruths and weak Reasons, which Mr. *Wailing* desired might be answer'd before the Defence were made by Proclamation. I trust you will so hold hand to the Reformation of all these things, as the Queen my Sovereign, may have effectually occasion to esteem you her Friend; which doing, you shall never offend the Queen your Mistress, your Country, nor Conscience, but be a favourer of the Truth against Errors, and yet deserve well of a Princess, who hath a good Heart to recognize any good turn, when it is done her, and may hereafter have means to do you pleasure. For my particular, as I have always honoured you as my Father, so do I still remain of the same mind, as one, whom in all things not touching the State, you may direct, as your Son *Thomas Cecil*, and with my hearty commendations to you, and my Lady, both, I take my leave. From *Strivling*, the 14th of *January*, 1566.

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A N  
**APPENDIX**  
Concerning some of the  
**Errors and Falshoods**  
I N  
**SANDER's Book**  
O F T H E  
**English Schism.**

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THE  
APPENDIX

OF THE

REPORT

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## An Appendix.

**T**Hose who intend to write Romances, or Plays, do commonly take their Plot from some true Piece of History; in which they fasten such Characters to Persons and Things, and mix such Circumstances and secret Passages, with those publick Transactions and Changes, that are in other Histories; as may more artificially raise those Passions and Affections in their Readers Minds, which they intend to move, than could possibly be done, if the whole Story were a meer Fiction and Contrivance: And tho' all Men know those tender Passages to flow only from the Invention and Fancy of the Poet; yet, by I know not what Charm, the greatest part that read or hear their Poems, are softened and sensibly touched.

Some such Design *Sanders* seems to have had in his Book, which he very wisely kept up as long as he lived: He intended to represent the Reformation in the foulest shape that was possible, to defame Queen *Elizabeth*, to stain her Blood, and thereby to bring her Title to the Crown in question; and to magnify the Authority of the See of *Rome*, and celebrate Monastick Orders, with all the Praises and high Characters he could devise: And therefore after he had writ several Books on these Subjects, without any considerable Success; they being all rather filled with foul Calumnies and detracting Malice, than good Arguments, or strong Sense, he resolved to try his Skill another way; so he intended to tell a doleful Tale, which should raise a detestation of Heresy, an ill Opinion of the Queen, cast a stain on her Blood, and disparage her Title, and advance the Honour of the Papacy. A Tragedy was fitter for these ends, since it left the deepest Impressions on the graver and better Affections of the Mind; the Scene must be laid in *England*, and King *Henry* the Eighth and his three Children, with the Changes that were in their Times, seemed to afford very plentiful Matter for a Man of Wit and Fancy, who knew where he could dextrously shew his Art; and had boldness enough to do it without shame, or the reverence due, either to crowned Heads, or to Persons that were dead. Yet because he knew not how he could hold up his Face to the World, after these Discoveries were made, which he had reason to expect, this was concealed as long as he lived; and after he had died *for his faith* (that is, in Rebellion, which I shall shew *is the Faith* in his Stile) this Work of his was published. The Stile is generally clean, and things are told in an easy and pleasant way; only he could not use his Art so decently, as to restrain that Malice which boiled in his Breast, and often fermented out too palpably in his Pen.

The Book served many Ends well, and so was generally much cried up, by Men who had been long accustomed to commend any thing that was useful to them, without troubling themselves with those impertinent Questions, whether they were true or false; yet *Rishton*, and others since

H h h h

that

that time, took the Pencil again in their Hands, and finding there were many Touches wanting, which would give much Life to the whole Piece, have so changed it, that it was afterwards reprinted, not only with a large Continuation, that was writ by a much more unskilful Poet, but with so many and great Additions, scattered through the whole Work, whereby it seemed so changed in the vamping, that it looked new.

If any will give themselves the trouble, to compare his Fable with the History that I have written, and the certain undoubted Authorities I bring in confirmation of what I assert, with the slender, and (for the most part) no Authorities, he brings, they will soon be able to discern where the Truth lies: But because all People have not the Leisure or Opportunities for laying things so critically together, I was advised by those whose Counsels directed me in this whole Work, to sum up, in an *Appendix*, the most considerable Falshoods and Mistakes of that Book, with the Evidences upon which I rejected them. Therefore I have drawn out the following Extraction, which consists of Errors of two sorts. The one is, of those in which there is indeed no Malice, yet they shew the Writer had no true information of our Affairs, but commits many Faults, which tho' they leave not such foul Imputations on the Author, yet tend very much to disparage and discredit his Work. But the others are of an higher Guilt, being designed Forgeries to serve partial Ends; not only without any Authority, but manifestly contrary to Truth, and to such Records as (in spite of all the care they took in *Q. Mary's* Time by destroying them, to condemn Posterity to Ignorance in these Matters) are yet reserved, and serve to discover the falshood of those Calumnies in which they have traded so long. I shall pursue these Errors in the *series* in which they are delivered in *Sanders* his Book, according to the Impression at *Colen* 1628, which is that I have. I first set down his Errors, and then a short confutation of them, referring the Reader for fuller Information to the foregoing History.

Page 2.

1. *Sanders* says; 'That when Prince *Arthur* and his Princess were bedded, King *Henry* the 7<sup>th</sup> ordered a grave Matron to lie in the Bed, that so they might not consummate their Marriage.

This is the ground-work of the whole Fable; and should have been some-way or other proved. But if we do not take so small a Circumstance upon his word, we treat him rudely; and who will write Histories, if they be bound to say nothing but Truth! But little thought our Author that there were three Depositions upon Record, point blank against this; for the Dutchess of *Norfolk*, the Viscount of *Fitzwater* and his Lady, deposed they saw them bedded together, and the Bed blessed after they two were put in it; besides that such an extravagant thing was never known done in any place.

*Ibid.*

2. *Sanders* says; 'Prince *Arthur* was not then fifteen Years of Age, and was sick of a lingering Disease.

The Plot goes on but scurvily, when the next thing that is brought to confirm it, is contradicted by Records. Prince *Arthur* was born the 20<sup>th</sup> of *September*, in the Year 1486, and so was 15 Years old and two months passed at the 14<sup>th</sup> of *November* 1501, in which he was married to the Princess, and was then of a lively and good Complexion, and did not begin to decay till the *Shrovetide* following, which was imputed to his Excesses in the Bed, as the Witnesses depose.

3. He



3. He says; ' Upon the motion for the marrying of his Brother *Ibid.*  
' *Henry* to the Princess, it was agreed to by all, that the thing was lawful.

It was perhaps agreed on at *Rome*, where *Mony* and other political Arts sway their Councils; but it was not agreed to in *England*: For which we have no meaner Authority, than *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who when examined upon Oath, deposed that himself then thought the Marriage was not honorable, nor well pleasing to God, and that he had thereupon opposed it much, and that the People murmured at it.

4. He says; ' There was not one Man in any Nation under Heaven, *Page 3.*  
' or in the whole Church, that spake against it.

The common Stile of the *Roman Church*, calling the See of *Rome* the *Catholick Church*, must be applied to this, to bring off our Author; otherwise I know not how to save his Reputation. Therefore by all the Nations under Heaven must be understood only the Divines at *Rome*, tho' when it came to be examined, they could scarce find any who would justify it: All the most famous Universities, Divines, and Canonists, condemned it, and *Warham's* Testimony contradicts this plainly, besides the other great Authorities that were brought against it, for which see *lib. 2.* from *pag. 91.* to *pag. 103.*

5. ' The King once said, *He would not marry the Queen.*

Here is a pretty Essay of our Author's Art, who would make us think it was only in a transient Discourse, that the King said he would not marry Queen *Katherine*; but this was more maturely done, by a solemn Protestation, which he read himself before the Bishop of *Winchester*, that he would never marry her, and that he revoked his consent given under Age. This was done when he came to be of Age, see *pag. 36.* it is also confessed by *Sanders* himself. *Page 4.*

6. He says; ' The Queen bore him three Sons and two Daughters *Ibid.*

All the Books of that time speak only of two Sons, and one Daughter; but this is a flourish of his Pen to represent her a fruitful Mother

7. He says; ' The King had sometimes two, sometimes three Con- *Page 5.*  
cubines at once.

It does not appear he had ever any but *Elizabeth Blunt*; and if we judge of his Life, by the Letters the Popes wrote to him, and many printed Elogies that were published then, he was a Prince of great Piety and Religion all that while.

8. He says; ' The Lady *Mary* was first desired in marriage by *James* *Page 6.*  
' the 5th of *Scotland*, then by *Charles* the 5th the Emperor; and then  
' *Francis* asked her, first for the *Dolphin*, then for the Duke of *Orleance*,  
' and last of all for himself.

But all this is wrong placed, for she was first contracted to the *Dolphin*, then to the Emperor, and then treated about to the King of *Scotland*; after that it was left to *Francis* his choice, whether she should be married to himself, or his second Son the Duke of *Orleance*: So little did our Poet know the publick Transactions of that Time.

9. He says; ' She was in the end contracted to the *Dolphin*: From *Ibid.*  
' whence he concludes, that all Foreign Princes were satisfied with the  
' lawfulness of the Marriage.

She was first of all contracted to the *Dolphin*. Foreign Princes were so little satisfied of the lawfulness of the Marriage, that tho' she being Heir to the Crown of *England*, was a Match of great Advantage; yet their Councillors excepted to it, on that very account, that the Marriage was not good. This was done in *Spain*, and she was rejected, as a Writer who lived in that time informs us; and *Sanders* confesses it was done by the *French* Ambassador.

Page 7.

10. He says; '*Wolsey* was first Bishop of *Lincoln*, then of *Duresme*, after that of *Winchester*, and last of all Arch-Bishop of *York*; after that he was made Chancellor, then Cardinal and Legate.

The order of these Preferments is quite reversed; for *Wolsey* soon after he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, upon Cardinal *Bembridge* his Death, was not only promoted to the See of *York*, but advanced to be a Cardinal in the 7th Year of the King's Reign: And some months after that he was made Lord Chancellor; and seven Years after that, he got the Bishoprick of *Duresme*, which six Years after he exchanged for *Whinchester*. He had heard perhaps that he enjoyed all these Preferments; but knowing nothing of our Affairs beyond hearsay, he resolved to make him rise as Poets order their *Heroes*, by degrees, and therefore ranks his Advancement not according to Truth, but in the method he liked best himself.

Page 8.

11. He says; '*Wolsey* first designed the Divorce, and made *Longland* that was the King's Confessor, second his motion for it.

The King not only denied this in publick, saying, That he himself had first moved it to *Longland* in confession; and that *Wolsey* had opposed it all he could: But in private discourse with *Grinaeus*, told him, he had laboured under these Scruples for seven Years; *septem perpetuis Annis trepidatio*. Which reckoning from the Year 1531, in which *Grinaeus* wrote this to one of his Friends, will fall back to the Year 1524, long before *Wolsey* had any Provocation to tempt him to it.

Page 9

12. He says; 'In the Year 1529, in which the King was first made to doubt of his Marriage, he was resolved then whom to marry when he was once divorced.

But by his other Story, *Anne Boleyn* was then but fifteen Years old and went to *France* at that Age, where she stayed a considerable Time before she came to the Court of *England*.

Ibid.

13. He says; 'The King spent a Year in a private search, to see what could be found, either in the Scriptures, or the Popes-Bull, to be made use of against his Marriage; but they could find nothing.

In that time all the Bishops of *England*, except *Fisher*, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Marriage unlawful; for which see pag. 38. and upon what Reasons this was grounded, has been clearly opened, pag. 97.

Ibid.

14. He says; 'If there were any Ambiguities in the Pope's first Letters (meaning the Bull, for dispensing with the Marriage) they were cleared by other Letters, which *Ferdinand* of *Spain* had afterwards procured.

These other Letters (by which he means the *Breve*) bear date the same day with the Bull; and so were not procured afterwards. There were indeed violent Presumptions of their being forged long after, even after

after the Proceſs had been almoſt a Year in Agitation. But tho' they helped the matter in ſome leſſer Particulars, yet in the main Buſineſs, Whether Prince *Arthur* did know his Princeſs, they did it a great prejudice; for whereas the Bull bore, that by the Queens Petition her former Marriage was *perhaps conſummated*, the Breve bears that in her Petition, the Marriage was ſaid to be conſummated, without any *perhaps*.

15. He ſays; 'The King having ſeen theſe ſecond Letters, both he *Ibid.*  
'and his Council reſolved to move no more in it.

The Proceſs was carried on, almoſt a Year, before the Breve was heard of; and the Forgery of it ſoon appeared, ſo they went on notwithstanding it.

16. He ſays; 'The Biſhop of *Tarby* being come from *France*, to con- *Page 10*  
'clude the Match for the Lady *Mary*, was ſet on by the King and the  
'Cardinal, to move Exception to the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

There is no reaſon to believe this; for that Biſhop, tho' afterwards made a Cardinal, never publiſhed this; which both he ought to have done as a good Catholick, and certainly would have done as a true Cardinal, when he ſaw what followed upon it, and perceived that he was trepanned to be the firſt mover of a thing, which ended ſo fatally for the Interests of *Rome*.

17. He ſays; 'The Biſhop of *Tarby*, in a Speech before the King in *Page 11*  
'Council, ſaid, That not he alone, but almoſt all learned Men, thought  
'the King's Marriage unlawful and null; ſo that he was freed from the  
'Bond of it, and that it was againſt the Rules of the Goſpel; and that  
'all Foreign Nations had ever ſpoken very freely of it, lamenting that  
'the King was drawn into it in his Youth.

It is not ordinary for Ambaſſadors to make Speeches in King's Councils: But if this be true, it agrees ill with what this Author delivers in his third *Page*, That there was not a Man in the whole Church, nor under Heaven, that ſpoke againſt it, otherwiſe the Biſhop of *Tarby* was both an impudent and a fooliſh Man.

18. He ſays; 'Upon the Pope's Captivity, *Wolfey* was ſent over to *Page 13*  
'*France* with 300000 Crowns to procure the Pope's Liberty.

*Hall, Hollingshead* and *Stow* ſay, He carried over 240000 pounds *ſterlin*, which is more than thrice that ſum.

19. He ſays; 'Two Colleagues were ſent in this Ambaſſy with the *Ibid.*  
'Cardinal.

His Greatneſs was above that, and none are mentioned in the *Re-*  
*records*.

20. He ſays; 'Orders followed him to *Callais*; not to move any *Ibid.*  
'thing about the King's Marriage with the French King's Siſter, the  
'King having then reſolved to marry *Anne Boleyn*.

This agrees ill with what he ſaid *pag. 9.* that a Year before the King was reſolved whom to marry.

21. He ſays; 'King *Henry*, that he might have freer acceſs to Sir *Tho-* *Ibid.*  
'*mas Boleyn's* Lady, ſent him to *France*; where after he had ſtayed two  
'Years, his Lady was with Child of *Anne Boleyn* by the King.

This Story was already confuted, ſee *pag. 41, 42.* And in it there are more than one or two Lies.

1. Sir *Thomas Boleyn* went not Ambassador to *France* till the 7th Year of the King's Reign: And if two Years after that, *Anne* was born, which was the 9th of his Reign, she must then have been but ten Years old at this time.

2. Tho' he had sent him upon his first coming to the Crown, this could not be true; for two Years after, admit her to be born, that is *Anno 1511*, then a Year before this, which was *Anno 1526*, she was fifteen Years old; in which Age, *Sanders* says, she was corrupted in her Fathers House, and sent over to *France*, where she staid long. But all this is false: For,

3. She was born two Years before the King came to the Crown, in the Year 1507, and if her Father was sent to *France* two Years before, it was in the Year 1505.

4. The King being then Prince, was but fourteen Years old, for he was born the 28th of *June*, in the Year 1491; in which Age there is no reason to think he was so forward as to be corrupting other Mens Wives, for they will not allow his Brother, when almost two Years elder, to have known his own Wife.

As for the other pieces of this Story, that Sir *Thomas Boleyn* did sue his Lady in the Spiritual Court; that upon the King's sending him word that she was with Child by him, he passed it over; that the King had also known her Sister, and that she had owned it to the Queen, that at the fifteenth Year of *Anne's* Age, she had prostituted her self both to her Fathers Butler, and Chaplain; that then she was sent to *France*, where she was at first for some time concealed, then brought to Court, where she was so notoriously lewd, that she was called an *Hackney*; that she afterwards was kept by the *French* King; that when she came over into *England*, Sir *Thomas Wiat* was admitted to base Privacies with her, and offered to the King and his Council, that he himself should with his own Eyes see it: And in fine, that she was ugly, mishaped; and monstrous, are such an heap of impudent Lyes, that none but a Fool, as well as a Knave, would venture on such a recital. And for all this, he cites no other Authority but *Rastal's* Life of Sir *Thomas More*, a Book that was seen by none but himself; and he gives no other evidence that there was any such Book, but his own Authority. Nor is it likely that *Rastal* ever writ *More's* Life, since he did not set it out with his Works which he published in one Volume, *Anno 1556*. It is true, *More's* Son in-Law, *Roper*, writ his Life which is since printed, but there is no such Story in it. The whole is such a piece of lying, as if he who forged it, had resolved to out do all who had ever gone before him; for can it be so much as imagined, that a King could pursue a Design for seven Years together, of marrying a Woman of so scandalous a Life, and so disagreeable a Person; and that he who was always in the other extrem of Jealousy, did never try out these Reports, and would not so much as see what *Wiat* informed? Nor were these things published in the Libels that were printed at that time, either in the Emperor's Court, or at *Rome*. All which shew that this was a desperate Contrivance of Malicious Traitors, against their Sovereign Queen *Elizabeth*, to defame and disgrace her. And this I take to be the true reason why none made any full answer to this Book all her Time. It was not thought for the Queen's Honour to let such Stuff be so much considered as to merit an Answer. So that the 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, pages, are one continued Lye.

22. He says; Sir *Thomas Boleyn* hearing the King intended to marry *Page 16.*  
 ‘ his supposed Daughter, came over in all haste from *France*, to put him  
 ‘ in mind that she was his own Child; and that the King bade him  
 ‘ hold his peace for a fool, for *an hundred* had lien with his Wife as well  
 ‘ as he, but whose soever Daughter she was, she should be his Wife,  
 ‘ and upon that Sir *Thomas* instructed his Daughter how she should hold  
 ‘ the King in her Toils.

Sir *Thomas* must have thought the King had an ill Memory; if he had forgot such a Story: But the one part of this makes him afraid that the King should marry his Daughter, and the other part makes him afraid they should miss their hopes in it: Not to mention how little likely it is that a King of such high Vanity, would have done that which the privatest Person has an aversion to, I mean, the marrying the Daughter of one whom they know to be a common Prostitute.

23. He says; ‘ *Wolfey* before his return from *France*, sent *Gambara* to *Page 19.*  
 ‘ the Pope, desiring him to name himself Vicar of the Papacy, during  
 ‘ his Captivity.

‘ This was not done till almost a Year after this: And the motion was sent by *Staphileus* Dean of the *Rota*, for which see *pag. 50.*

24. He says; ‘ None but ill Men and ignorant Persons wrote against *Page 20.*  
 ‘ the Marriage, but all learned and good Men wrote for it.

The whole Doctors of the Church, in all Ages, were against it; and no Doctor, ancients than *Cajetan*, could ever be found to have writ for it.

25. He says; ‘ That tho’ great Endeavours were used to persuade *Ibid.*  
 ‘ Sir *Tho. More* of the unlawfulness of the Marriage, all was in vain.

Is it probable that the King would have made him Lord Chancellor, when he was so earnest in this Business, if he had not known that he would have gone along with him in it? By one of his Letters to *Cromwel* out of the *Tower*, it appears, that he approved the Divorce, and had great hopes of success in it, as long as it was prosecuted at *Rome*, and founded on the defects in the Bull. And in the 22<sup>d</sup> Year of the King’s Reign, when the Opinions of the Universities, and the Books of Learned Men were brought to *England* against the Marriage, he carried them down to the House of Commons, and made read them there; after which he desired they would report in their Country what they had heard and seen; and then all Men would openly perceive that the King had not attempted this Matter of his Will and Pleasure, but only for the discharge of his Conscience. *More* was a Man of greater Integrity than to have said this, if he had thought the Marriage good; so that he has either afterwards changed his Mind, or did at this Time dissemble too artfully with the King.

26. After a long flourish about the King’s secret Fears and Apprehensions, and the Perplexities the Cardinal was in, which must pass for a piece of *his Wit*, that is to say, *Lying*, for he knew none of their thoughts; He says, ‘ That *Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian* were sent to  
 ‘ the Pope together, *Gardiner* being then Secretary of State *Page 22.*

In this there are only three gross mistakes. First, *Gardiner* was not sent with the first Message to the Pope, Secretary *Knight* carried it.

2. Sir *Francis Brian* went never to *Rome* with *Gardiner*: It is true, a Year

Year after the commencing the Suit, Sir *Francis Brian* was sent to *Rome*, and about a month after him *Gardiner* was also sent; so tho' they were both together at *Rome*, yet they were not sent thither together.

3. *Gardiner* was not Secretary of State, but was *Wolsey's* Secretary when he went first to *Rome*, and was made a Privy-Councillor when he was sent thither the second time; and was not Secretary of State, till some months after his return from his Journey the last time.

Page 23. 27. He says; 'They made the Pope believe that the Queen would willingly retire into a Monastery.

This was on the contrary a contrivance of the Popes, who thought it the easiest way to bring the Matter to a good issue; but in *England* they had no hopes of it, and so always diverted the motion when it was proposed by the Pope.

Ibid. 28. He says; 'The Pope said he would consult with some Cardinals and Divines, and do all that he could lawfully do to give the King Satisfaction.

Upon the first motion of it, the Pope frankly granted the King's desire; and gave a Bull with a Commission upon it: And only consulted some Cardinals about the methods of doing it. And did assure the King, that he would not only do every thing that could be granted in Law or Justice, but whatsoever he could grant out of the fulness of his Power. It is true, afterwards when the Pope changed his Measures, and resolved to agree with the Emperor, he pretended he understood not these things himself, but would needs turn it over upon the Cardinals and Divines.

Page 24. 29. He says; 'All the Cardinals were of a Mind that the Marriage was good.

Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, by the force of that mighty Argument of 4000 Crowns, changed his Mind. All the other Cardinals were forward in granting the King's Desires, for which he wrote them a Letter of Thanks.

Page 26. 30. He says; 'The Pope granted the Commission to the two Legats, not doubting but it was true that had been told him of the Queens readiness to go into a Monastery.

The Pope knew she would not yield to any such thing; but when he granted that Commission, he sent with *Campegio* a Decretal Bull, annulling the Marriage; and sent afterwards a Promise never to avocate the Process, but to confirm what Sentence the Legats should give; tho' soon after he broke his Promise most signally. And since he had often dispensed with others for breaking their Faith, he might think that it was hard to deny him the same priviledg for himself.

Ibid. 31. He says; 'The Pope understanding that the Queen did not consent to the Propositions that were made, and that he had been abused, sent after *Campegio*, when he was on his Journey, that he should not proceed to a Sentence without a new Order.

The Pope sent *Campana* to *England* after *Campegio*, to assure the King he would do every thing for him that he could do out of the fulness of his Power: And ordered the same Person to charge Cardinal *Campegio* to burn the Decretal Bull, which he had sent by him: In all which the Pope, as appears by the Original Letters, was only governed by poli-  
tick

tick Maxims, and considered nothing but the Dangers himself was like to fall in; tho' *Sanders* would perswade us, he was ready to run the hazard of all these.

32. He says; 'The King by his Letters to the Pope, did, at the same Page 30  
' time that he was moving Scruples about his own Marriage, transact  
' about a Dispensation for a Marriage betwixt his own Natural Son  
' the Duke of *Richmond*, and his Daughter the Lady *Mary*.

Tho' the whole Dispatches at that time, both to and from *Rome*, be most happily preserved, there is not the least mention of any such design: And can any Body think, that if any such motion had been made, the Pope would not have taken great Advantages from it, and that these Letters would not have been afterwards published? But this *Sanders* thought was a pretty Embelishment of his Fable; and of a piece with this is his next.

33. He says; 'The King did under his own Hand confess, he had *Ibid.*  
' known *Anne Boleyns* Sister *Mary*, and desired the Pope would dispence  
' with his Marrying *Anne*, notwithstanding that.

The fallhood of this appears from the recital of it: And how came it, that these Letters were not Published; Nor is there any mention of this in all the Dispatches I have seen. And it is not possible, that in so many Conferences which the *English* Ambassadors had with the Pope, these two things should never have been discoursed of. And can it be thought credible, that at the same time when the King pretended such Scruples and Troubles of Conscience, he would be guilty of so much Folly and Impudence, as to put himself thus in the Pope's Mercy, by two such Demands? This was a Forgery of *Cardinal Pole's*, which *Sanders* greedily caught to dress up the Scene.

34. From page 34. to 42, there is a trifling Account given of the Page 34  
Reasons brought against the Marriage, which *Sanders* answers manfully, and fights courageously against the Man of Straw he had set up. But if that be compared with what has been opened in the History, it will appear how lame and defective his Account is.

35. He says; 'Clarke Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Tonstal* Bishop of Page 42  
' *London*, and *West* Bishop of *Ely*, writ for the lawfulness of the King's  
' Marriage.

All the Bishops, except *Fisher*, had a Year before this, given it under their Hands and Seals, that the King's Marriage was unlawful: And in all the Memorials of that Time, *Fisher* is the only Bishop I find mentioned to have writ for it. *Tonstal* was also soon after Translated to *Durresme*, which none that have considered that King's Temper, will think could have been done, if he had interposed in so tender a Point, against what the King so vehemently desired.

36. He says; That *Abell*, *Powel*, *Fetherston*, and *Ridly*, also writ *Ibid.*  
' for the Marriage.

This is not likely of the second and third, for they being afterwards attainted of Treason, no such Books were objected to them; but the Crime charged on them, was only that they said, the King's Marriage with *Q Katherine* was good.

37. He says; 'All things appeared clear in the Trial before the Le- Page 43  
' gats,

‘gats, in behalf of the Marriage, so that they could give no Sentence  
‘against such full Evidence as was brought for it.

This is said without any regard to Truth; for all the Matter of Fact that had been alledged, was clearly proved for the contrary side. It was proved that Prince *Arthur* Married the Queen: Violent presumptions appeared of his consummating the Marriage: It was also proved, that the King was under Age when the Bull was obtained, and that the Petitions given in his Name, upon which the Bull was granted, were false: That the King had not desired it, but when he came of Age he had protested against it: And that there was no hazard of a War between *Spain* and *England*, the preventing which, was the chief Reason set down in the Bull that permitted it. So that all that had been informed at *Rome*, as to Matter of Fact, was fully proved before the Legats, by clear Instruments, and many, and noble Witnesses.

*Ibid.*

38. He puts a long bold Speech in *Campegio's* Mouth, who was far from assuming such freedom; but lived licentiously in *England*, in all manner of Disorders, of which both he and his Bastard Son were guilty. And by dissembling, and other Arts, perswaded the King to delay the Process, from Day to Day, giving him full Assurances, that in conclusion he should obtain what he desired: And by such means he gain'd Time, and drew out the Trial, till the Pope had ended his Treaty with the Emperor, and then he served him an *Italian* Trick, by adjourning the Court.

Page 48.

39. He says; ‘Some Doctors being corrupted with the King's Mony,  
‘declared for him; but those were none of the most learned.

The King ordered those he sent, not to give or promise any thing to any Person, till they had delivered their Opinion freely: Upon which some of them wrote to him, that they would answer upon their Heads, that they had followed his Orders in that particular.

*Ibid.*

40. He says; ‘These Determinations were published in the Names  
‘of the Universities, to deceive the World by a false Representation of so  
‘great Authorities.

Were the publick Seals of the Universities, put to their Determinations, after a long debate, all being required to deliver their Consciences upon Oath, and done with the unanimous Consent of the whole Faculty in some places, false Representations? This was done in *Italy*, in *Padua*, *Bononia*, *Ferrara*, and *Millan*, under the Pope and the Emperor's Eye, and within their Dominions.

Page 50.

41. He says; ‘Endeavours were used to corrupt the University of  
‘*Colen*, and some others in *Germany*, for which great Sums were offered,  
‘and that the King was at a vast expence in it.

*Crooks* Accompts shew that his Expence in *Italy* was very inconsiderable. And who can imagine that when *Paris*, *Padua*, and *Bononia*, had declared for the King, he would be much concerned for *Colen*, or any other University in *Germany*? Those who will believe *Sanders*, and such Authors as he quotes, *Cochleus*, and an unknown Bishop of *Brasile*, may if they will.

Page 51.

42. He says; ‘In *Oxford* the King not being able to obtain a satisfac-  
‘tory Answer in that Matter, eight Students of the University broke  
‘into the place where the Seal was laid, and put it to an Answer, which  
‘passed for the Determination of the University. The



The Lord *Herbert* says, There was an Original Instrument passed, which he saw; by which the University did appoint a Committee of 33 Doctors and Batchellors of Divinity, to examine the Questions proposed by the King, and to set the Seal of the University to any Answer that they should agree on: And these did afterwards give a Resolution against the lawfulness of the Marriage.

43. ' He tells a long Story of the King's endeavours to gain *Reginald Pole*, and that he came over to *England*; and being much pressed by his Kindred to comply with the King, he went to him, fully purposed to have done it: But could not speak a word to him, till he resolved to talk to him in another Stile; and then he found his Tongue, and spake very freely to the King, who put his Hands sometimes to his Ponyard, intending to have killed him; but was overcome with the Simplicity and Humility of his Discourse: And so the King continued his Pension to him, and gave him leave to go back to *Padua*. Page 52

This is another pretty adventure of one of the *Heroes* of the Romance, but has this misfortune in it, that it is all without any proof: For as none of the Books of that Time ever mention it, so neither did *Pole* himself pretend to have carried so, in his Book, tho' written with the most provoking insolence that was possible. In it he mentions his going over to *England*, but not one word of any such discourse with the King. And King *Henry* was not a Man of such a Temper, as to permit one of *Pole's* Quality to go out of *England*, and live among his Enemies, and continue his Pensions to him, if he had to his face opposed him in a Matter he laid so much to Heart.

44. He says; '*Fisher* of *Rochester*, and *Holman* Bishop of *Bristol*, wrote for the Marriage. Page 53

There was no Bishoprick, nor Bishop of *Bristol* at that time, nor thirteen Years after.

45. ' Many are reckoned up who wrote for the Marriage in all Nations. *Ibid.*

These are neither to be compared in Number, nor Authority, to those who wrote against it; an hundred Books were shewed in Parliament, written by Divines, and Lawyers beyond Sea, besides the Determinations of twelve of the most celebrated Universities in *Europe*. The Emperor did indeed give so great Rewards, and such good Benefices, to those who wrote against the King, that it is a wonder there were not more Writers of his side.

46. He says; ' That upon *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury's* death, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, told the King that he had a Chaplain, who was at his House, that would certainly serve the King in the matter of his Divorce; upon which *Cranmer* was promoted. Page 56

*Cranmer* was no stranger to the King at this time: He was first recommended by the King to the Earl of *Wiltshire*, to be kept in his House; but was in *Germany* when *Warham* died, and made no haste over, but delayed his Journey some months. It is true, he was of the mind that the King ought to be divorced; but this was not out of servile Compliance; for when the King pressed him in other things that were against his Conscience, he expressed all the Courage and Constancy of Mind which became so great a Prelate.

Ibid.

47. He says; 'That *Cranmer* being to swear the Oath of Obedience to the Pope, before he was Consecrated, did protest to a publick Notary, that he took it against his Will; and that he had no Mind to keep his Faith to the Pope, in prejudice to the King's Authority.

He did not protest that he did it unwillingly, nor was it only to a Notary, but twice at the High Altar he repeated the Protestation that he made; which was to this effect, That he intended not thereby to oblige himself to any thing, contrary to the Law of God, the King's Prerogative, or the Laws of the Land; nor to be restrained from speaking, advising, or consenting to any thing that should concern the Reformation of the Christian Faith, the Government of the Church of England, and the Prerogative of the Crown and Kingdom.

Page 57.

48. He says; '*Cranmer* did in all things so comply with the King's Lusts, that the King was wont to say he was the only Man that had never contradicted him in any thing he had a mind to.

*Cranmer* was both a good Subject, and a modest and discreet Man, and so would obey and submit as far as he might, without Sin: Yet when his Conscience charged him to appear against any thing that the King pressed him to, as in the Matter of the six Articles, he did it with much Resolution and Boldness.

Page 58.

49. He says; 'The King going over to *Calais*, carried *Anne Boleyn* secretly with him.

He carried her over in great State, having made her Marchioness of *Pembroke*; and in the publick Interview between him and *Francis*, she appeared with all possible Splendor.

Page 59.

50. He says; 'After the King's return from *France*, he brought the Action of Premunire against all the Clergy.

This is an Error of two Years; for so long before this Voyage to *France* was that Action begun: And the Clergy about 18 Months before had made their Submission; and obtained their Pardon in *March* 1531, which appears by the Printed Statutes, and the King went over to *France* in *September* 1532; so that it is clear *Sanders* never looked for any Verification of what he wrote.

Ibid.

51. He says; 'The King, by an unheard-of Tyranny, and a new Calumny, brought this Charge against the Clergy.

These Laws upon which the Charge was founded, had been oft renewed; they were first made under *Edward* the First, by reason of the Papal Encroachments that gave the rise to them; they were oft confirmed by *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Fifth; with the Concurrence of their Parliaments, so the Charge was neither new or Tyrannical.

Ibid.

52. He says; 'The Clergy submitted to the King, being betrayed by their Metropolitans, *Cranmer* and *Lee*.

The Submission was made two Years before *Cranmer* was Arch-Bishop, in *March* 1531, and *Cranmer* was Consecrated in *March* 1533, but at that time *Warham* sat in *Canterbury*; as for *Lee*, he opposed it for some time.

Ibid.

53. He says; 'The whole Clergy petitioned the King, to forgive their Crime, according to that Supream Power which he had over all the Clergy, and Laity, within his Kingdom; from whence the King's Counsellors took occasion afterwards to call him *Supream Head*.

The

The Clergy did, in the Title of their Submission, call the King in formal Terms, *Supream Head of the Church and Clergy of England as far as by the Law of Christ is lawful*; to which *Fisher*, with the rest of the Convocation, subscribed. And all this was done when *More* was Chancellor.

54. He says; 'When the King went to Marry *Anne Boleyn*, he per- Page 62.  
'swaded *Rowland Lee*, made soon after Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*,  
'to officiate in it, assuring him he had obtain'd a Bull for it from *Rome*,  
'which was then lying in his Cabinet. Upon which *Lee* giving Credit  
'to what he had, did Marry them.

This is another trial of *Sanders's* Wit, to excuse *Lee*, who tho' at this time he complied absolutely with the King, yet did afterwards turn over to the Popish Party; therefore to make him look a little clean, this Story must be forged. But at that time all the World saw that the Pope and the Emperor were so linked together, that *Lee* could not but know that no such thing was possible. And he was so obsequious to the King, that such Arts were needless to persuade him to any thing the King had a mind to.

55. For five Pages he runs out in Repetition of all those foul Lyes Page 67.  
concerning *Anne Boleyn*, by which he designed both to disgrace the Reformers, who were supported by her, and to defame her Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*, which have been before confuted: After that he says,  
'Queen *Katherine*, with three Maids and a small Family, retired into  
'the Country.

She had both the respect of a Princess Dowager, and all the Jointure contracted to her by Prince *Arthur*; so she could not be driven to that straitness; but this must go for an Ornament in the Fable.

56. He says; 'It was concluded, that *Cranmer* might be more free to Page 71.  
'pass Sentence, that there should be an Oath imposed on the Clergy, for  
'paying the same Obedience to the King, that they had paid the Pope:  
'Upon which he tells a long formal Story, for two Pages, That it was  
'resolved to draw *Fisher* into it, to swear Obedience to the King in all  
'Ecclesiastical Causes, with that exception, *as far as is lawful, according*  
'*to the Word of God*; which he did, and persuaded others to do it;  
'and upon this *Cranmer* taking the New Oath, went and pronounced  
'Judgment for Divorce.

There is not one tittle of this true, for there was no Oath sworn about the King's Supremacy at this time. The Story of *Fisher*, is that which was done by the Convocation two Years before *Cranmer's* Preferment, nor was there any Oath taken then, or at this time. It is true, two Years after this, *Gardiner*, *Stokesley*, and many other Bishops, did of their own accord take such an Oath; but there was no Law for it till the 28th Year of the King's Reign.

57. He says; 'One *Richard Ruse* (or *Rouise*, according to the Re- Page 72.  
'cords) was hired by *Anne Boleyn* to poison *Fisher*.

*Ruse* was boiled alive for poisoning the Bishop's Family, but did not discover any that set him on it: Which none can think but he would have done; if the Queen had hired him to it, and had then deserted him, to perish in so horrid a manner.

58. He says; '*Cranmer* being by Authority of Parliament freed from Page 73.  
'his

his Oath to the Pope, and bound by a new one to the King, went now confidently to pronounce Sentence.

The Parliament did not put down the Pope's Authority for eight Months after this, and appointed no new Oath till three Years after; For *Cranmer* sat in Judgment as Primate of *England*, and Legate of the Apostolick See.

*Ibid.*

59. He says; '*Cranmer* carried some Bishops with him, and having cited the Queen, without hearing her, he gave Sentence against the Marriage.

*Gardiner*, *Stokesley*, *Clark*, and *Longland*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *London*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, went with him. He could not hear the Queen, when she would not appear; but he examined all the Instruments and Evidences that had been brought in the whole Process.

Page 75.

60. He says; 'The Pope would not proceed against the King, till he met with the *French King* at *Marseilles*: But that the *English* Ambassadors did there carry so insolently, that *Francis* was ashamed of their Behaviour; and desired the Pope to proceed against the King as he thought fit, and that he should never defend him more, but should be against him.

Here the Romance goes on too grossly, for the Pope and the French King agreed at *Marseilles* to bring this matter to an Issue: The Pope declared he thought the King's Cause was just and right; and promised, if the King would send a full Submission to *Rome*, he would give Sentence in his Favour. Upon which the French King sent over the Bishop of *Paris*, who prevailed with the King to do it; tho' this afterwards came to nothing. It is true, *Bonner* who was always officious and forward when there was any thing to be got by it, being sent to *Marfellies* by the King to deliver an Appeal in the King's Name to the Pope, to the next General Council; and perhaps knowing nothing of the private Transactions between the Pope and the French King, it being a Secret of too great Importance to be communicated to such a hot-brain'd Man, did deliver his Message to the Pope in such provoking Language, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a boiling Cauldron; and he was fain to fly for it.

Page 76.

61. He says; 'The Pope returning to *Italy*, after he had again most carefully reviewed the whole Cause, gave Sentence.

This was so precipitated, that they would not stay six Days beyond the time which they prefixed, for the return of the Messenger that was sent to *England*, but dispatched that, which by the forms of their Court should have been done in three Consistories, all in one Day.

Page 78.

62. He says; 'Upon this Sentence, the King being enraged, did command Queen *Katherine* to be only called Princess, and declared her Daughter the Lady *Mary* a Bastard.

Both these were done five Months before the Pope's Sentence, and soon after, the Sentence was pronounced by *Cranmer*. And these were the natural Consequences of it; for the Marriage being annulled, neither could she be longer a Queen, nor her Daughter Princess any more.

*Ibid.*

63. He says; The King imprisoned *F. Forest* a Franciscan Observant, a most holy and learned Man, for contradicting *Latimer*, when he was inveighing against the Pope's Authority.

Concerning this *Forest*, I have seen an Original Letter of one *List*, a Friar of the same House, a Year after this, that says, *Forest* was a great scandal

scandal to their House, and was very ignorant; and that tho' he had been much against the King in his Marriage, yet he had then insinuated himself into his Favour, of which many of the House, who were for the King's Cause, had great Apprehensions. In the same Letter he writes, how cruel they were against any of their Brethren, who they thought discovered any thing that was done among them; and that one *Rainfcroft*, a Brother, whom they suspected to have informed what passed among them, was cruelly used, and kept in Prison till he died; which he chiefly imputes to *Foreft*. This Friar swore the King's Supremacy, and yet at the same time was perswading others not to do it; and being questioned upon it, said, He took the Oath only with his Outward, but not with his Inward Man; and for that, and his denying the Gospel, he was burnt as an obstinate Heretick.

64. He says; '*Abell, Powel, and Fetherston*, were put in Prison because they consulted with the *Maid of Kent*. Page 79.

This is only charged upon the former of these, but the two latter are not accused of any such thing.

65. He says; '*Elizabeth* being born the 8th of *September*, but five Months after the King had publickly Married her Mother, could not be the lawful Issue of that Marriage. *Ibid.*

This is a malicious Lye, for himself confessed that the King was married to her Mother the 14th of *November*, the former Year; between which and the 8th of *September*, there were ten Months; nor was the King ever after that Married publickly to the Queen. For what he calls a publick Marriage, was only the shewing her openly as Queen. But the design of this Lye is so visible, that it needs not be opened.

66. He says; '*The King's Daughter Mary*, who was then present, could never be induced to think she was the King's Child. *Ibid.*

In the former Page he said, *Mary* was sent to her Mother; and now forgetting himself too soon, he says, she was present when *Elizabeth* was born. What *Mary's* Thoughts were, none can tell, but she publickly acknowledged her to be her Sister, tho' she did not use her as one.

67. He says; '*Elizabeth Barton*, who was famed for her Sanctity, and six with her, who thought she was inspired by the Holy Ghost, were accused in Parliament. Page 80.

Those six knew that she was not inspired; and that all that was given out about her, was a Contrivance of theirs, who had instructed her to play such Tricks; as was proved by their own Confessions, and other Evidences.

68. He says; '*They all died very constantly: And on the Margent* *Ibid.* calls them *seven Martyrs*.

The Nun her self acknowledged the Imposture at her Death, and laid the heaviest weight of it on the Priests that suffered with her, who had taught her the Cheat: So that they both died for Treason and Imposture. And this being *Sanders's Faith*, as appeared by his Works, they were indeed Martyrs for it.

69. He says; '*More and Fisher* having examined her, could see no ground to think she was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, as it was given out. *Ibid.*

It was not given out that she was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, for that had been more honest; but her Spirit was Cheating and Knavery. *More* clear'd himself, and looked on her as a weak Woman, and commonly called

called her the *Silly Maid*, But *Fisher* did disown her, when the Cheat was discovered, though he had given her too much Encouragement before.

Page 81. 70. He says; 'The thing she prophesied came to pass; which was  
' that *Mary* should be Queen of *England*..

The thing for which she and her Complices were attainted of Treason, was, that she said, *If the King Married Anne Boleyn, he should not be a King a Month longer, and not an Hour longer in the sight of God, and should die a Villains Death.* But it did not serve *Sanders's* ends to tell this.

Ibid. 71. He says; 'The Day she suffered, many of the the Nobility came  
' and swore to the Succession of the Issue of the King's Marriage with  
' Queen *Anne*, before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chan-  
' cellor, and *Cromwel*.

Both Houses of Parliament, did in the House of Lords take that Oath, on the Day of their Prorogation, which was the 30th of *March*, as appears by the second Act of the next Session: And the Nun, with her Complices, did not suffer till the 21. of *April* after.

Ibid. 72. He says; 'The *Franciscans* of the Observance, chiefly two Fa-  
' thers in *London*, *Elston*, and *Payton*, did, both in their Sermons and  
' publick Disputes, justify the King's Marriage with *Q. Katherine*.

*Elston* and *Payton*, were not of *London*, but of *Greenwich*. They compared the King to *Ahab*, and said, in the Pulpit, to his face, *The Dogs shall lick his Blood*; with many other such virulent Expressions. But to rail at a Prince with the most spiteful Reproaches that could be, was a part of *Sanders's Faith*: And so no Wonder those pass for Confessors, when *Elizabeth Barton* and her Complices are reckoned *Martyrs*.

Page 82. 73. He says; '*Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresme*, was ordered by the King's  
' Messengers, not to come to the Session of Parliament 26 *Regni*, in  
' which the King's Supremacy was established.

In this he is safer than in some other Stories; for the Journals of that Session are lost, so the falshood of this cannot be demonstrated: Yet it is not at all likeley, that he who justified all that was done in the former Session, in which the Pope's Power was put down, the Nomination of Bishops annexed to the Crown, a Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws appointed to be made, in defence of all which he wrote afterwards, was now so scrupulous as to be ordered to stay at home. But *Tonstal* suffering imprisonment in *Edward* the Sixth's time, it was fit to use some art to shew that he was unwillingly brought to comply with the King.

Ibid. 74. 'He, to shew God's Judgments on the chief Instruments that  
' served the King, says, That the Duke of *Norfolk* was by the King con-  
' demned to perpetual Imprisonment.

This bewrays palpable Ignorance, since he was attainted of High-Treason the very Day before the King's Death, and should have suffered the next Day, if the King's Death had not prevented it. But since he will descant on the Providence of God, he should rather have concluded, that his escaping so narrowly was a sign of God's great care of him.

Ibid. 75. In the Session of Parliament that met the third of *November* (as he describes it, which was the 26th Year of the King's Reign) he says  
' *Mary* the King's Daughter was illegitimated, and all her Honours were  
' transferred on *Elizabeth*, and the Popes Power put down.

This

This shews he never looked on our publick Statutes; otherwise he had seen that these Acts passed in the former Session.

76. He says; 'When the King sent his Ambassadors to the *French* Page 84  
'Court, *Francis* would not so much as hear them give a Justification of  
'the King's proceedings.

How true this can be, the World may judge, since these two Kings continued in a firm Alliance Eight Years after this. And *Francis* did often treat, both with him and the Princes of *Germany*, about these Things, and was inclined to do almost all that he did.

77. He says; 'The *Lutherans* did so abominate the Grounds of his *Ibid.*  
'Separation from *Rome*, that they could never be induced to approve  
'it; for which he Cites *Cochleus*, an Author of his own Kidney.

They did condemn the King's first Marriage as unlawful, and thought the Pope's Dispensation had no force: And so far they approved it. But they had this singular Opinion, that he should have continued unmarried as long as *Q. Katherine* lived. Yet in that they were so modest, that they only desired to be excused, as to the second Marriage: Which considering that *Queen Anne* favoured their Doctrine, and that by an absolute compliance with what the King had done, they might have secured his Protection to themselves, whom otherwise they provoked highly, is an evidence of a strict adhering to what their Consciences Dictated, that cannot be sufficiently commended.

78. He says; 'The King made many Write Apologies for what he Page 85.  
'did; which some did willingly, being tainted with Heresy, others un-  
'willingly, and for fear, as *Gardiner* and *Tonstall*.

In this he shews how little judgment he had of the Nature of Things when he thinks to Excuse their Writing for the King, as extorted by force: To have done it through Error and Mistake, was much the softer Excuse; but to make them Men of such prostituted Consciences, as not only to Subscribe and Swear, but to Write with Learning and Zeal, and yet against their Consciences, represents them guilty of unexpressible baseness. Indeed *Gardiner* was a Man like enough to Write any thing that might please the King; but *Tonstal* was a Man of greater probity, than to have done so unworthy a thing upon any account whatsoever. But since he mentioned Writers, he should have named *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, and above all, *Bonner*, who did officiously thrust himself into the Debate, by writing a Preface to *Gardiner's* Book, with the greatest vehemence that could be. But the Blood he shed afterwards did so endear him to this Author, that all past Faults were forgiven, and to be clean forgotten.

79. He says; 'Five Martyrs suffered, because they would not swear Page 86.  
'the King's Supremacy, according to the Law that was then passed.

There was no such Law made at that time, nor could any such Oath be then put to them. The only Oath which the Parliament had enacted, was the Oath of the Succession, and the refusing it, was only imprisonment of Treason, and was not punishable by Death. But it was for denying the King's Supremacy, and for writing and speaking both against it, and his Marriage, that they suffered according to Law.

80. He says; '*Cromwel* threatned the Jury, in the King's Name, with Page 87.  
'certain Death, if they did not bring them in Guilty.

Every Body that knows the Law of *England*, will soon conclude this to be a Lye: For no such Threatnings were ever made in Trials in this Nation: Nor was there any need at this time: For the Law was so

plain, and their Facts so clearly proved, that the Jury could not refuse to bring them in Guilty.

Pa. 88, 89. 81. He says; The three *Carthusians* that suffered, were made stand upright, and in one place, fourteen days together, with Irons about their Necks, Arms, and Legs, before they died; and then with great pomp he describes their Death in all its parts, as if it had been a new-devised Cruelty, it being the Death which the Law appoints for Traitors. He tells, that *Cromwel* lamented that others of them had died in their Cells, and so prevented his Cruelty. He also adds a long story of the severities against the *Franciscans*.

All this he drew from his learning in the Legend. The English Nation knows none of these Cruelites, in which the *Spanish* Inquisitors are very expert. I find, by some Original Letters, that the *Carthusians* who were shut up in their Cells, lived about a Year after this; so if *Cromwel* had designed to take away their lives, he wanted not opportunities; but it appears from what *More* writ in his Imprisonment, that *Cromwel* was not a cruel Man, but on the contrary, merciful and gentle. And for the *Franciscans*, tho' they had offended the King highly, two of them railing spitefully at him to his Face, in his Chappel at *Greenwich*: Yet that was passed over with a Reproof, from which it appears that he was not easily provoked against them. So all that Relation which he gives, being without any Authority, must pass for a part of the Poem.

Page 91. 82. He says; 'The Bishop of *Rochester* was Condemned, because ' he would not acknowledge the King's Supremacy in Ecclesiastial Mat- ' ters.

He was never pressed to acknowledge it, but was Condemned for denying it, and speaking against it: For had he kept his Opinion to himself, he could not have been questioned. But the denying the King's Titles, of which his being Supream Head was one, was by the Law Treason; so he was tried for speaking against it, and not for his not acknowledging it.

Page 93. 83. 'He runs out in an high Commendation of *Fisher*, and among ' other things, mentions his Episcopal and Apostolical Charity.

His Charity was burning indeed. He was a merciless Prosecutor of Hereticks, so that the rigor of the Law, under which he fell, was the same Measure that he had Measured out to others.

Page 100. 84. *Sanders* will let the World see how carefully he had Read the Legend, and how skilfully he could write after that Copy, in a prety Fabulous Story concerning *More's* Death; to whom I will deny none of the Praises due to his Memory, for his great Learning, and singular Probity: Nor had he any blemish. but what flowed from the Leaven of that cruel Religion, which carried him to great Severities against those that Preached for a Reformation. His Daughter *Roper* was a Woman of great Vertue, and worthy of such a Father, who needed none of *Sanders's* Art to represent her well to the World. His Story is; ' That the ' mourning her Father died, she went about distributing all the Mony she ' had, in Alms to the Poor: And at last was at her Prayers in a Church, ' when of a sudden she remembred that she had forgot to provide a ' Winding-sheet for his Body; but having no more Mony left, and not ' being well known in that place, she apprehended they would not give ' her Credit: Yet she went to a Linnen-Drapers Shop, and calling for ' so much Cloth, she put her Hand in her Pocket, knowing she had ' nothing in it, but intending to make an Excuse, and try if they would ' trust



‘trust her. But by a Miracle she found the price of the Sheet, and neither more nor less, was conveyed into her Pocket.

This is such a lively essay of the Man’s Spirit that invented it, that I leave it without any further Commentary.

85. He says; ‘*Lee* that was not in Orders, was sent to visit the Monasteries, who solicited the Chastity of the Nuns. Page 105.

He does not mention *Leighton* and *London*, the two Chief Visitors, for *Leighton* brought in *Lee*: But they were of the Popish Party, and *Lee* was *Cranmer*’s Friend, therefore all must be laid on him. He was in Orders, and soon after was made Dean of *York*. I have seen Complaints of *Dr. London*’s soliciting the Nuns, yet I do not find *Lee* complained of. But since *London* was a Persecutor of Hereticks, such a small kindness, as the concealing his Name, and the turning the blame over on *Lee*, was not to be stood on among Friends, especially by a Man of *Sanders*’s ingenuity.

86. For the correspondence between *Q. Katherine* and *Father Forest*, Page 107. and the Letters that pass; since *Sanders* tells us not a word how he came by them, we are to look on them as a piece of the Romance.

87. He says; ‘*Anne Boleyn* bore a monstrous and a misshaped Lump of Page 114. ‘Flesh, when the time of her bearing another Child came.

She bore a dead Child before the time, says *Hall*; but there was no great reproach in that, unless made up by *Sanders*’s Wit.

88. He lays out the Business of *Anne Boleyn* with so much Spite and Malice, that we may easily see against whom he chiefly designed this part of his Work. He says; ‘She was found guilty of Adultery and Incest. Page 115.

There was no Evidence against her, but only a hear-say from the *Lady Wingfield*: We neither know the Credit of that Lady, nor of the Person who related it in her Name. It is true, *Mark Smeton* did confess his Adultery with the Queen, but it was generally thought he was drawn into it by some Promises that were made to him, and so cheated out of his Life; but for the Queen, and the other Four, they attested their Innocency to the last: Nor would any of those unfortunate Persons redeem their Lives at so ignominious a rate, as to charge the Queen, whom they declared they knew to be Innocent; so that all the Evidence against her, was an hear-say of a Woman that was dead, the Confession of a poor Musician, and some idle words her self spake of the Discourses that had passed between her and some of those Gentlemen.

89. He says; ‘Foreigners did generally rejoice at her fall: And to Page 116. ‘prove this, he Cites *Cochleus*’s Words, that only shew that Author’s ill ‘Opinion of her.

The *Germans* had so great a value of her, that all their Correspondence with the King fell to the ground with her: But he may well Cite *Cochleus*, an Author of the same Honesty with himself, from whose Writings we may with the like security make a Judgment of Foreign Matters, as we may upon *Sanders*’s Testimony believe the Account he gives of *English* Affairs.

90. He tells us, among other things done by the King, and picks it out as the only Instance he mentions of the King’s Injunction, ‘That Page 117. ‘the People should be taught in Churches the Lord’s Prayer, the Ave, ‘the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in English.

It seems this Author thought the giving these Elements of Religion to the People in the vulgar Tongue, a very heinous Crime, when this is singled out from all the rest.

*Ibid.* 91. 'That being done, he says, there was next a Book Published, called *Articles*, appointed by the Kings Majesty, which were the Six Articles.

This shews that he either had no information of *English* Affairs, or was sleeping when he Wrote this: For the Six Articles were not Published soon after the Injunctions, as he makes it, by the same Parliament and Convocation, but three Years after, by another Parliament: They were never put in a Book, nor Published in the King's Name; they were Enacted in Parliament, and are neither more nor less than 25 Lines in the first Impression of that Act; so far short come they of a Book.

Page 119. 92. He reckons up very defectively the Differences between the Church of *Rome*; and the Doctrine set forth by the King's Authority: But in one Point he shews his ordinary Wit; for in the Sixth particular, he says, 'He retained the Sacrament of Order, but appointed a New Form of Consecrating of Bishops.

This he put in out of Malice, that he might annul the Ordinations of that Time; but the thing is false: For except that the Bishops, instead of their Oaths of Obedience to the Pope, which they formerly swore, did not swear to the King, there was no other Change made; and that to be sure, is no part of the Form of Consecration.

Page 120. 93. He resolved once to speak what he thought was Truth, tho' it be treasonable and impious: And says, 'Upon these Changes, many in *Lincolnshire*, and the Northern Parts, did rise for Religion, and the Faith of Christ.

This was indeed the Motive by which their Seditious Priests misled them; yet he is mistaken in the Time, for it was not after the Six Articles were Published, but almost three Years before it. Nor was it for the Faith of Christ, which teaches us to be Humble, Subject, and Obedient; but because the King was removing some of the Corruptions of the Faith, which their false Teachers did impiously call the Faith of Christ.

*Ibid.* 94. He says; 'The King did promise most faithfully, that all these Things of which they complained, should be amended.

This is so evidently false, that it is plain *Sanders* resolved dextrously to avoid the speaking of any sort of Truth: For the King did fully and formally tell them, he would not be Directed nor Counsell'd by them in these Points they complained of, and did only offer them an Amnesty for what was past.

Page 121. 95. 'Then he reckons up 32 that died for the Defence of the *Faith*. They were attainted of Treason, for being in actual Rebellion against the King: And thus it appears that Rebellion was the *Faith* in his sense; and himself died for it, or rather in it, having been starved to death in a Wood, to which he fled after one of his rebellious Attempts on his Sovereign, in which he was the Pope's *Nuncio*.

Page 122. 96. He says; 'The King killed the Earl of *Kildare*, and Five of his Uncles.

By this strange way of expressing a legal Attainder, and the execution of a Sentence for manifest Treason and Rebellion, he would insinuate on the Reader, a fancy, that one of *Bonner's* cruel Fits had taken the King, and that he had killed those with his own Hand. The Lord *Herbert* has fully opened that part of the History, from the Records that he saw; and shews that a more resolved Rebellion could not be, than that was, of which the Earl of *Kildare* and his Uncles were Guilty. But because they sent to the Pope and Emperor for Assistance, the Earl desiring

desiring to hold the Kingdom of *Ireland* of the Pope, since the King by his Heresy had fallen from his Right to it, *Sanders* must needs have a great kindness for their Memory, who thus suffered for his Faith.

97. He says; 'Queen *Jane Seymour* being in hard Labour of Prince *Ibid.*  
'*Edward*, the King ordered her Body to be so opened by Surgeons, that she died soon after.

All this is false, for she had a good Delivery, as many Original Letters written by her Council (that have been since Printed) do shew, but she died two days after of a Distemper incident to her Sex.

98. He sets down some Passages of Cardinal *Poles's* Heroical Constancy; which being proved by no Evidence, and not being told by any other Writer, (whom I ever saw) are to be look'd on as the flourishes of the Poet to set off his *Hero.* Page 124.

99. He would persuade the World, that the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Lord *Montacute*, and the rest that suffered at that Time, died, because they were believed to dislike the King's Wicked Proceedings; and that the Countess of *Sarum* was Beheaded on this single account, that she was the Mother of such a Son, and was sincerely addicted to the Catholic Faith; and that she was Condemned because she Wrote to her Son, and for wearing in her Breast, the Picture of the Five Wounds of Christ. Page 125

The Marquess of *Exeter* pretended he was well satisfied with the King's Proceedings, and was Lord *Steward* when the Lords *Darcy* and *Huffie* were Tried, and he gave Judgment against them. But it being discovered that he and other Persons approved of Cardinal *Pole's* Proceedings, who endeavoured to engage all Christian Princes in a League against the King, pursuant to which they had expressed themselves, on several Occasions, resolved, when a fit opportunity offered it self, to Rebel; it was no wonder if the King proceeded against them according to Law. And for the Countess of *Sarum*, tho' the legality of that Sentence passed against her cannot be defended, yet she had given great offence; not only by her Correspondence with her Son, but by the Bulls she had received from *Rome*, and by her opposing the King's Injunctions, hindring all her Tenants to read the New Testament, or any other Book set out by the King's Order. And for the Picture, which was found among her Cloaths, in having been the Standard of the Rebellion, and the Arms of *England* being found on the other side of it, there was just ground to suspect an ill Design in it.

100. He says; 'The Images which the King destroyed, were by Page 129.  
'many wonderful Works of God, recommended to the Devotion of  
'the Nation.

All the wonder in these Works, was the knavery of some juggling Impostors, and the simplicity of a credulous multitude, of which see Page 224. which being so openly discovered, nothing that had shame in it, could speak of them as our Author does,

101. He says; 'Six and twenty Carts drawn with Oxen, were loaded Page 131.  
'with the Riches taken from *Thomas Backet's* Shrine; whom he makes  
'a most glorious Martyr, that died for the Defence of the Faith, and  
'was honoured by many Miracles after his death.

Other Writers have sufficiently shewed what a perfidious, ingrateful, and turbulent Priest he was. All these were Vertues in our Author's Opinion, and Ingredients in his Faith. But he has in this Account of the Riches of the Shrine, gone beyond himself, having by a figure of Speech very familiar to him, (called Lying) increased two Chests (see Page 224.) to 26 Cart Loads.

102. He

Page 132. 102. He says; 'The Sentence which *P. Paul* gave out against the King, was affixed in some Towns, both in *France, Flanders, and Scotland*: From which he infers, that both the Emperor, the French, and Scotch King, did consent to that Sentence.

In this he designed an eminent piece of Service to the Apostolick See, to leave on Record an Evidence, that Three Sovereign Princes had acknowledged the Pope's Power of deposing Kings. But he did ill to name the Proofs of his Assertion, and had done better to have said simply that it was so, than to have founded it on so ill grounds: As if the affixing Papal Bulls in a place, were an evidence that the Princes in whose Dominions it was done, consented to it. He might with the same reason have concluded, that *Q. Elizabeth* consented to the Sentence against her self; which it is very like will not be easily believed, tho' the Bull was affixed in *London*. But all those very Princes whom he names, continuing to keep up their correspondence with the King, as well after as before this Sentence, is a much clearer demonstration that they despised the Pope's Sentence.

Page 134. 103. He says; 'The King, by his own Authority, threw all the Begging Orders out of their Houses.

The falshood of this hath appeared already, for they resigned their Houses to the King: And of these Resignations, tho' many were Destroyed, yet near an Hundred are still Extant.

*Ibid.* 104. He says; 'The Parliament, in the Year 1539, gave the King all the great Monasteries.

The Parliament Passed no such Act; all that they did, was only to confirm the Grants made, or to be made by these Houses to the King. It was their Surrenders that cloathed the King with the Right to them. All the Tragical Stories he tells us that followed upon this, are founded on a false Foundation.

Page 135. 105. He sets down a Form of a Resignation, which he says, 'All the Abbots, and many Religious Persons, were made to Sign and set their Seals to it.

Among all the Resignations which are yet extant, there is not one in this Form; for which see *Page 238*.

Page 136. 106. He says; 'The King's Commissioners, who went about getting Hands to that Form, made them believe, in every House, that all the rest had signed it; and so by that, and other persuasions, prevailed with many to set their Hands to it.

If all the Subscriptions had been procured about the same time, such Arts might be suspected: But in a Thing that was Three Years a doing, these Tricks could not have served their turn.

*Ibid.* 107. He says; 'They told the Monks, that tho' the King might, by Virtue of the Act of Parliament, seize on their Houses and Rents, yet he desired rather to do it with their Good-will.

In this there are two Errors; First, Most of these Houses were resigned to the King before the Act of Parliament, see *Pag. 235*. And next, the Act of Parliament only confirmed their Deeds, but did not give their Houses to the King.

Page 137. 108. He says; 'The Abbots of *Glassenbury, Colchester, and Reading*, suffered Martyrdom, because they refused to set their Hands to that Writing.

There was no such Writing ever offered to them, nor was there any Law to force them to resign: So they could not suffer on that account; but

but they were Martyrs for *Sanders's Faith*, for they were attainted by a legal Trial of High Treason.

109. ' He tells a long Story of *Whitting* Abbot of *Glaffenbury's* being Page 138.  
' brought up to *London*, to be prevailed with to set his Hand to the Sur-  
' render. Which he still refusing to do, was sent back; and tho' a  
' Book against the King's Divorce was found among his Papers, which  
' was laid there by those who searched for it; yet that was past over in a  
' chiding: But as he went home, hearing there was a meeting of the  
' County at *Wells*, he went thither; and as he was going up to his place  
' on the Bench, he was called to the Bar to answer some Things that were  
' to be objected to him: He was amazed at it, and asked what the mat-  
' ter was? But one told him, he needed fear nothing, for somewhat  
' was only to be done for form to terrify others: Upon which he was  
' condemned and sent away to his Abbey, little thinking he was so near  
' his end; but when he came near it, a Priest was sent to him to take  
' his Confession, for they told him he must die immediately; he begg'd  
' a day or two's respite, but in vain: So they Hang'd him up in his Ha-  
' bit, on the top of the Hill near his Abbey, and Quartered him; and  
' all this was done in one day.

This Book came out in Foreign Parts, and was Printed at *Rome*, in the Reign of *Sixtus* the Fifth, who took great pleasure in such Executions, as he describes this to have been; which may fall oft out, where the lives of the Subjects are wholly at the Princes Mercy: But to tell such Tales of *England*, which is so famed over the World for the safety and security the Subjects enjoy, and for the regular and legal proceedings in all Trials, especially of Life and Death, was a great Error in the Poet; for the *deccrum* of the Laws and Customs of a place must be observed, when any Nation is made the Scene of a Fable. But as nothing like this can be done by the Law of *England*, so there was nothing of it in this Case: The Jury that sat on him, were Men of great Credit in the Country: When he died, he acknowledged his Offences; and with appearance of Repentance, begged God's Pardon, and the King's: See Pag. 239.

110. After many bitter Invectives against *Cromwel*, for which I could Page 145.  
never see good Evidence, tho' I cannot disprove them by any convincing Arguments, he says, ' That he advised the King to make a Law, that  
' Persons might be Convented and Condemned in absence, and with-  
' out being Heard: And that this Law first of all fell upon himself.

There was no such Law ever made, only the Parliament by their Supream Authority, did Attaint some in that manner, but no other Court might do it. Nor was this first applied to *Cromwel*; for a Year before his Attainder, the Countess of *Sarum*, with a great many more, were so attainted, tho' she did not suffer till a Year after him.

111. He tells many Reasons why the King had a mind to put away *Ibid.*  
*Anne of Cleve*: But in This, as in other Things, he betrays a profound ignorance of that Time; for every Body knew, that the King, from the first time he saw her, disliked her, and that he never Consummated the Marriage.

This is a Subject not fit to be long dwelt on; but if any will compare the Account I give of this Matter from Records, with *Sanders's* Tale, they will see that he Wrote at random, and did not so much as know Publick Transactions.

112. He says; ' The King had promised to the Emperor, That he Page 146.  
would

‘ would no longer continue in the *Smalcaldick* League; but *Cromwel*  
 ‘ counterfeited the King’s Hand, to a new Confirmation of it; which  
 ‘ coming to the Emperor’s knowledg, he challenged the King of it;  
 ‘ and sent him over a Copy of it; upon which the King disowned it,  
 ‘ and cast it on *Cromwel*; and that this was the cause of his fall.

This I believe is one of *Sanders’s* Dreams; there is not one word of it in *Cromwel’s* Attainder; nor do I find the least shadow of this in some Original Letters which he wrote to the King for his Pardon, in which he answers many of the Things laid to his Charge. Nor is it likely he would adventure on so bold a Thing, with such a King; nor could the Emperor have that Writing in his Power, as long as the King lived; for it is not to be imagined how he could come by it, till he had taken the Duke of *Saxony* Prisoner, which was after this Kings Death.

Page 143. 113. He says; ‘ When *Cromwel* was put to Death, the King proceed-  
 ‘ ed to the Divorce of *Anne of Cleve*.

The Divorce was judged by the Convocation, Eight days before *Cromwel’s* Death, and confirmed in Parliament, which was dissolved before he suffered.

Ibid. 114. He says; ‘ The King sent to her, to tell her, he had a mind to  
 ‘ be separated from her; and tho’ he could proceed more severely  
 ‘ against her, since he knew she was an Heretick; yet for her Families  
 ‘ sake, he left it to her self to devise any Reason for their Divorce;  
 ‘ Upon which she came next day to the Senate, ( which may be either  
 ‘ the King’s Council, or the Parliament ) and confessed she had been  
 ‘ Married to another before she was Married to the King; and there-  
 ‘ upon, by the Authority of Parliament, he was divorced, and within  
 ‘ Eight Days Married *Katherine Howard*.

There are but six gross Errors in this Period. 1. The King sent not any Message to her, nor came there any Answer from her, till the Sentence of Divorce was quite passed. 2. In the Original Letter with those he sent to her, wrote to him from *Richmond*, it appears that they used no threatnings to her, but barely told her what was done; to which she acquiesced. 3. She never came from *Richmond* in all that Process, and so made no such declaration in the Senate. 4. She did not say that she was Married to another, but only that she had been Contracted to the Prince of *Lorraine* when she was under Age. 5. The Parliament did not dissolve the Marriage, but only confirmed the Sentence of the Convocation. 6. The King did not Marry *Katherine Howard* before the 8th. of *August*, and the Divorce was Judged the 10th. of *July*, a Month wanting two days.

Page 149. 115. He says; ‘ The King had Consummated the Marriage for Seven  
 ‘ Months together.

There were but six Months between his Marriage and the Divorce; and in all that while, as they Bedded but seldom, so there were very clear Evidences brought, that it was not Consummated.

Page 151. 116. He says; ‘ The King sent the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Henry Knevett*, to the Diet of the Empire; who were ordered to propose  
 ‘ to the Emperor, that the King might be again Reconciled to the See of  
 ‘ *Rome*; to which, he adds, his Conscience did drive him: But since the  
 ‘ King would not confess his past Crimes, nor do Penance for them, nor  
 ‘ restore the Goods of the Church, it came to nothing.

This is another Ornament of the Fable, to shew the Poet’s Wit; but is as void of Truth, as any passage in *Plautus* or *Terence* is. For the  
 King

King was all his Life so intractable in that Point, that the Popish Party had no other way to maintain their Interest with him, but to comply, not without Affectation in that Matter: And when an Information was given against *Gardiner* for his holding some Correspondence with the Pope's Legate at the Diet, he got the Man who had innocently discovered it, to be put in Prison; and said, it was a Plot against him to ruin him, which he needed not be so Sollicitous about, if his Instructions from the King had allowed him to enter on such a Treaty.

117. He runs out in a long digression, upon the King's assuming the Title of King of *Ireland*; to shew that the Kings of *England* only hold *Ireland* by the Pope's Donation. Page 153.

In this *Sanders* shews his Art, he being to carry the Standard of Rebellion in that Kingdom, to blast the King's Right to it. He acknowledges the Crown of *England* had the Dominion of *Ireland*, with the Title of *Lord of Ireland*, about 400 Years: And certainly if so long a possession does not give a good Title, and a prescription against all other Pretenders, most of the Royal Families in Christendom will be to seek for their Rights. But he says, It was given by the Pope to King *Henry* the Second; and yet he confesses that he had conquered some parts of it, before that Grant was sent him by *Hadrian* the Fourth. Certainly, King *Henry* the Second had as good a right to take it, as Pope *Hadrian* had to give it: Nor was the King's accepting the Pope's Donation, any prejudice to his Title: For things extorted or allowed upon a publick Error, can have no force, when that is openly discovered. If then the Superstition of those Ages, made, that the Pope's Donation was a great help to any Pretender, it was no wonder that Kings made use of it; but it were a wonder indeed if they should acknowledg it, after the Trick is known and seen by all.

118. After this, and a Satyr against Queen *Elizabeth* for assuming the Title, *Defender of the Faith*, and a long enumeration of the exactions in the last Years of his Reign; in which tho' there is matter enough for severe Complaints, yet many of the Particulars he mentions are without any proof, and must rest on the Author's credit; which by this time, the Reader will acknowledg is not very great. Another long discourse of some length follows, of the Misfortunes of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and of all that served the King in his Divorce, and in the following Actions of his Life: From which he infers, that these were effects of a Curse from Heaven upon all that he did, and on all those that assisted him: But as the Inference is bad, so he forgot to mention those Noble Families that were raised in his Time, and have continued since in great Honour; as the *Seymours*, from whom the Dukes of *Somerset* are descended; the *Paulets*, from whom the Marquess of *Winchester* derives; the *Russels*, *Wriothsleys*, *Herberts*, *Riches*, and *Cromwells*, from whom the Earls of *Bedford*, *Southampton*, *Pembroke*, *Effex*, and *Ardglafs* have descended; and the *Browns*, the *Petres*, the *Pagets*, the *Norths*, and the *Montagues*, from whom the Vice-Count *Mountague*, the Barons *Petre*, *Paget*, *North*, and *Mountague*, are descended. These Families have now flourished in great Wealth and Honour an Age and a half; and only one of them has, and that but very lately determined in the Male Line: But the Illustrious Female Branches of it are intermixed with other Noble Families. So that the Observation is false, and the Inference is weak. Page 162.

119. He says; 'When the King found his strength declining, he had again some thoughts of reconciling himself to the Church of *Rome*;

‘ which when it was proposed to one of the Bishops, he made a flattering Answer. But *Gardiner* moved that a Parliament might be called for doing it: And that the King for the quiet of his own Conscience, would vow to do it; of which God would accept in that extremity, when more was not possible to be done. But some of his Courtiers coming about him, who were very apprehensive of such a Reconciliation, lest they should have been made restore the Goods of the Church, diverted the King from it: And from this our Author infers, that what the King had done, was against his Conscience, and that so he sinned the Sin against the Holy Ghost.

I shall not examine this Theological Definition of the Sin against the Holy Ghost; for my Quarrel is not at present with his Divinity, but with his History, tho’ it were easy to shew that he is alike at both. But for this Story, it is a pure Dream; for not only there is no Evidence for it, nor did *Gardiner* in the Reign of Queen *Mary* ever own any such thing, tho’ it had been then much for the credit of their Cause, especially he being often upbraided with his compliances to this King, for which the mention of his Repentance had furnished him with a good Answer: But as the Tale is told, the Fiction appears too plainly, for a Parliament was actually sitting during the Kings Sickness, which was dissolved by his Death, and no such Proposition was made in it. The King on the contrary destroyed the chief hopes of the Popish Party which were founded on the Duke of *Norfolk’s* greatness, by the Attainder which was passed a day before he died. And yet *Sanders* makes this Discourse to have been between the King and *Gardiner* after his fall, and his Sons Death, between which, and the King’s Death, there were only nine days: But besides all this, *Gardiner* had lost the King’s Favour a considerable time before his Death.

Page 166. 120. He says; ‘ The King, that he might not seem never to have done any good in his whole Life, as he was dying, founded *Christ’s Church Hospital in London*; which was all the Restitution he ever made for the Monasteries and Churches he had robbed and spoiled.

If it had not already appeared, in many Instances, that our Author had as little shame as honesty, here is a sufficient proof of it. I will not undertake to justify the King, as if he had done what he ought to have done, in his new Foundations: But it is the height of impudence to deny things that all *England* knows. He founded six Bishopricks; he endowed Deans and Prebendaries, with all the other Offices belonging to a Cathedral, in fourteen several Sees, *Canterbury, Winchester, Duresme, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester, and Carlisle*; together with *Westminster, Chester, Oxford, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Bristol*, where he Endowed Bishopricks likewise. He founded many Grammar-Schools, as *Burton, Canterbury, Coventry, Worcester, &c.* He founded and Endowed *Trinity Colledg* in *Cambridg*, which is one of the noblest Foundations in Christendom. He also founded Professors in both Universities, for *Greek, Hebrew, Law, Physick, and Divinity*. What censure then deserves our Author, for saying, That the Hospital of *Christ’s Church* was all the Restitution he ever made of the Church-Lands?

*Ibid.* 121. He gives a Character of the King, which suits very well with his History, his Malice in it being extravagantly Ridiculous. Among other things, he says; ‘ The King promoted always learned Bishops, *Cranmer* only being excepted, whom he advanced to serve his Lusts.

*Cranmer* was a Man of greater Learning than any that ever sat in that



that See before him, as appears in every thing that he Writ; *Tonstal* was a Learned Man, and *Gardiner* was much esteemed for Learning; yet if any will compare *Cranmer's* Books of the Sacrament, with those the other two Writ on the same subject; there is so great a difference between the Learning and Solidity of the one and the other, that no Man of common Ingenuity can read them, but he must confess it.

122. He says; 'When the King found himself expiring, he called for a Boul of White-Wine, and said to one that was near him, *We have lost all*: And was often heard repeating *Monks, Monks*, and so he died. Page 170.

This was to make the Fable end as it had gone on, and it is forged without any Authority or appearance of Truth. The manner of his Death was already told, so it needs not be repeated.

123. He says; 'The King by his Will appointed the Crown to go to his Righteous Heirs after his Three Children, and commanded his Son to be bred a true Catholick: But his Will was changed, and another was forged, by which the Line of *Scotland* was excluded, and they bred his Son a Heretick. Page 172.

There was no such Will ever heard of; and in all the Debates that were managed in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign about the Succession, those that pleaded for the *Scottish* Line, never alledged this; which had it been true, did put an end to the whole Controversy. It was indeed said, that the Will which was given out as the King's Will, was not signed by his Hand, nor sealed by his Order, but it was never pretended that there was any other Will: So this is one of our Author's Forgeries.

### *The Conclusion.*

**T**HUS I have traced him in this History, and hope I have said much more than was necessary to prove him a Writer of no Credit, and that his Book ought to have no Authority; since he was not only a stranger to the Publick Transactions, Printed Statutes, and the other Authentick Registers of that Time, but was a bold and impudent Asserter of the grossest and most malicious Lies, that ever were contrived, I have not examined all the Errors of his Chronology, for there is scarce any thing told in its right order, and due place; nor have I insisted on all the Passages he tells, without any Proof, or appearance of Truth; for I as could only deny these without any other evidence but what was Negative, so there are so many of them, that I must have transcribed the greatest part of his Book, if I had considered them all. I have therefore only singled out those Passages, which I had in the former History demonstrated to be false: And these are both so many and so important, that I am sure, enough is said to destroy the Credit of that Author, and of his Book, which has too long deceived the World. And what is performed in this first Part, will I hope dispossess the Reader of any ill Impressions the following Parts of that Work have made on him, concerning the succeeding Reigns, of which an Account shall be given, as soon as it possible can be made ready.

I shall esteem my Time, to have been well employ'd, and my Pains rightly placed, if my Endeavours have so good an effect, as to take off the unjust Prejudices which some may have conceived at the Changes that were then made in Religion, or at the beginnings of them; which being represented by this Author, and upon his Testimony by many other Writers, in such odious Characters to the World, are generally so ill looked on.

The Work it self was so Good, done upon so much Reason, managed with such Care, directed by such Wisdom, and tempered with so great Moderation, that those who intended to blast it, did very wisely to load it with some such Prejudices: For if without these, the thing it self be examined by Men of a candid Temper and solid Judgment, the Opposers of it know well where the Truth lies; and on whose side, both the Scriptures, and the best Ages of the Primitive Church have declared. But it was not fit to put a Question of such importance, on so doubtful and so dangerous an issue: Therefore it was well considered by them, that some popular and easily understood Calumnies, to disgrace the beginings of it, and the Persons that were most employed in it, were to be fastned on them: And if these could be once generally received, then Men might be alienated from it by a shorter way, than could be done by the dull and unsuccessful methods of Reason. Therefore as the Cause of our Church hath been often vindicated, by the Learned Books that have been published in it; and never with more success, and a clearer Victory, than of late, in the elaborate Writings (which are never to be mentioned but with honour) of the renowned Dr. *Stillingfleet*; so I judged it might not be an unuseful and unacceptable Work (which tho' it be of a lower form, and so most suitable to my Genius, yet will be of general use) to employ the leisure I enjoy, and the small Talent committed to me, in examining and opening the Transactions of those Times: And if those who read it, are dispossessed of their Prejudices, and inclined to consider things as they are now set before them, in a truer light, I have gained my end in it.

The Truths of Religion need no support from the Father of Lyes. A Religion made up of Falshoods and Impostures, must be maintained by Means suitable to it self: So *Sanders's* Book might well serve the ends of that Church, which has all along raised its greatness by publick Cheats and Forgeries; such as the Donation of *Constantine*, and the Book of the *Decretals*; Besides the vast number of Miracles and Visions that were for many Ages made use of by them; of which even the most disingenuous of their Writers begin to be now ashamed. But the Reformation of Religion was a Work of Light, and needs none of the Arts of Darkness to justify it by. A full and distinct Narrative of what was then done, will be its Apology, as well as its History. There is no need of Artifice, but only of Industry, and Sincerity, to gather together all the remains of that Time, and put them in good Order.

I am now begining to look towards the next, and indeed the best part of this Work: Where, in the first Reign, we shall observe the active Endeavours of those Restorers of Religion. The next Reign affords a sadder prospect of that Work laid in Ruins, and the Authors of it in Ashes; but the Fires that consumed them, did rather spread then extinguish that Light which they had kindled. And what is fabled of the *Phoenix*, will be found true of our Church, That she rose new out of these Ashes, into which she seemed consumed.

Towards the perfecting this History, I hope all that love the Subject of it, will contribute their Endeavours, and furnish every thing that is in their power, which may make it fuller or clearer: So I end with that desire which I made in the Preface, that any who have in their Hands any Papers relating to these Times, will be pleased to communicate them; and whatever assistance they give to it, shall be most thankfully owned and acknowledged.

*The End of the Appendix.*

ADDENDA.

# ADDENDA.

Numb. I. *ARTICLES about Religion, set out by the Convocation, and Published by the Kings Authority.*

*AN ORIGINAL.*

**H**ENRY the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Cott. Libr.  
 and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, Cleop. E. 5.  
 and in Earth Supream Head of the Church of *England*, to all  
 and singular our most loving, faithful and obedient Subjects,  
 greeting. Amongst other Cures committed unto this our Princely Of-  
 fice, whereunto it hath pleased God of his infinite Mercy and Good-  
 ness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought (as we also  
 yet esteem and think) this to be most chief, most ponderous, and of  
 most weight, that his Holy Word and Commandments may sincerely  
 without lett or hindrance, be of our Subjects truly believed, and reve-  
 rently kept and observed; and that Unity and Concord in Opinions,  
 namely in such things as does concern our Religion, may encrease and  
 go furthward, and all occasion of Dissent and Discord touching the  
 same be repressed, and utterly extinguished; for the which cause we be-  
 ing of late, to our great regret, credibly advertised of such diversity in  
 Opinions, as have grown and sprongen in this our Realm, as well con-  
 cerning certain Articles necessary to our Salvation, as also touching cer-  
 tain honest and commendable Ceremonies, Rites, and Usages in our said  
 Church, for an honest policy, and decent order heretofore of long time  
 used and accustomed; minding to have that unity and agreement estab-  
 lished through our said Church concerning the premisses; And being  
 very desirous to eschew not only the dangers of Souls, but also the out-  
 ward inquietness which by occasion of the said diversity in Opinions (if  
 remedy had not been provided) might perchance have ensued; have not  
 only in our own person many times taken great pain, study, labour and  
 travails, but also have caused our Bishops and other the most discreet  
 and best learned men of our Clergy of this our whole Realm to be as-  
 sembled in our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determi-  
 nation of the same: where after long and mature deliberation and dispu-  
 tations, had of and upon the premisses, finally they have concluded and  
 agreed upon the said matters, as well those which be commanded of God,  
 and are necessary to our Salvation, as also the other touching the honest  
 Ceremonies, and good and politick Order, as is aforesaid; which their  
 determination, debatement, and agreement, forasmuch as we think to  
 have proceeded of a good, right and true judgment, and to be agreeable  
 to the Laws and Ordinances of God, and much profitable for the estab-  
 lishment of that charitable concord and unity in our Church of *England*,  
 which we most desire, we have caused the same to be published, will-  
 ing,

ing, requiring and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly; most heartily desiring and praying Almighty God, that it may please him so to illumine your hearts, that you, and every of you, may have no less desire, zeal, and love to the said Unity and Concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, then we have had and have, causing them to be thus devised, set forth and published. And for because we would the said Articles, and every of them, to be taken and understood of you after such sort, order, and degree as appertaineth accordingly; We have caused by the like assent and agreement of our said Bishops and other Learned Men, the said Articles to be divided into two sorts, that is to say, such as are commanded expressly by God, and are necessary to our Salvation, and such other, as although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our Salvation; yet being of a long continuance for a decent order and honest policy, prudently instituted, are for that same purpose and end to be observed in like manner; which ye following, after such sort as we have prescribed unto you, shall not only attain that most charitable Unity and loving Concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable commodity, profit, and lucre, as well spiritual as other; but also ye conforming your selves, and using these our said Articles as is aforesaid, shall not a little encourage us to take further travel, pains and labours for your commodities in all such other matters, as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour of God and ours, the profit, tranquillity, and quietness of all you our most loving Subjects.

*The Articles of our Faith.*

**F***irst*, As touching the chief and principal Articles of our Faith, sith it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole Clergy of this our Realm, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People, by us committed to their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and Canon of the Bible, and also in the three Creeds or Symbols, whereof one was made by the Apostles, and is the common Creed which every man useth; the second was made in the Holy Council of *Nice*, and is said daily in the Mass; and the third was made by *Athanasius*, and is comprehended in the Psalm *Quicumque vult*; and that they ought and must take and interpret all the same things according to the self-same sentence and interpretation, which the words of the self-same Creeds or Symbols do purport, and the Holy approved Doctors of the Church do intreat and defend the same.

*Item*, That they ought and must repute, hold and take all the same things for the most Holy, most sure, and most certain, and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought, ne can be altered or convellid by any contrary Opinion or Authority.

*Item*, That they ought and must believe, repute and take all the Articles of our Faith contained in the said Creeds to be so necessary to be believed for Man's Salvation, that whosoever being taught will not believe them as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them, he or they cannot be the very Members of Christ and his Spouse the Church, but be very Infidels or Hereticks, and Members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be Damned.

*Item*,

*Item,* That they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the self-same Words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the Articles of our Faith be already conceived and expressed in the said Creeds, without altering in any wise, or varying from the same.

*Item,* That they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all these opinions contrary to the said Articles, which were of long time past condemned in the four Holy Councils, that is to say, in the Council of *Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus,* and *Chalcedonense,* and all other sith that time in any point consonant to the same.

*The Sacrament of Baptism.*

**S** *Econdly,* As touching the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which hath been always by the whole consent of the Church approved, received and used in the Sacrament of Baptism; that is to say, that the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex Aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in Regnum caelorum,*

*Item,* That it is offered unto all Men, as well Infants as such as have the use of Reason, that by Baptism they shall have remission of Sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of St. *John, Qui crediderit & Baptizatus fuerit Salvus erit.*

*Item,* That the promise of Grace and everlasting Life, which promise is adjoyned unto the Sacrament of Baptism, pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of Reason, but also to Infants, Innocents, and Children; and they ought therefore and must needs be Baptized: And that by the Sacrament of Baptism they do also obtain remission of their Sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very Sons and Children of God, insomuch as Infants and Children dying in their Infancy shall undoubtely be saved thereby, or else not.

*Item,* That Infants must needs be Christened because they be born in Original Sin, which Sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the Sacrament of Baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost which exerciseth his Grace and Efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth from Sin by his most secret vertue and operation.

*Item,* That Children or Men once Baptized, can, ne ought ever to be Baptized again.

*Item,* That they ought to repute, and take all the Anabaptists and the Pelagians opinions contrary to the premisses, and every other Mans opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists or the Pelagians opinions in this behalf, for detestable Heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

*Item,* That Men or Children having the use of Reason, and willing and desiring to be Baptized, shall by the virtue of that holy Sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their Sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their Sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the Articles of our Faith, according as it was mentioned in the Article before, or else not.

And

And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoynd to the said Sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said Sacrament, which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their Sins, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very Children of God, according to the saying of Christ and his Apostle St. Peter, *Penitentiam agite & Baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, & accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*, and according also to the saying of St. Paul ad Titum 3 *non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis & renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia hæredes efficiamur juxta spem vitæ æternæ.*

*The Sacrament of Penance.*

**T** *Hirdly*, Concerning the Sacrament of Penance, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that Sacrament was instituted of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for mans Salvation, that no man which after his Baptism is fallen again and hath committed deadly Sin can without the same be saved, or obtain everlasting Life.

*Item*, That like as such men which after Baptism do fall again into Sin, if they do not Penance in this Life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from the said naughty Life, and do such Penance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their Sins and shall be saved.

*Item*, That this Sacrament of perfect Penance which Christ requireth of such manner of persons, consisteth of Three Parts, that is to say, Contrition, Confession, with the amendment of the former Life, and a New obedient Reconciliation unto the Laws and Will of God, that is to say, exterior Acts in works of Charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, *fructus digni penitentia.*

Furthermore, as touching Contrition, which is the the first part, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that the said Contrition consisteth in two special Parts, which must always be conjoynd together and cannot be dissevered; that is to say, the Penitent and Contrite Man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own Sin, whereunto he is brought by hearing and considering of the Will of God declared in his Laws, and feeling and perceiving in his own Conscience, that God is angry and displeas'd with him for the same; he must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of Gods displeasure towards him, considering he hath no Works or Merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God, as sufficient satisfaction for his Sins; which done, then afterwards with this fear, Shame and Sorrow must needs succeed and be conjoynd, The second Part, *viz.* a certain Faith, Trust and Confidence of the Mercy and Goodness of God, whereby the Penitent must conceive certain Hope and Faith that God will forgive.

give him his Sins, and repute him justified and of the number of his Elect Children, not for the worthiness of any Merit or Work done by the Penitent, but for the only Merits of the Blood and Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

*Item,* That this certain faith and hope is gotten and also confirmed, and made more strong by the applying of Christ's words and promise, of his grace and favour contained in his Gospel, and the Sacraments instituted by him in the New Testament; and therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of Penance is necessary, that is to say, Confession to a Priest if it may be had; for the Absolution given by the Priest was instituted of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favours to the Penitent.

Wherefore as touching Confession, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us to their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must certainly believe that the words of Absolution pronounced by the Priest, be spoken by the Authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel.

*Item,* That they ought and must give no less faith and credance to the same words of Absolution so pronounced by the Ministers of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself if he should speak unto us out of Heaven, according to the saying of Christ, *Quorum remisistis peccato, &c. & qui vos audit me audit.*

*Item,* That in no ways they do contemn this Auricular Confession which is made unto the Ministers of the Church, but that they ought to repute the same a very expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this Absolution at the Priests hands, at such time as they shall find their Consciences grieved with mortal Sin, and have occasion so to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their Consciences.

As touching the third part of Penance, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ and his death be the sufficient Oblation, Sacrifice, Satisfaction, and Recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners not only their sin, but also Eternal Pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite and confessed, must needs also bring forth the fruits of Penance, that is to say, Prayer, Fasting, Almsdeeds, and must make Restitution or Satisfaction in will and deed to their Neighbour, in such things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and also must do all other good works of mercy and charity, and expresse their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's Commandments outwardly, when time, power and occasion shall be Ministred unto them, or else they shall never be saved; for this is the expresse Precept and Commandment of God, *Agite fructus dignos pœnitentia;* and St. Paul saith, *Debitores sumus,* and in another place he saith, *Castigo corpus meum & in servitutem redigo.*

*Item,* That these precepts and works of Charity be necessary works to our Salvation, and God necessarily requireth that every penitent man shall perform the same, whensoever time, power, and occasion shall be ministred unto him so to do.

*Item,* That by Penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting Life; but also we shall deserve remission or

mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this World, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Si nos ipsi judicaremus, non judicemur, a Domino*; & Zacharias, *Convertimini ad me & ego convertar ad vos*; & Esajas 58. *frange esurienti panem tuum, &c. tunc uris velut hortos irriguus. Hac sunt inculcanda ecclesiis & ut exercitentur ad bene operandum, & in his ipsis operibus exercent & confirmant fidem, petentes & expectantes a Deo mitigationem presentium calamitatum.*

*The Sacrament of the Altar.*

**F**ourthly, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, We will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe that under the form and figure of Bread and Wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by our outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended, the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross of our Redemption, and that under the same form and figure of Bread and Wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed and received of all them which receive the said Sacrament; and that therefore the said Sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own Conscience, before he shall receive the same; according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quisquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo Domini indigne, reus erit corporis & sanguinis Domini; probet autem seipsum homo, & sic de pane illo edat & de poculo illo bibat; nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium sibi ipsi manducat & bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini.*

*Justification.*

**F**ifthly, As touching the order and cause of our Justification, we will, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that this word Justification signifieth remission of our Sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

*Item,* That sinners attain this Justification by Contrition and Faith joyned with Charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our Contrition, or Faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said Justification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Sons sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof; and yet that notwithstanding, to the attaining of the said Justification, God requireth to be in us not only inward Contrition, perfect Faith, and Charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which, as we said before, must necessarily concur in remission of our Sins, that is to say, our Justification; but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified we must



must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his Laws and Commandments: For although acceptation to everlasting Life be conjoynd with Justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting Life; and we being justified, be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do good works, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Debitores sumus non carni ut secundum carnem vivamus, nam si secundum carnem vixerimus moriemur, sin autem spiritu facta corporis, mortificaverimus, vivemus; etenim quicumque spiritu Dei ducuntur hi sunt filii Dei*: and Christ saith, *si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata*; and St. Paul saith, *de malis operibus, qui talia agunt Regnum Dei non possidebunt*. Wherefore we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily requireth of us to do good Works commanded by him; and that not only outward and civil Works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost; that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invoke and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate Sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions, and virtues: For Christ saith, *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum & Phariseorum, non intrabitis in Regnum Caelorum*; That is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

#### Of Images.

**A**S touching Images, truth it is that the same have been used in the old Testament, and also for the greater abuses of them sometimes destroyed and put down; and in the new Testament they have been also allowed, as good Authors do declare. Wherefore we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People, committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And *First*, That this may be attributed unto them, that they be representers of vertue and good example, and that they also be by occasion the kindlers and firers of Mens minds, and make Men often remember and lament their Sins and Offences, especially the Images of Christ and our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the Churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: And to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do; we will that our Bishops and Preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this Doctrine reform their abuses, for else there might fortune Idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for Censing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshipings, although the same hath entred by devotion, and fallen to custom; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no ways do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same Images, but only to be done to God, and in his Honour, although it be done before the Images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, or of our Lady, or of any other Saint beside.

*Of Honouring of Saints.*

**A**S touching the Honouring of Saints, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our People, committed by Us unto their Spiritual Charge, that Saints now being with Christ in Heaven, be to be honoured of Christian People on Earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God, but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the Elect Persons of Christ, because they be passed in Godly Life out of this transitory World, because they already do Reign in Glory with Christ; and most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent vertues which he planted in them, for example, of and by them to such as are yet in this World to live in Vertue and Goodness, and also not to fear to dye for Christ and his Cause, as some of them did; and finally to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways and such like, be Saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

*Of Praying to Saints.*

**A**S touching Praying to Saints, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that albeit Grace, remission of Sin and Salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the Mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only, sufficient Mediator for our Sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to Saints in Heaven everlastingly living, whose Charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God after this manner: All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, we may have Grace of him, and remission of our Sins, with an earnest purpose, not wanting Ghostly Strength, to observe and keep his holy Commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives end: And in this manner we pray to our *Blessed Lady*, to *St. John Baptist*, to all and every of the Apostles or any other Saint particularly, as our Devotion doth serve us; so that it be done without any vain Superstition, as to think that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any Saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is Patron of the same. And likewise we must keep Holy-days unto God, in memory of him and his Saints, upon such days as the Church hath ordained their Memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent or commandment of the Supream Head, to the Ordinaries, and then the Subjects ought to obey it.

*Of Rites and Ceremonies.*

**A**S concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of Christ's Church, as to have such Vestments in doing God service, as be and have been most part used, as Sprinkling of Holy-water to put us in remembrance of our Baptism, and the Blood of Christ sprinkled for our Redemption upon the Cross: Giving of holy Bread to put us in remembrance of the Sacrament of the Altar, that all Christen Men be one Body Mystical of Christ,

Christ, as the Bread is made of many grains, and yet but one Loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving the holy Sacrament and Body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right Charity; which in the beginning of Christ's Church, Men did more often receive than they use now a days to do; bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*, in memory of Christ the spiritual Light, of whom *Simcon* did prophesie as is read in the Church that day: Giving of Ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, to put in remembrance every Christen Man in the beginning of Lent and Penance, that he is but Ashes and Earth, and thereto shall return; which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our Mother-tongue always on the same day: Bearing of Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, in memory of receiving of Christ into *Jerusalem*, a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our Hearts; creeping to the Cross, and humbling our selves to Christ on *Good Friday* before the Cross, and offering thereunto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our Redemption by Christ made upon the Cross; Setting up the Sepulcher of Christ, whose body after his death was buried; the Hallowing of the Font, and other like Exorcisms and Benedictions by the Ministers of Christ's Church: And all other like laudable Customs, Rights, and Ceremonies be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in Oblivion, but renewing them in our Memories from time to time; but none of these Ceremonies have Power to remit Sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our Sins be forgiven.

*Of Purgatory.*

FORASMUCH as due order of Charity requireth, and the Book of *Maccabees*, and divers ancient Doctors plainly shewing, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for Souls departed, and forasmuch also, as such usage hath continued in the Church so many years, even from the beginning, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People, committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that no Man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same, and that it standeth with the very due Order of Charity, for a Christen Man to pray for Souls departed, and to commit them in our Prayers to Gods mercy, and also to cause others to pray for them in Masses, and Exequies, and to give Alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved, holpen, of some part of their pain: But forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to God Almighty, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our Prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition; wherefore it is much necessary that such Abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of Purgatory hath been advanced, as to make Men believe that through the Bishop of *Romes* Pardon, Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that Masses said at *Scala Cæli*, or otherwhere, in any place, or before any Image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them streight to Heaven, and other like Abuses.

Signed

Signed

Thomas Cromwell.

- |                                  |                                      |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| T. Cantuarien.                   | Thomas Elien.                        |
| Edvardus Ebor.                   | Joannes Lincoln. Nomine procurato-   |
| Joannes London                   | rio pro Dom. Rowlando Coven. &       |
| Cuthbertus Dunelmen.             | Lichfielden.                         |
| Joannes Lincoln.                 | Joannes Bangoren.                    |
| Joannes Lincoln Nomine procura-  | Nicholas Sarisburien.                |
| torio pro Dom. Joan. Exon.       | Edvardus Hereforden.                 |
| Hugo Wygornen.                   | Willielmus Norwicen.                 |
| Joannes Roffen.                  | Willielmus Meneven.                  |
| Richardus Cicestren.             | Robertus Assaven.                    |
| Joannes Bathonien.               |                                      |
| Robertus Abbas Sancti Albani.    | Robertus Prior sive Magister ordinis |
| Willielmus ab Westmonaster.      | de Semper ingham.                    |
| Joannes ab Buriem.               | Richardus Ab. de Notley.             |
| A Richardus Ab. Glasconia.       | Hugo Prior de Huntingtoun.           |
| A Hugo Ab. Redying.              | Willielmus Ab. de Stratford.         |
| Robertus Ab. Malmesbur.          | Gabriel Ab. de Buckfestrie.          |
| Clemens Ab. Eveshamen.           | Henricus Ab. de Wardenor.            |
| Johannes Ab. de Bello.           | Joannes Prior de Merton.             |
| Willielmus Ab. S. Petri Glocest. | Richardus Pr. de Walsingham.         |
| Richardus Ab. Winchelcombens.    | B Thomas Ab. de                      |
| Joannes Ab. de Croyland,         | Thomas Ab. de Stanley.               |
| Robertus Ab. de Thorney.         | Richardus Ab. de Bytlesden.          |
| Robertus Ab. de Walnham.         | Richardus Pr. de Lanthony.           |
| Joannes Ab. Cirencest.           | Robertus Ab. de Thame.               |
| Joannes Ab. Teuxburen.           | B Joannes Prior de Helvenham.        |
| Thomas Prior Coventr.            | Radulphus Prior de Kymme.            |
|                                  | B Richardus Ab. de Brusza.           |
| Joannes Ab. de Osney.            | Robertus Ab. de Welhows.             |
| B Henricus Ab. de Corariis.      | Bartholamaus Pr. de Overhey.         |
| Anthonius Ab. de Eyntham.        | Willielmus Pr. de Burgaveny.         |
| Robertus Prior Elien.            | Thomas Ab. de Abendon.               |

## Inferior Domus.

- |                                    |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| C R. Gwent Archidiaconus London,   | Gamaliel Clyfton Decanus Hereford.  |
| & Breck.                           | & Proc. Capit.                      |
| Robertus Alridge Archid. Colecest. | Joannes London Decanus Wallingford. |
| & Procurator Cleri. Coven. &       | Nicholas Metcalf.                   |
| Litchf.                            | Richardus Layton Archid. Bucks,     |
| Thomas Bedyl Archid. Cornub.       | Hugo Coren Proc. Cleri Hereford.    |
| Richardus Street Archid. Derbia.   | Richardus Sparebeford Proc. Cleri.  |
| David Pole Ar. Salop.              | Hereford.                           |
| Richardus Doke Archid. Sarum.      | Mauritius Griffith Proc. Cleri.     |
| Edmundus Bonner Archid. Leyce-     | Roffen.                             |
| stria.                             | Gulielmus Buckmastr. Procurator.    |
| Thomas Baghe Archid. Surr.         | Cleri London.                       |

Richardus

- Richardus Rawson Archid. Essex.  
 Edmundus Cranmer Archid. Cant.  
 Polidorus Virgilius Archid. Wellen.  
 Richardus Coren Archid. Oxon.  
 Henricus Morgan Procurator Cleri  
 Lincoln.  
 Petrus Vannes Archid. Wygornen.  
 Georgius Hennage Decanus Lin-  
 coln.  
 Nilo Spencer Procurator Cleri  
 Norwicen.  
 Guilielm. Knight Archid. Cestrie.  
 Nicolaus Metcalf Archid. Roffen.  
 Gulielmus Hedge Procurator Cleri  
 Norwicen.  
 Adam Traves Archid. Exon.  
 Richardus Woleman Dec. Wellen.  
 Tho. Brerewood Archidiacon. Bar.  
 Procur. Capituli & Cleri Exon.  
 Georgius Carew Archid. Totten  
 Proc. Capituli & Cleri Exon.  
 Thomas Bennet Proc. Cleri & Ca-  
 pit. Sarum.  
 Richardus Arched. Proc. Cleri &  
 Capit. Sarum.  
 Petrus Lighman Pr. Cleri Cant.  
 Edmundus Stewart Proc. Cleri  
 Winton.  
 Joannes Rayne Pr. Cleri Lincoln.  
 Leonardus Savile Proc. Cleri Ar-  
 chid. Leven.  
 Simon Matthew Pr. Cleri London.  
 Lanfrid Ogle Archid. Salop.  
 Gulielmus Maye Proc. Cleri Elien.  
 Rol. Philips Proc. Eccles. St. Pau-  
 li London.  
 Joannes Bell Ar. Glocest.
- Richardus Shelton Mag. Colleg. de  
 Melyngham.  
 Per me Willielmum Glyn. Archi. An-  
 glessem.  
 Robertus Evans Decan. Bangoren,  
 Walterus Cretyng Ar. Bathonien.  
 Thomas Bogard Procurator Cleri  
 Wygornen.  
 Joannes Nase Proc. Cleri Bathon.  
 & Wellen.  
 Georgius Wyndham Archid. Nor-  
 wicen.  
 Joannes Chamber Dec. St. Stephani  
 Archid. Bedford.  
 Nicolaus Wilson.

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*Some Observations on the former Subscriptions.*

- A The Abbots of *Glossenbury* and *Reading* subscribe with the rest: by which it appears that they complied in the changes that were made, as readily as others did.
- B The Abbots writ generally so ill, that it is very hard to read their Subscriptions: Some of them I could by no means know what to make of.
- C There are of 50 of the lower house of Convocation: Of those there are 25 Archdeacons, 4 Deans of Cathedrals, 3 Deans of Collegial Churches, 17 Procurators for the Clergy, and one Master of a College.

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## II. Some Queries put by Cranmer in Order to the Correcting of several Abuses.

**F**irst, What Causes, Reasons, or Considerations hath or might move any man to desire to have the Bishop of Rome restored in any point to his pretended Monarchy, or to repugn against the Laws and Statutes of this Realm made for the setting forth of the Kings Title of Supream Head? *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.*

Item, Whether a Man offending deadly after he is Baptized, may obtain remission of Sins, by any other way than by Contrition, through Grace? 2.

Item,

3. *Item*, If the Clergy know that the common sort of Men have them in an higher estimation, because they are perswaded, that it lyeth in the Will and Power of Priests to remit, or not remit Sins at their pleasure, whether in such case the said Clergy offend if they wink at this, and voluntarily suffer the People to continue in this Opinion?
4. *Item*, Whether a Sinner being sorry and contrite for his Sins, and forthwith dying, shall have as high a place in Heaven, as if he had never offended?
5. *Item*, Whether any, and what difference may be Assigned betwixt two Men, whereof the one being very sorry and contrite for his Sins dieth without Absolution of the Priest, and the other which being contrite is also absolved by the Priest and so dieth?
6. *Item*, If it may appear that the common people have a greater affiance or trust in outward Rites or Ceremonies than they ought to have and that they esteem more vertue in Images and adorning of them, kissing their feet, or offering Candles unto them, than they should esteem, and that yet the Curats knowing the same, and fearing the loss of their offerings, and such other temporal commodities, do rather encourage the People to continue after this sort, than teach them the Truth in the premises according to Scripture; what the Kings Highness and his Parliament may do, and what they are bound in Conscience to do in such case?
7. *Item*, Whether now in time of the new Law the Tithes or Tenth be due to Curats by the Laws of God, or of Man; and if the same be due by the Laws of Man, what Mans Laws they be?
8. *Item*, Whether the Clergy only, and none but they ought to have voices in general Councils?
9. *Item*, Whether the 19<sup>th</sup> Canon in the Council of *Calcedon*, wherein is contained that one Clerk may not sue another before any secular Judge, but only before his Bishop, and such other Canons of like effect, have been generally received or not? and whether the same be contrary to the Kings Prerogative and Laws of this Realm, and whether it be expedient that it were declared by the Parliament that the said Canons being at no time received, especially within this Realm, be void and of none effect?
10. *Item*, Of the 24<sup>th</sup> Canon of the said Council, wherein is contained that Monasteries once consecrated, by the Bishop, may not after be made dwelling houses for Laymen, whether that Canon have been received and observed, and whether the same be against the Power of the King and Authority of his Parliament?
11. *Item*, If it may appear that the Bishops have not, ne yet do maturely examine and diligently inquire of the Conversation, and Learning of such as be ordered or admitted to Cures by them, but rather without examination or inquisition indistinctly admit persons unable, whereof ensueth

enfueth great peril of Souls, and innumerable inconveniences other-ways, what the King's Highness or his Parliament ought to do, or may do for reformation in the Premises?

*Item,* If such as have Deanries, Arch-Deaconries, Charterships, and other Offices or Promotions of the Clergy, use not themselves in their own persons after such sort as the primary institution of these Offices of Promotion require, and according to the Wills of them that endowed them, what the King and his Parliament may do, or ought to do in this case? 12.

*Item,* For what causes and to what ends and purposes such Offices and Promotions of the Clergy were first instituted? 13.

*Item,* If Curates having Benefices with cure, for their more bodily ease, refuse to dwell upon any of their said Cures, and remain in idleness continually in Cathedral or Collegial Churches upon their Prebends, whether it be in this case expedient, that the King's Highness or his Parliament take any Order for the redress of the same? 14.

*Item,* Of the Sacraments of Confirmation, Order, Matrimony, and extreame Unction, what the external Signs and inward Graces be in every of the said Sacraments, what promises be made to the receivers of them by God, and of what efficacy they be of, and energy of themselves? 15.

### III. Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the Answers which were given to them by *Cranmer*, and *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*.

#### AN ORIGINAL

**W**Hether Confirmation be Instituted by Christ?

*Respon.* There is no place in Scripture that declareth this Sacrament to be instituted of Christ.

*First,* For the places alledged for the same, be no Institutions but Acts and Deeds of the Apostles.

*Secondly,* These Acts were done by a special Gift given to the Apostles for the confirmation of God's Word at that time.

*Thirdly,* The said special Gift doth not now remain with the Successors of the Apostles.

*What is the External?*

The Church useth *Chrisma* for the exterior Sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

*What is the Efficacy of this Sacrament?*

The Bishop in the name of the Church doth invoke the Holy Ghost to give Strength and constancy, with other spiritual Gifts, unto the person confirmed: So that the efficacy of this Sacrament is of such value, as is the Prayer of the Bishop made in the name of the Church.

Written  
with *Cran-*  
*mer's Hand*  
Cotton Libr.  
Cleo. E. 5.

*Hæc respondeo, salvo semper eruditorum & Ecclesiæ orthodoxa judicio.*

Stokesley's Paper.

The first Question *Whether the Sacrament of Confirmation be a Sacrament of the New Testament instituted by Christ?*

To this I answer, *That it is.*

The second Question, *What is the outward Sign, and the invisible Graces which be conferred in the same?*

To this I answer, That the Words *Signo te Signo Sanctæ crucis, & confirmo te, &c.* With the consignation, with the Cream, imposition of hands of the Prelates, be the Signs: And the increase of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and especially of Fortitude, to speak, shew, and defend the Faith, and to suffer for the same in case need be.

*The third Question, What promises be made of the said Graces?*

I Answer, That the facts and deeds that be expressed in the Books of the Apostles, with the effects ensuing, by the imposition of their Hands upon them that before had received Remission of their Sins, joynd with the promises of Christ, made to his Church, and the continual belief of the University of the same Catholick Church from the time of the Apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any Man (ignorants and suspects of Heresie only excepted) maketh us, and in my opinion, without prejudice of other Mens opinion, ought to suffice to make all Men that hath promised to believe the Catholick Church, assuredly to think that God hath made the promises of the said Grace.

*Ego Joannes London. sic respondeo, fretus autoritate & testimonio antiquissimorum, eorumque Doctissimorum pariter ac Sanctissimorum virorum, & precipue Sanctæ Matris nostræ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, cui etiam in non expressis in Sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam scriptis, fides adhibenda est; nisi tam de Baptismo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Deiparæ virginis integritate, & id genus complaribus, quibus sine salutis periculo nemo discredet, licebit salva Fide contradicere.*

#### IV. Some Considerations offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to Induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4. **P**leaseth it your Highness graciously to consider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high Wisdom these Considerations following.

*First*, How no great thing is to be determined, principally matters of Christ's Religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation.

*Secondly*, How evil it hath succeeded when in Provincial, yea, or yet in General Councils, Men have gone about to set forth any thing as in the force of God's Law, without the manifest Word of God, or else without apparent Reasons infallibly deduced out of the Word of God.

*Thirdly*, How all Christened Regions are now full of Learned Men in the Scripture, which can well espie out and judge how things that be, or shall be set forth, are agreeable with Scripture or not,

*Fourthly*,



*Fourthly*, Of what Audacity Men be of now adays, which will not spare to write against high Princes, as well as against private persons, without any respect to their high Estates, only weighing the equity or the iniquity of the Cause.

*Fifthly*, How not only Men of the New Learning ( as they be called ) but also the very Papistical Authors, do allow that by the Word of God, Priests be not forbidden to Marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgment.

*Sixthly*, How that it is not possible that all Learned Men should be of one mind, sentence, and opinion, as long as the cockle is mingled with the wheat, the Godly with the Ungodly, which certainly shall be as long as the World endureth.

*Seventhly*, How variety of Opinions have been occasion of the opening of many Verities heretofore taken for Heresie, yea, and yet so esteemed and taken of many, in other Reigons; as namely the usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, hath by that occasion come into Light, with the effusion of the blood not of a few, such as were the first stirrers up thereof.

*Lastly*, There be also other Opinions not spoken of, which have made, and yet will make as much variance in your Graces Realm, as any of them treated of, namely, Whether the Holy Scripture teacheth any Purgatory to us after this Life or not? Whether the same Scripture teacheth the Invocation of dead Saints? Whether there be any unwritten Verities necessary to be believed, not written in Scripture, nor deducted by infallible Arguments out of the open places of Scripture? Whether there be any satisfactions beside the satisfaction of Christ? Whether Free-Will by its own strength may dispose it self to Grace of a coveniency ( as it is said ) *de congruo*? Whether it be against Scripture to kiss the Image of Christ in the Honour of him? And generally whether Images may be used any other way than your Grace setteth forth in your Injunctions?

Whether in consideration of the Premises it may please your Highness to suspend your judgment for a time, and not to determine the Marriage of Priests to be against Scripture, but rather to put both parts to silence, commanding them neither to preach, dispute, nor openly to talk thereof under pain of — *&c.* And in case these Premises do not move your Highness to stay, that then it may please the same to grant that the Article of Priests Marriage may be openly disputed in both Universities, under indifferent Judges, before it be determined. All the Arguments of the contrary Party first to be delivered in writing to the Defenders, twelve days before the Disputation; to the intent they may the more maturely and deliberately make answer to the same; and they that shall enter as Defenders into this disputation, to do it under this condition, that if their Judges discern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to suffer death, therefore: And if their Adverſaries cannot prove their purpose, their desire is no more but that it may please your Highness to leave your most humble Subjects to the liberty that God's Word permitteth them in that behalf; and your said humble Subjects shall pray unto Almighty God for the preservation of your most Royal Estate long to continue, to God's Glory and Honour.

## V. A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests.

### AN ORIGINAL.

AS touching the Sacrament of Holy Orders, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge.

*Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.* *First,* How that Christ and his Apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament, that besides the Civil Powers and Governance of Kings and Princes, which is called in Scripture, *Potestas gladii*, the Power of the Sword, there should be also continually in the Church Militant, certain other Ministers or Officers, which should have Spiritual Power, Authority and Commission under Christ, to Preach and Teach the Word of God, unto his People, and to dispense and Administer the Sacraments of God unto them; and by the same to confer and give the Grace of the Holy Ghost, to Consecrate the Blessed Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, to Loose and Absoil from Sin, all Persons which be duly Penitent and sorry for the same; to Bind and Excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest Crimes and Sins, and will not amend their Defaults; to Order and Consecrate others in the same Room, Order and Office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves; and finally to feed Christ's People like good Pastors and Rectors, as the Apostles calleth them, with their wholesome Doctrine, and by their continual Exhortations and Monitions to reduce them from Sin and Iniquity, so much as in them lyeth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledge, the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect Charity of their Neighbours.

*Item,* That this Office, this Ministration, this Power and Authority is no tyrannical Power, having no certain Laws or Limits, within the which it ought to be contained, nor yet none absolute Power, but it is a moderate Power, subject, determined, and restrained unto those certain Limits and Ends for the which the same was appointed by God's Ordinance, which, as was said before, is only to administer and distribute unto the Members of Christ's Mystical Body, spiritual and everlasting things; that is to say, the pure and Heavenly Doctrine of Christ's Gospel, and the Graces conferred in his Sacraments: And therefore this said Power and Administration is called in some places of Scripture, *Donum & Gratia*, a Gift and a Grace; in some places it is called *Claves sive potestas Clavium*, that is to say, the Keys, or the Power of the Keys, whereby is signified a certain limited Office restrained unto the execution of a special Function or Ministration, according to the saying of St. Paul in his first Chap. of his Epistle to the *Romans*, and in the fourth Chap. of his Epistle to *Timothy*, and also in the fourth Chap. of his Epistle to the *Ephes*. Where he writes in this Sentence; *Quum ascendisset Christus in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem, & dedit Dona hominibus, dedit autem, alios quidem Apostolos, alios vero Prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem Pastores ac Doctores, ad instaurationem sanctorum, in opus Administrationis, in edificationem corporis Christi, donec perveniamus*

*mus omnis in unitatem Fidei & agnitionis Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram etatis plene adultæ Christi.* That is to say, “when Christ ascended into Heaven, he subdued and vanquished every Captivity her self, and led or made her thrall and captive, and distributed and gave divers heavenly Gifts and Graces unto Men here on Earth; and among all, he made some the Apostles, some Priests, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Doctors, to the intent they should execute the work and office of their Administration, to the Instauration, Instruction, and Edifying of the members of Christ’s Mystical Body: And that they should also not cease from the Execution of their said Office, until all the said Members were not only reduced and brought unto Unity of the Faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, but also that they were come unto a perfect State, and full Age therein, that is to say, until they were so Established and confirmed in the same, that they could no more afterwards be wavering therein, and be led or carried like Children, in any contrary Doctrine or Opinion, by the craft or subtile Perswasion of the false Pastors and Teachers, which go about by craft, to bring them into Erroneous Opinions, but that they should constantly follow the true Doctrine of Christ’s Gospel, growing and encreasing continually by Charity unto a perfect Member of that Body, whereof Christ is the very Head, in whom, if the whole Body, that is to say, If every Part and Member, be grown and come unto his perfect Estate, not all in like, but every one according to the Gift and Quality which is deputed unto it, and so to be Compacted, United, and Corporated together in the said Body, no doubt but that the whole Body and every part thereof shall thereby be made the more perfect and the more strong, by reason of that natural Love and Charity, which one Member so United in the Body hath unto the other. By which words it appeareth evidently not only that St. Paul accounted and number’d this said Power and Office of the Pastors and Doctors among the proper and special Gifts of the Holy Ghost, but also it appeareth that the same was a limited Power and Office, Ordained specially and only for the causes and purposes before rehearsed.

*Item,* That this Power Office, and Administration is necessary to be preserved here in Earth for three special and principall Causes. *First,* for that it is the Commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. *Secondly,* for that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or Instrument, whereby he will make us partakers of the Reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the Graces of his Holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right Inheritors of everlasting Life, there to Reign with him for ever in Glory, but only his Word and Sacraments; and therefore the Office and Power to Minister the said Word and Sacraments, may in no wise be suffered to perish, or to be abolished, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quomodo credent in eum de quo non audierunt? Quomodo autem audient sine prædicante? Quomodo autem prædicabunt nisi missi fuerunt? Sicut scriptum est, quam speciosi super montes pedes Evangelizantium Pacem, Annunciantium bona!* *Thirdly,* Because the said Power and Office or Function hath annexed unto it assuredly Promises of excellent and Inestimable Things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghost with all his Graces, and finally our Justification and everlasting Life, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Non me pudet Evangelii Jesu Christi,*

*Christi, potentia si quidem est Dei ad salutem omni credenti*; that is to say, I am not ashamed of the Room and Office which I have, given unto me by Christ, to Preach his Gospel, for it is the Power of God, that is to say, the elect Organ or Instrument ordained by God and endued with such Vertue and Efficacy, that it is able to give and Minister effectually everlasting Life unto all those that will believe and obey unto the same.

*Item*, That this Office, this Power and Authority was committed and given by Christ and his Apostles unto certain Persons only, that is to say, unto Priests and Bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their Prayers and Imposition of their Hands.

*Secondly*, We will that all Bishops, and Preachers shall Instruct and Teach our People committed unto their Spiritual Charge, that the Sacrament of Order may worthily be called a Sacrament, because it is a Holy Rite, or Ceremony Instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two Parts, like as the other Sacraments of the Church do; that is to say, of a Spiritual and an Invisible Grace, and also an outward and a visible Sign. The invisible Gift or Grace conferred in this Sacrament, is nothing else but the Power, the Office and the Authority before mentioned: The visible and outward Sign, is, the Prayer and Imposition of the Bishops Hands, upon the Person which receiveth the said Gift or Grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destituted of such Ministers, as should have and execute the said Power of the Keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same Sacrament should be applyed and ministred by the Bishop from time to time, unto such other Persons as had the Qualities which the Apostle very diligently descrye; as it appeareth evidently in the third Chap. of the first Epistle of St. Paul to *Tim.* and his Epistle unto *Titus*. And surely this is the whole vertue and efficacy, and the cause also of the institution of this Sacrament as it is found in the New Testament; for albeit, the Holy Fathers of the Church which succeeded the Apostles, minded to beautifie and ornate the Church of Christ with all those things which were commendable in the Temple of the *Jews*, did devise not only certain other Ceremonies than be before rehearsed, as Tonsures, Rasures, Unctions, and such other Observances to be used in the Administration of the said Sacraments, but did also institute certain inferiour orders or degrees, as *Janitors, Lectors, Exorcists, Acolits, and Subdeacons*, and deputed to every one of those certain Offices to execute in the Church, wherein they followed undoubtedly the Example and Rites used in the Old Testament; yet the truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in Orders, but only of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priests or Bishops: Nor is there any word spoken of any other Ceremony used in the conferring of this Sacrament, but only of Prayer, and the Imposition of the Bishops hands.

*Thomas Cromwell.*

*T. Cantuarien.*

*Edvardus Ebor.*

*Joannes London.*

*Cuthbertus Dunelmensis*

*Joannes Lincoln.*

*Joannes Bathoniens.*

*Rich. Cicestr.*

*Richardus Wolman.*

*Joannes Bell.*

*Willielmus Clyffe.*

*Robertus Aldridge.*

*Gilfridus Downes.*

*Joannes Skip.*

*Simon Matthew.*

*Joannes Pryn.*

*Gulielmus Buckmaestre,*

*Willielmus Maye.*

*Nicolaus Wotton.*

*Richardus Cox.*

*Joannes Redman.*

*Thomas*

<i>Thomas Elien.</i>	<i>Cuthbertus Marshall.</i>	<i>Thomas Robertſon.</i>
<i>Joannes Bangor.</i>	<i>Marmaduke Waldeby.</i>	<i>Thomas Baret.</i>
<i>Nicolaus Sarum.</i>	<i>Robertus Oking.</i>	<i>Joannes Naſe.</i>
<i>Edvardus Hererfoden.</i>	<i>Nicolaus Heyth.</i>	<i>Joannes Barbar.</i>
<i>Hugo Wygorn.</i>	<i>Rodolphus Bradford.</i>	
<i>Joannes Riffen,</i>	<i>Richardus Smith.</i>	

(Some other Hands there are that cannot be Read.)

*Sacra Theologie, Juris Eccleſiaſtici, & Civilis Profeſſors.*

VI. *A Letter of Melanthon's, to perſwade the King to a further Reformation. An Original.*

**S**. D. Sereniſſime & InclYTE Rex, Eſſi audieramus Romanum Epif- *Cott. Libr.*  
*Cleop. E. 5.*  
copum omnibus artificiis incendere Cæſaris Carololi & Regis Galli-  
ci animos adverſus Britannos & Germanos, tamen quia ſpero Deum hæc  
pericula gubernaturum eſſe, & deſenſurum tranquillitatem tuam, ſcripſi  
in alteris literis de Eccleſiarum emendatione, quam ſi tempore ſinent  
rogo ut Regia Majeſtas tua ſuſcipiat. Poſtea adjeci hanc Epitſtolam, non  
impudentia, ſed optimo ſtudio, & amore cum Eccleſiarum, cum Regiæ  
Majeſtatis tuæ incitatus: Quare per Chriſtum obteſtor Regiam Majeſta-  
tem tuam ut meam libertatem boni conſulat. Sæpe cogito Britannicæ  
Eccleſiæ primordia, & cæteras laudes: Hinc enim propagata eſt doctrina  
Chriſtiana in magnam Germaniæ & Galliæ partem; imo Britannicæ Ec-  
cleſiæ beneficium fuit, quod primum Romanæ Provinciæ liberatæ ſunt  
perſecutione. Hæc primum nobis Imperatorum pium Conſtantinum de-  
dit: Magna hæc gloria eſt veſtri nominis. Nunc quoque Regia Majeſtas  
tua primum heroica magnitudine animi oſtendit ſe veritati patrocina-  
turum eſſe excuſſit Romani Epifcopi tyrannidem, quare veterum puri-  
tatem Eccleſiæ veſtræ maxime optarim reſtitui integram. Sed animad-  
verto iſtic eſſe quosdam qui veteres abuſus ortos aut confirmatos a Ro-  
mano Epifcopo adhuc mordicis tenent. Mirum eſt autem Autore abu-  
ſuum ejecto ipſa tamen venena retineri; qua in re illud etiam periculi  
eſt, quod illi ipſi aut eorum imitatores aliquando revocaturi poteſtatem  
Romani Epifcopi videntur, ſi populus hunc putavit eſſe Magiſtrum Ec-  
cleſiarum, incurrunt enim Ritus in oculos & admonent de autore, ut  
Solonis memoria cum legibus Athenis & propagata & jucunda fuit.

Gaudebam igitur in Ediſto recens iſtic propoſito de Religione, pro-  
mitti publicam deliberationem & emendationem de Eccleſiarum Ritibus  
& Legibus, eaque ſententia mitigavit Decreti acerbitatem: quanquam  
enim laudo pietatem, quod errores prohibentur, qui pugnant cum do-  
ctrina Catholice Eccleſiæ quam & nos profiteſcemur; tamen doleo ad eas  
cauſas adjectum eſſe articulum, in quo precipitur omnium Rituum uſita-  
torum & Cælibatus obſervatio. Primum enim multi transferrent Ediſti  
Autoritatem ad ſtabiliendos abuſus Miſſæ. Deinde in univerſum confir-  
matur pertinacia eorum quæ Doctrinæ noſtræ ſunt iniquiores, & debili-  
tantur ſtudia piorum. Auguſtinus queritur ſua ætate jam duriorẽ  
fuiſſe ſervitutem Chriſtianam quam Judaicam, quanto erit aſperior ſer-  
vitus, ſi ſuperſtitioſiores ineptiæ, ut reptatio ad crucem aut res ſimiles  
munientur corporum ſuppliciiis? Gerson ſcribit prodeſſe piis, qui tamen  
super-

superstitiosius observant Ritus, ut invitentur ad eos violandos, ut usu & exemplo dediscant superstitionem.

Sed munio tranquillitatem, dices, & nolo dissimilitudine Rituum excitari discordias. Ego de piis & modestis loquor qui humanas traditiones sine tumultibus violant, non de his qui in cætu publico seditiosè tranquillum populum aut concitant aut perturbant. Extant autem antea leges de seditiosis, nec statim violatio inepti & non necessarij Ritus judicanda est seditiosa, attamen hac in re non solum tranquillitatis, sed etiam piarum Conscientiarum ratio habenda est: Est enim tenera res Conscientia, facile languescit percussa potentum judiciis.

Nec ignoro quosdam novo jam uti genere sapientiæ, excusant abusus & leniunt eos astute affectis interpretationibus, ut habeant speciosam causam cur eos retineant; sicut nefarius abusus excusat Autor reformationis Colonienfis, ut campanarum consecrationem & similes imposturas. Quam multa sunt in fabulosis historiis Sanctorum, ut Christophori, Georgii, quæ, ut Poemata, continent venustissimas Allegorias; nec tamen propter has cogendæ sunt Ecclesiæ ut illas poeticas personas colant.

Erat in Egypto Sacrum cum fici maturuissent, populus enim in templo edens recentes ficus, addebat canticum: his verbis, Dulcis veritas. Huic Ritui facile est bellam significationem addere, cumq; accomodare ad laudem Verbi Dei, nec tamen propterea hic mos in Ecclesias revocandus est; atqui hanc novam sophisticam exoriri passim videmus. Sic in Italia dicuntur abusibus patrocinari, Contarenus, Sadoletus, & Polus Cardinalis; nam hi præcipue susceperunt sibi jam has Partes defendendæ Romanæ impietatis, & hanc ducunt esse magnam ingenii laudem fucos illinire vitiosis Ritibus, putantq; se his ineptis Dionysii Theologiam Mysticam renovare. Hæc Spohistica, nisi prudentes gubernatores Ecclesiarum obsistent, pariet horribilem confusionem religionum, & rursus obruet veritatem. Donec flagitantur humani Ritus tanquam necessarij, confirmatur prava opinio de cultu; ideo Paulus tam vehementer non modò opinionem, sed Ritus ipsos Leviticos insectatus est, prævidebat enim non excuti posse superstitionem, si Ritus manerent, quare gravissime inquit, *si circumcidimini, Christus vobis nihil proderit.*

Retineatur ergo simplex & perspicua sententia de libertate in adia-phoris, & doceant concionatores quæ scandala vitanda sint; retineantur Ritus divinitus instituti, & aliquæ humanæ traditiones utiles ad bonum ordinem; ut Paulus loquitur, & sit modus Cæremoniarum quæ habeant conjunctam gravitatem & elegantiam; decet autem abesse ab Ecclesiis barbariem: Cæteri inutiles & inepti Ritus non duriter flagitentur.

Deinde quantum periculi adfert conscientijs prohibitio conjugii, nec ignorat Regia Majestas tua, Legem de cælibatu perpetuo tantum Romæ natam esse: Extant Epistolæ Episcopi Tarraconensis defendentes conjugia Presbyterorum in Hispania contra Romanum Episcopum. In Germania ante annos quingentos adhuc Sacerdotes fuerunt mariti, adeoque ægre tulerunt sibi eripi hanc libertatem, ut in Episcopum Moguntinum recitantem Edictum Romanum tumultuantes impetum fecerint, quare Episcopus fugere coactus recitationem omisit. Erat Autor Edicti Gregorius septimus qui cuilibet Tyrannorum veterum audacia & impietate par fuit. Hic cum longo & funesto bello civili nostros Germanicos imperatores implicuisset, simul etiam Ecclesias Tyrannide oppressit. Audio & in Anglia Sacerdotes fuisse maritos: Deniq; notæ sunt Historiæ, quæ exempla satis multa continent; quare miror in Edicto citari Episto-  
lam

Iam ad Corinthios, cum hæc longe aliud tradat de conjugio, ac præcipiat conjugium iis qui non sunt idonei ad cælibatum.

Nec obijcienda sunt vota quæ & expresse pugnant cum divinis mandatis, & trahunt secum multiplicem superstitionem & morum corruptionem; videmus enim qualis sit vita multorum Sacerdotum cælibum; itaq; non sine dolore aliquo legi in Edicto, quod hi qui Uxores duxerunt accusantur Levitatis, nam hoc convicio causa nostra prægravari videtur, quæ tamen Ecclesiæ necessaria est, ut Conjugii dignitas clarius conspiciatur, ut superstitiosi cultus votorum reprehendantur, ut arceantur libidines. Non enim impurus cælibatus, sed honesta & pia conjugum consuetudo, est castitas Deo gratia, sicut Christus sua voce divinam conjunctionem appellat conubium, inquit, *Quos Deus conjunxit*, &c. Discamus Dei Ordinationem in natura magnifacere, eaque reverenter uti, non fingamus ipsi novos cultus sine Verbo Dei; de quo genere Paulus nominatim concionatur, cum ad Timotheum scribens duxerit reprehendit eos qui prohibent nuptias.

Propheta Daniel insignes notas addit Antichristo duas, cum ait collet Deum Masim argento & auro, & Deum Patrum suorum non intelliget, & Mulieres non curabit. Hæc quadrant maxime ad Romanos mores: Missarum abusus & Sanctorum cultus pepererunt immensas opes & Regiam potentiam. Nova numina confecta sunt, adorantur aureæ & argentæ statuæ, & auro atque argento ornantur. Deinde accedit Lex de cælibatu, unde magna corruptio morum orta est. Hæ notæ cui genti, cui Regno usquam competunt nisi factioni Episcopi Romani? qui cum sit Antichristus, pio & forti animo ipsius autoritati & legibus adversandum est.

Porro sæliciter cœpit Regia Majestas tua quædam emendare, sustulit aliqua idola quæ impie colebantur: Obtestor ergo Regiam Majestatem tuam, ut reliquam Impietatem Romanam etiam ex Ecclesiis tollat. Exempla testantur ingentibus victoriis ornatos esse Reges qui sustulerunt Idololatriam, ac sæpe testatur Deus quantopere requirat hunc cultum ut removeantur superstitiones, & pro hoc officio ingentia præmia pollicetur; quare Deus etiam defendet Regiam Majestatem tuam, si ut Ezechias & cæteri pii Reges impios ritus sustuleris. Audit Regia Majestas tua in Belgico & alibi immanem sævitiam exerceri adversus pios; & hæc Tyrannis gignit alia multa vitia, stabilit Idololatriam, delet veram invocationem, extinguit penitus veram Religionem; cumq; desint boni Doctores, multi in populo fiunt palam *ἀθεοι*. Constat enim pæne Ethnicam licentiam esse in Belgico, alii superstitiosi natura, alii Fanaticas opiniones Anbaptistarum amplectuntur. Talis est in Belgico status, quod quidem floret pace, otio, opibus; adfluunt luxu ditiores, ita se beatos esse putant, nec interea prospiciunt quot pœnæ ipsis impendeant: Deus autem haud dubie tantam impietatem & crudelitatem atrociter puniet. Nollem igitur in Regno tuo renovari asperitatem adversus pios, quam ita prohibebit Regia Majestas tua si Edictum leniet & Ecclesias constituere perget. Deinde ut etiam ad posteritatem, animi abhorreant a Tyrannide Romani Episcopi, plurimum refert illis leges tolli, quæ sunt nervi autoritatis ipsius; magna vero adminicula potentiæ Romanorum Episcoporum fuerunt, Missarum abusus, & Cælibatus, quæ si durabunt aliquando poterunt præbere occasionem iis qui depravatæ sunt opinionis Romanæ Aula, ut ad eam rursus inclinationem faciant. Id caveri quantam referat, si Doctrinæ Puritas conservanda est, satis intelligit Regia Majestas tua. Verum adhuc est quod *Juvenalis* de Romana Aula

scripsit, *hic sunt homines, &c.* imbuti eo loci malis artibus, contumaciam singularem adversus Reges inde referunt, ut multa exempla testantur. Hanc Epistolam loquaciorem ac liberiore ut Regia Majestas tua boni consulat oro. Precor autem Deum & Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut Regiam Majestatem tuam servet & defendat, ac gubernet ad salutem Ecclesiæ. Bene & feliciter valeat Regia Majestas tua. Ex-Francofordia

Cal. Aprilis 1539.

Regiæ Majestatis tuæ

Additissimus

Philippus Melanthon

*Directed thus on the back;*

Serenissimo & Inclyto Angliæ & Franciæ  
Regi D. Henrico Octavo Walliæ &  
Cornubiæ Principi, Capiti Anglicæ  
Ecclesiæ post Christum Supremo,

Principi Clementissimo.

**VII.** *A Letter written by the German Ambassadors to the King, against the taking away of the Chalice, and against private Masses, and the Celibate of the Clergy, &c. An Original.*

*Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.* **S**erenissime & Potentissime Rex, Domine Clementissime, etsi Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem vestram maximorum negotiorum mole, tum ad Regnum ac Provincias proprias Majestatis Vestræ pertinentium, tum etiam exterorum Regum, Principum, & Potentatum gravissimis causis, quæ ad Regiam Majestatem Vestram pæne quotidie devolvuntur, obrui non ignoremus; nosque pro nostra erga Regiam Majestatem Vestram debita observantia ut par est, nihil minus velimus aut cogitemus, quam Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram vel mittendis literis crebrioribus, vel ulla alia re inturbare & a Reipublicæ curis impedire, tamen certis quibusdam de causis, quas Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ probaturos nos speramus, duximus iterum ad Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram literas dandas esse, nihil dubitantes quin Vestra Serenissima Regia Majestas eas pro suo insigni bonitate, sapientia, doctrina, atque favore sincerioris Religionis, benigne acceptura sit. Cum enim ab Illustrissimis Principibus nostris nobis injuncta mandata Vestræ Serenissimæ Majestati jampridem exposuerimus, & præterea postulante Majestate Vestra cum quibusdam ejusdem Reverendissimis & Eruditissimis Episcopis & Theologiæ Doctoribus, de Articulis Religionis Christianæ per duos pæne menses sermones contulerimus, ac Dei beneficio res eo perducta fuerit, ut nihil ambigamus, quin inter Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram & Principes nostros, ac eorum in causa religionis confæderatos utrorumq; Episcopos, Theologos & Subditos firma-



ma atq; perpetua concordia in sinceriore Evangelii Doctrina, in laudem Dei Optimi Maximi, salutem Ecclesiæ Christianæ, ac perniciem Romani Antichristi, secutura sit, nosque reliquam disputationem de abusibus non expectare queamus, existimavimus non esse alienum ab officio nostro, ut ante discessum nostrum Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ, quæ per Dei Gratiâ indefessa cura & diligentia sinceram Evangelii Doctrinam promotam cupit, debitam observantiam, atque perpetuum studium nostrum literis nostris testatum relinqueremus, & Majestati Vestræ nostrorum etiam sententiam de quibusdam Articulis abusu, de quibus Majestas Vestra post abitum nostrum haud dubie curabit eosdem Episcopos & Theologos pro inquirenda veritate, sermones conferre & disputare, declarare: Nihil ambigentes, quin ea etiam in re Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro Christi gloria id præstitura sit, ut non tantum Doctrinam puram habeat, verum etiam abolis aliquando impiis cultibus & abusibus per Romanum Episcopum in Ecclesiam introductis, cultus ac Cæremonias consentaneas Verbo Dei constituat: Facile enim Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro sua summa sapientia perspicit, non posse unquam Doctrinæ puritatem, vel constitui, vel conservari, nisi tollantur è medio etiam hi abusus, qui prorsus & ex diametro, ut dici solet, cum Verbo Dei pugnant, & Romani Antichristi Tyrannidem ac Idololatriam, tum pepererunt, tum etiam hactenus conservarunt; nam ut radicibus demum resectis, necesse est arbores & herbas penitus exarescere & perire, ita dubium non est, quin impiis Romani Episcopi abusibus & Idololatria, ut fundamento stabilitatis ipsius labefactis & everfis, etiam Tyrannidis ejusdem prorsus ruitura & interitura sit; quod nisi fiat perpetuo metuendum est, ne levi aliqua occasione iterum repullulescat & tanquam à radice reviviscat.

Sunt vero hæc tria pæne capita & fundamentum Tyrannidis & Idololatriæ Pontificiæ, quibus stantibus, neque Doctrina Religionis integra permanere, neque unquam Romani Episcopi improbissimus dominatus, penitus extirpari poterit: Nempe, Prohibitio utriusque speciei Sacramenti in cæna Domini, Missa Privata, & Interdictio conjugii Sacerdotum, quæ quidem usque adeo Dei Verbo adversantur, adeoque etiam honestati publicæ repugnant, ut vel ex his solis apertissime intelligi possit Romanum Pontificem verum Antichristum, & omnis Idololatriæ, impietatis, erroris, & turpitudinis, in Christi Ecclesiam introductæ auctorem esse; de quibus sane Articulis nos pauca quædam Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ optimo studio scribemus, & ejusdem ut Regis summa sapientia, acerrimo judicio, & excellenti Doctrina præditi, censuræ commitemus, persuasissimum nobis habentes Vestram Majestatem Illustrissimam Principum nostrorum, & Statuum confœderatorum Consilium & Institutum, in hisce Articulis non improbatum esse.

Primum enim, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, non existimamus quenquam inficias iturum, quin Christi Doctrinæ, mendata, & ordina-<sup>De utraque specie.</sup> tiones omnibus aliis præceptis, traditionibus aut cæremoniis humanis præferri debeant; hic enim cum ipse sit vita & veritas, errare non potest, humana vero omnia, præcipue in rebus divinis, incerta & dubia sunt. Porro constat Christum ipsum utramq; speciem instituisse, cum ait, **Bibite** ex hoc omnes; & Paulum idem docuisse, cum inquit, 2 Cor. 11. **Probet** seipsum homo, & sic de pane comedat & poculo bibat. Quibus sane locis, non de una parte Ecclesiæ, id est, de Sacerdotibus tantum, sed de tota Ecclesia mentio fit: Nam quod quidam ita Argumentantur solis Apostolis Christum id dixisse, eaque de causa utramq; speciem ad

solos Sacerdotes pertinere, infirmum admodum est Argumentum; quia eadem ratione sequeretur, quod Laicis ne altera quidem species danda esset; neque enim alio loco Christus mandavit solum corpus Laicis dari, & utramque speciem pro Sacerdotibus instituit: Sed hoc fatendum est, quod illud mandatum Christi de Sacramento, aut ad omnes, hoc est, Laicos & Sacerdotes pertineat, aut Laici prorsus a Sacramento Corporis etiam arcendi fuerint, cum nusquam alibi in Evangelio, nisi tunc cum dedit Apostolis simul Corpus & Sanguinem, Sacramentum pro Laicis institutum reperiatur; idque ad omnes pertinere Paulus declarat, cum addit, & de poculo bibat, &c. Quod enim dicunt Sacramenti divisionem, urgentibus quibusdam causis, ab Ecclesia institutam esse, & sub una specie, non minus quam utrique continere, non multum ad rem facit: Quis enim non intelligit hic de Christi instituto & mandato agi, idque humanæ auctoritati & opinionibus longe præferendum esse; neque enim Ecclesia sumit sibi hanc libertatem ex Christi Ordinationibus res indifferentes constituendi; & rationes illæ vel de discrimine ordinum, seu dignitate Sacerdotali, vel periculo effusionis & similes, nullo modo tantam queunt vim habere, ut propterea Divinæ Ordinationes mutandæ sint; neque ulla etiam consuetudo contra mandata Dei introducta, ipsis canonibus Pontificiis attestantibus, probanda est. Constat vero usum utriusque speciei, & clarum habere mandatum Christi, & adprobationem Sanctorum Patrum, ac consuetudinem veteris Ecclesiæ; sic enim, inquit Divus Hieronymus, Sacerdotes qui Eucharistiæ serviunt, & Sanguinem Christi populis distribuunt; & Gelasis Pontifex, Sacramenti Corporis & Sanguinis Domini divisionem prohibet, eamque grande Sacrilegium adpellat.

Adhæc, durat hodie hic mos Communionis utriusque speciei in Græcis Ecclesiis, quæ hac in re Romani Pontificis Tyrannidi semper restiterunt, neque ejus jugum recipere voluerunt, & testantur Historiæ tum in Germania, tum in multis aliis Regionibus ac Provinciis, verum Communionis usum diu conservatum fuisse, sed tandem fulminibus Romani Antichristi, quibus totum pœne orbem terrarum conterruit & subjugavit, homines, ut verisimile est, victi verum Eucharistiæ usum mutarunt, ad quem tamen, per singularem Dei Gratiam, agnita iterum veritate Evangelica cum Principes nostri, tum alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, jam redierunt, & sese ac suos in re Universæ Ecclesiæ maxime salutifera, tanquam in libertatem, excusso jugo Pontificio, vendicarunt & adseruerunt. Nam quæ causæ Pontificem permoverint, ut contra Christi mandatum & institutum, contra sententiam Sanctorum Patrum, contra consuetudinem Universæ Ecclesiæ Christianæ, Sacramentum divideret, & Laicos Sanguine Domini nefarie spoliaret, facile Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra perspicit. Verisimile quidem videtur, eum voluisse suam, sui que ordinis auctoritatem ac dignitatem, ea ratione augere, & hoc discrimen inter Laicos & Sacerdotes constituere, nam etiam nunc clamitant adversarii, Laicos debere esse altera specie contentos; quasi Regnum aliquod possideant, & ita imperare ipsis liberum sit, ut etiam Christi beneficium hominibus eripere queant, ad quod potius si suo officio fungi vellent, omnes invitare & pellicere deberent. Sed quid Christo cum Belial? quid Pontifici cum Christi instituto, cujus ipse se summum adversarium esse satis declarat, ideoque tum in hoc, tum aliis salutaribus Religionis Christianæ Articulis oportuit ipsum a scriptura discedere, imo Doctrinam Evangelio consentaneam damnare, ut manifestum fieret, eum esse Antichristum, de quo passim Scriptura talia prædixit.

Porro

Porro in altero Articulo, De Missa Privata, adhuc magis adparet a *De Missa* Romano Pontifice Religionem Christianam adeo opprobriam & obscuram *privata*, ut Christi Beneficium, qui sua morte nos redemit, solusque est hostia & satisfactio pro peccatis nostris, pœnitus sustulerit, & in ejus locum Idololatricum cultum pro abolendis peccatis in Ecclesiam invexerit eamque suis erroribus & prophanationibus miserabiliter implicaverit, turbaverit & deformaverit. Cum enim Missa nihil aliud sit, nec esse debeat, quam Communio sive Synaxis, ut Paulus adpellat, neque etiam alius ejus usus fuerit tempore Apostolorum & veteris Ecclesie, quemadmodum hoc clare ex S. Patribus probari potest, plane diverſum quoddam opus, prorsus pugnans cum Communionem & vero Missæ usu inde factum est, quod docent ex opere operato, ut loquuntur, mereri gratiam, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum.

Hæc opinio quantopere distet a Scripturis, ac gloriam Passionis Christi lædat, Sereniss. Regia Majestas Vestra facillime judicabit. Si enim hoc verum est, quod Missa pro aliis applicari potest, quod peccata tollit & prodest tam vivis quam mortuis, sequitur Justificationem ex opere Missarum contingere, non ex fide; ve um hoc omnino Scripturæ repugnat, quæ tradit nos gratis propter Christum per fidelem justificari, ac peccata nobis condonari, & in gratiam nos recipi, atque ita non alieno opere, sed propria fide propter Christum, singulos justos fieri: At illi docent alienum opus pro remittendis peccatis alteri, quod quidem merum est somnium & figmentum humanum, repugnans Evangelicæ Doctrinæ; nam tunc demum applicatur gratia per Verbum & Sacramentorum usum, cum ipsi utimur Sacramentis, sed isti pro aliis utuntur, quod perinde est ac si pro aliis Baptizarentur. Neque vero potest dici quantopere deformet Christi Gloriam opinio illa de Missa, quæ ex opere operato conferat gratiam, aut applicata pro aliis mereatur eis remissionem venialium & mortalium peccatorum culpæ & pœnæ; idque aperte adversari Scripturæ, & a vero usu Missæ sive Communionis longe discidere, vel inde liquet, quia Missa sive Synaxis ideo est instituta, ut fidelis qui utitur Sacramento recordetur quæ beneficia accipiat per Christum & erigat ac soletur pavidam conscientiam; ideoque ibi porrigi debet Sacramentum, his quibus opus est consolatione, sicut Ambrosius ait, quia semper pecco, semper debeo accipere Medicinam. Atque hic usque ad tempora Gregorii in Ecclesia Missæ usus fuit, neque antea privata Missæ cognitæ fuerunt; quod quidem cum multis aliis Patrum Sententiis patet, tum Chrysostomi, qui inquit, Sacerdotem stare ad Altare & alios ad Communionem accerere, alios arcere: Et ex veteribus Canonibus constat, unum aliquem celebrasse Missam, a quo reliqui Presbyteri & Diaconi sumpserunt corpus Domini, sic enim inquit Canon Nicenus, Accipiant Diaconi secundum Ordinem post Presbyteros ab Episcopo vel Presbytero, Sacram Communionem. Et scribit Epiphanius, in Asia Synaxim ter celebratam singulis septimanis, nec quotidianas fuisse Missas, eumque morem ab Apostolis traditum esse; qui quidem Missæ usus etiam hodie in Græcis Parochiis durare dicitur, nam tantum singulis dominicis diebus & festis, fit ibi una publica Missa, privatas vero non habent: Fuitque Græca Ecclesia hoc nomine longe foelicioꝝ quam Latina, quæ meliorem usum cœnæ Domini, Synaxis, sive Missæ retinuerit, neque vel Sacramentum Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, contra claram Evangelii Doctrinam diviserit, ut paulo ante diximus, neque etiam privatis Missas Sacræ Scripturæ acerrime repugnantes, receperit cujus quidem rei hanc potentissimam causam fuisse arbitramur, quod  
Græca

Græca Ecclesia Romanum Episcopum auctorem perversæ & Idololatricæ Doctrinæ, & omnium pœne abusum qui in Ecclesiam introducti sunt, pro summo Ecclesiæ Universalis sive Catholicæ Capite, nunquam agnovit.

Sed concedunt quidam adplicationes quæ fiunt in Missa pro vivis & mortuis, & item opiniones, quod ex opere operato gratiam mereri traduntur, non esse probandas, & disputant abolitis illis opinionibus impiis, alia ratione Missas privatis retinendas, nempe quia sunt gratiarum actiones, quæ possint ab uno vel a pluribus fieri. Hæc sane ratio videtur aliquam habere speciem, estque *σφοδρὸν φαρμακόν*, ut inquit Sophocles, quo in causis invalidis, & ut ipse ait, morbidis utendum sit. Si Missa tantum esset gratiarum actio, possit fortassis tali aliquo prætextu colorari; verum constat eam principaliter institutam esse, ut sit Sacramentum quod per Ministrum alteri exhibeatur, ut accipens & credens consequatur gratiam. Et hoc quidem principali fine posito, accedit alter de gratiarum actione; quara nullo modo ab institutione Christi recedere, sed modum & formam illius Institutiones, & exemplum veteris Ecclesiæ sequi & retinere debemus: Nulla enim novitas, præsertim in Sacramentis, recipienda est, contra formam a Christo traditam, & contra exempla veteris Ecclesiæ.

Porro constat privatas Missas esse recentes, & a Romanis Pontificibus introductas & ne hodie quidem, ut paulo ante dictum est, in Græcis Ecclesiis esse, nisi Parochiales diebus festis, cum quibus adhuc manet vestigium Communionis: Cum igitur contra Dei Verbum Missa privata introducta sit, eamque humanum tantum & commentitium cultum esse adpareat, quis dubitat quin talis Missa, sine ullo periculo omitti possit imo debeat, cum repugnet Evangelio? Estque pium & sanctum opus verum Missæ sive Synaxis usum Ecclesiæ restituere ac reddere, quo per Romanum Pontificem, hoc est Antichristum, multis jam annis miserabiliter privata fuit qui quidem adhuc mordicus privatas Missas tenet, adferit, & defendit. Neque id immerito, facile enim sentit quod labefactata Missa privata, labefactetur imo ruant Universum ejus Regnum & Tyrannus, quæ Missis illis nititur; ut enim in feminibus causa est Arborum & stirpium; ita hujus luctuosissimi dominatus, imperii, tyrannidis, nundinationes & Idololatriæ Pontificia semen fuit superstio Missarum privatarum: Nam hæ pepererunt & sustinuerunt, veluti Atlas quidam, totum Papatum; ad harum normam omnia redacta sunt, siquidem nihil fuit, quod non Missa aliqua expiari posse creditum est. His aucupatus Pontifex Romanus indulgentias, quibus immensam pecuniam ex toto orbe terrarum prædatus est; hæ Monachorum turbas infinitas coacervaverunt, cum eorum nullus alius esset usus, quam demurmurandi Missas privatas, & alioquin inutile terræ pondus forent. Hæ sunt & fuerunt universa pietas, quam Pontifex Romanus profitetur, hanc solam novit ille Religionem, quæ in Missis privatis consistit; Doctrinam enim Evangelii non modo non habet, verum acerrime odit & prosequitur, & in summa his Missis ipsam prædicationem Verbi Divini Pontifex exterminavit, ut per omnia Antichristi munere fungeretur: Nam in loco unius concionis Verbi, amplius mille Missæ privatæ, hoc est, humani & commentitii cultus, contra Divinum Verbum successerunt; cum non Missas fieri sed Evangelium prædicare, & Sacramenta rite distribuere & administrare, Christus Apostolis, quorum illi volunt esse successores, mandaverit.

Cura aut igitur illustrissimi Principes nostri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, Principes & Status, privatas Missas penitus aboleri, & verum Missæ usum sive Synaxim Christi institutioni, exemplo Apostolorum, veteris Ecclesiæ ac Patrum sententiis conformem, in Ecclesiam revocarum & restituerunt. Quæ quidem Missa sive Synaxis summa cum reverentia celebratur, servatis pæne omnibus usitatis Cæremoniis, quæ non repugnant Pietati; & admiscetur Germanicæ sive Vernaculæ cautiones ad docendum populum; præcepit enim Paulus, in Ecclesia uti lingua intellecta à Populo. Porro, quia propter Communionem sive usum Sacramenti Missa instituta est, hi qui sunt idonei & antea explorati, Sacramento utuntur; ac dignitas & usus Sacramenti, summa diligentia ac cura ex Verbo Dei populo commendatur, ut sciant & intelligant homines, quantam consolationem pavidis conscientiiis adferat, ac discant Deo credere, & optima quæque ab eo expectare & petere.

Et hunc quidem Sacramenti & Missæ usum, Scripturæ consentaneum, Deo gratum, & Pietati conducibilem esse, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra facile agnoscit; neque enim hic aliquid contra Dei Verbum admittitur, imo secundum Christi mandatum & ordinationem, qui hanc Sacram Communionem ad hunc finem instituit, omnia geruntur: Nulla est hic admixta, prava, aut impia opinio, ut in Missa privata Papistica, cujus finis & institutio cum Evangelio pugnat. Nihil hic etiam absque summa reverentia, ordine, & decoro, digno Ecclesiæ, fieri cernitur: Audemusque affirmare, majore Religione hunc verum Missæ usum exhiberi apud nos, quam hætenus unquam sub Papatu privatæ Missæ celebratæ fuerint, provocamusque ad testimonia doct.issimorum virorum, qui à Majestate Vestra missi in illis locis fuerunt, & hæc omnia coram fieri viderunt & audierunt.

Quod enim Adversarii clamitant, Nostros omnes cultus Divinos, omnes Cæremonias, omnem denique Religionem abolere & labefactare, ea in re Principibus nostris, & aliis Evangelii Doctrinam profitentibus, injuriam faciunt; & hæc eos insigni quadam malevolentia & odio plusquam Vatiniano, ut dici solet, confingere & comminisci clare adparet; cum ex Doctrina nostrorum, quam consentientem Sacris Literis in lucem ediderunt, & Scriptis suis universo orbi Christiano promulgarunt, tum etiam exemplis nostrorum Ecclesiarum, in quibus nolint velint coguntur fateri, omnia Religiosius & sanctius fieri, quam apud ipsos; immo Dei beneficio universus populus non tantum in templis est religiosior, sed in tota disciplina publica modestius se gerit, majoremque erga Magistratum civilem, & eos qui Ecclesiis præsunt reverentiam & honorem exhibet, quam unquam antea factum fuerit; & hoc sincere Evangelii Doctrinæ acceptum referre debemus, quæ singulos, rectius omnibus Pontificiis constitutionibus, sui officii admonet, & sola in quibus revera pietas ac cultus divinus consistat, tradit ac docet.

Porro, quod Missæ collocatæ ad quæstum, ut sub Papatu accidit, turpiter prophanentur, quodque hic abusus in omnibus pæne templis latissime pateat, non est obscurum: Nam Christi beneficium qui nos pretioso suo sanguine redemit, idque gratuito pro vili stipe & mercede vendere, & tale etiam opus inde constituere velle, quod ex sui natura, hoc est ex opere operato, mereatur gratiam, & possit adplicari pro peccatis aliorum, mortuorum & vivorum, quis non videt summam esse impietatem? Quid enim est corpus Domini indigne tractare & sumere, si hoc non esset? An potest etiam magis impium quidquam dici, quam illi de Missis istis docuerunt? Nempe quod Christus sue possessione satisfecerit pro

pro peccatis Originis, & instituerit Missam, in qua fieri Oblatio pro quotidianis delictis mortalibus & venialibus; cum Christus pœnitentiam & remissionem peccatorum prædicari mandaverit: Missam vero, hac est Synaxim, ad alium plane finem instituerit, viz. ut porrigatur Sacramentum his quibus opus, est consolatione, & ut per Verbum & Sacramentum credentes gratiam recipiant, & remissionem peccatorum consequantur, non ut ipsi suum opus, quod quale quale sit, humanum figmentum, humanus cultus est, contra Scripturam Deo offerant ac sacrificent. Hoc enim non placet Deum, ut Christus ipse inquit, se frustra coli mandatis hominum: Nam Missam non esse tale opus sive Sacrificium, quod mereatur gratiam & profit etiam aliis, inde adparet, quia Missa sive Synaxis ad hoc est instituta, non ut Deo aliquid offeratur, sed ut communicantes consolationem hauriant, & veluti pignus seu certum signum gratiæ ac bonæ voluntatis Dei erga se recipiant, atque ita recordentur mortis Christi, hoc est, beneficiorum quæ per Christum accipiunt, qui quidem pro nobis mortuus est, solusque pro peccatis nostris satisfecit; idque probant Verba ipsa quibus & Christus & Paulus de Missa sive Synaxi usi sunt.

Primum enim inquit Christus hoc est Corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur. Hæc sunt Verba Promissionis Divinæ quæ solam fidem exigunt, quibusque offertur nobis gratia & remissio peccatorum, ergo non est Sacrificium, hoc est, opus quod Deo offeratur & quidem pro abolendis peccatis. Item Paulus ait, Annunciantes mortem Domini: Annunciare autem non est Sacrificare, hoc est tale opus Deo reddere, quo peccata deleantur. Præterea Evangelii textus ita sonat, Fregit & dedit Discipulis, inquit, accipite & comedere, &c. item bibit ex hoc omnes, &c. accipere autem, comedere, & libere, non est sacrificare, quia hæc opera ex opere operato non delent peccata.

Neque mandatur hisce verbis, ut nos Deo aliquid offeramus, sed potius ut ab eo accipiamus, quia addit, pro vobis traditum, & sanguis qui pro vobis effunditur; quæ Verba ostendunt, non exhiberi a sumentibus Eucharistiam Deo Sacrificium, sed donum hominibus datum. Præterea vero nemo dicit Laicos cum sumunt Sacramentum, Sacrificare; at quantum ad hanc Sacram Communionem, Missam, sive Synaxim pertinet, nulla est ratio diversitatis, cum idem Christus uno eodemque tempore ac momento, propter eundem finem & usum, hoc Sacramentum absque differentia utentium Sacerdotum vel Laicorum instituerit. Et quemadmodum prohibitio utriusque speciei, humanum tantum commentum & mandatum est; ita quod de Sacrificio Missæ ex opere operato gratiam promerente traditur, humana tantum opinio est, contra Verbum Dei, à quo in rebus maximis, nempe ad remissionem peccatorum, salutem animarum, & vitam æternam pertinentibus, nullo modo est discedendum: Non enim frustra Paulus inquit & bis repetit, si nos aut Angelus de Cælo evangelizet vobis præter id qd. evangelizavimus & accepistis, Anathema sit.

Præterea nec potest ratio diversitatis assignari ex Sacris Literis, cur magis dicant eos qui Sacramento Eucharistiæ fruuntur sacrificare, quam illos qui alio Sacramento, ut Baptismo, utuntur, cum utrumq; nihil aliud sit, quam Sacramenta quæ Christus horum institutor & auctor prorsus ad alium finem, quam ut sint talia Sacrificia, qualia illi comminiscuntur, ordinavit. Sed oportuit, Romanum Pontificem, Missas privatas, ad opprimendam Christi, cum ipse hostis est, gloriam attollere, ut populum Christianum à veritate Evangelica & agnitione Christi, & Sacramentorum legitimo

gitimo usu, prorsus abduceret, Christi que bonitatem & misericordiam obliteraret. Qui enim Missam tale Sacrificium esse cogitant, quo Deus placeatur, hi non queunt Christi beneficium expendere pro dignitate, & in terroribus ac doloribus iræ & iudicii Dei non habebunt refugium, neque bona conscientia poterunt dona & signa amoris divina agnoscere, si alieno opere Deum placari & peccata remitti sibi persuasum habeant: Nam illi ipsi qui nituntur impias opiniones de Missa privata excusare, hoc prætextu, quasi Missa ideo vocetur Sacrificium, quia sit gratiarum actio & Sacrificium Laudis, hi convincuntur propriis ipsorum Testimoniis & Scriptis quæ de Missa extant, hæque persuasiones hominum animis etiam hodie de Missis privatis inhærent: Sic enim Thomas inquit in Opusculo de Sacramento Altaris, cur Missa instituta sit? Corpus Domini semel oblatum est in cruce, pro debito originali, sic offeratur jugiter pro quotidianis delictis in Altari, ut habeat in hoc Ecclesia munus ad placandum sibi Deum super omnia legis Sacrificia preciosum & acceptum.

Alexander Papa, nihil in Sacrificiis Ecclesiæ majus esse potest, quam Corpus & Sanguis Christi, nec ulla oblatio hac potior est, sed omnes præcellit: Item ipsa veritas nos instruit, Calicem ac panem in Sacramento offerre, quando ait, accipite & comedite, nam crimina atq; peccata, oblati his Domino Sacrificiis, delentur. Et rursus, inquit, talibus hostiis delectabitur & placabitur Deus, & peccata dimittet ingentia. Gabriel de Canon. Missæ, Sacramentum Eucharistiæ veluti Sacrificium summo patri oblatum, nedum veniale sed etiam mortale, non dico sumentium sed omnium eorum pro quibus offertur, & quantum ad reatum culpæ & pænæ, plus vel minus secundum dispositionem eorum pro quibus offertur, tollit: Unde Thomas in Quarto Die. 1. 2. q. 2. Eucharistia in quantum est Sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in aliis pro quibus offertur, in quibus non præ-exigit vitam spiritualem in actu, sed in potentia, & ideo si eos dispositos inveniat, eis gratiam obtinet, virtute illius veri Sacrificii a quo omnis gratia in nos fluxit, & per consequens peccata mortalia in eis delet, non sicut causa proxima, sed in quantum gratiam contritionis eis impetrat.

His & similibus omnes libri Scholasticorum pleni sunt, quibus uno ore docent, Missam tale esse Sacrificium, quo gratiam homines mereantur ex opere operato, quod ad delenda aliorum peccata adplicari possit. Quæ Doctrina aut potius perversum & impium figmentum, an pugnet cum Sacris Literis necne? An verum Missæ seu Communionis usum tradit necne? An Christi beneficium non magis obscurit quam illustret, imo etiam prorsus tollat? Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati dijudicandum relinquimus quæ pro sua sapientia, & non tantum in rebus politicis, sed etiam Sacris & in omni genere doctrinarum acerrimo iudicio, facile censebit, justissimam causam habuisse Principes nostros & alios Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, Missas privatas abrogandi, & verum Missæ sive Communionis usum, pro Christi gloria & consolatione totius Ecclesiæ Christianæ, restituendi & revocandi, postquam ex Dei Verbo cognoverunt, quantum privatæ Missæ à veritate Evangelica distent, quantumq; in iis insit Impietatis & Idololatricæ: Fuit enim unicum Sacrificium propitiatorium in mundo, viz. Mors Christi, qui, ut Paulus inquit, semel est pro nobis oblatum, & factus hostia pro peccatis nostris, quod cætera legis Sacrificia propitiatoria significarunt, quæ similitudine quadam, erunt satisfactiones redimentes justitiam Legis, ne ex politia excluderentur illi qui peccaverant, eaque cessaverunt post Revelatum Evangelium: In Novo Testamento, necesse est cultum tantum esse Spiritualem, hoc est, justitiam Fidei & fructus Fidei, quia adfert justitiam & vitam spiritualem & æternam, juxta, Dabo Legem

meam in cordibus eorum; & Christus ait, veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu & veritate, i. e. vero cordis adfectu, qua de causa abrogati sunt Levitici cultus, quod debeant succedere cultus Spirituales mentis, & horum fructus ac signa; ut in Epistola ad Hebræos manifeste docetur.

Ex quibus omnibus sequitur Missam non esse Sacrificium, quod ex opere operato mereatur, faciente vel aliis remissionem Peccatorum, ut illi docuerunt. Et quocunque quidam furo nitantur excusare Missas privatas, semper eis refragatur & reclamatione Doctrina ipsorum de Missa, qua eam aliis posse adplicare tradiderunt, & peccata delere hominibus persuaserunt. Hæc opinio nisi restituito vero Missæ usu, nunquam ex animis hominum delebitur, sed perpetuo manet & redit is error, quod oporteat talem esse cultum in Ecclesia, quo Deus placetur.

Et ut videatur fictione juris; Jureconsulti loquuntur, Missam posse vocari sacrificium memoriale sive Laudis: At cum id non sit satisfactorium pro facientibus, vel adplicabile pro aliis, quo quis mereatur remissionem Peccatorum, quorsum attinebit, relicto vero ejus usu & institutione, id in Ecclesiam introducere, ubi propter nullam humanam rationem, commentum, aut opinionem, à Christi mandato & ordinatione, est discedendum? Eadem enim ratione; Natalis Domini & similia Festa, quæ in Christi memoriam celebrantur, sacrificia memorialia sive Eucharistica dici possent; imo talia Sacrificia verius sunt, Evangelii prædicatio, fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, afflictiones, aut adplicationes pro aliis; & Missæ principalis finis, ut supra disseruimus, is est, ut sit Sacramentum, quod per Ministrum alteri exhibeatur, quare non potest dici Sacrificium; cum nemo ignoret magnum inter Sacrificia & Sacramenta discrimen esse, his enim nos dona à Deo oblata accipimus, illis vero nostrum Deo reddimus & offerimus.

Neque vero habent privatae Missæ alios auctores quam Pontifices, qui à tempore Gregorii, nunc hanc, nunc illam Cæremoniam, Cæremoniam, aut Orationem, singuli pro sua sanctitate & opinione adjecerunt, ut historiarum uno consensu testantur, donec eandem, egregium, illud opus, dignum istis auctoribus exædificaverunt, & relicto vero Missæ sive Communionis usu, ac oblitterata doctrina de Christo, Universa Ecclesia Missis privatis in qua sola omnem pæne Sanctitatem posuerunt, repleta & obruta fuit.

Hæc Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex nostrorum Principum & aliorum Imperii ordinum, Evangelicam Doctrinam profitentium, Theologi & Doctores, justis voluminibus explicarunt, quæ quidem hac Epistola nos breviter attingenda duximus; non quod Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram hæc latere penitus putemus, neque enim ignoramus Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ & veterum & recentium scripta, de his & aliis Controversiis Ecclesiasticis diligentissime cognita esse, de quibus etiam Majestas Vestra sapientissime, eruditissime sæpe cum doctis viris conferre & disputare solet: Sed hæc ideo fecimus ut Majestati Vestræ, quam posset fieri brevissime, occasionem & causas quasdam abolitarum, privatarum Missarum apud nos, summa cum observantia ut decet exponeremus; & adversariorum calumnias, quibus cum apud Regiam Majestatem Vestram, tum alias, undecunque quæsitæ & arrepta occasione, variis technis & figmentis, doctrinam sinceriores gravare & in odium omnium perducere conantur, declinarem.

Neque vero ambigimus, quin Majestas Vestra, ut Rex eruditissimus & veritatis Evangelicæ amantissimus, facillime judicabit, quod non temere privatae Missæ apud nos abrogatæ sint, sed justissimis & firmissimis rationibus, ex Dei Verbo quod solum errare non potest, sincere & absque sophistica deductis, pro conservanda & illustranda Christi Gloria, & hominum



num salute id factum esse: Et opponantur qualescunq; excogitari possint Cavillationes & Sophismata, tamen adparebit nostros hoc agere quod sit tutius, dum retinent modum & formam institutionis Christi. Ac maxima pars Sacerdotum sua sponte apud nos desit Missas privatas celebrare, posteaquam intellexerunt ex Evangelica Doctrina, quantum in iis erroris & impietatis esset; & plurimi ac doctissimi quique, qui Sacerdotia aut Parochias sub Magistratibus alienis à sincera Evangelii Doctrina tenebant, ea deseruerunt, ne cogerentur facere contra suas Conscientias, seque ad ea loca in quibus Evangelii Doctrina libere prædicatur contulerunt; gravissimum enim est quenquam in re præsertim tali quæ Dei gloriam lædit ac Divino Verbo repugnat, tanquam ad cultum divinum adigi & compelli.

Sed ne Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ prolixitate literarum sumus molesti, desinemus plura de hoc articulo impræsentiarum differere.

Restat tertius locus instituti Argumenti, viz. de Conjugio Sacerdotum, quod itidem Romanus Episcopus contra Scripturam, contra Leges Naturæ, & contra omnem Honestatem prohibuit, ac multorum peccatorum, scelerum & turpitudinis occasionem præbuit: Sed fortasse ne possit dubitari eum esse Christi adversarium, de quo cum illam ipsam prohibitionem, tum alia quædam quæ in illum solum adperite quadrant, Scriptura clare prædixit, oportuit eum talem Legem Cœlibatus Sacerdotalis sancire, ut sicut leo ex unguibus, ita Papa, hoc est, Antichristus, ab hac prohibitionem Sanctissimi & in omnibus honorabilis conjugii, agnosceretur; sic enim Paulus inquit, Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quod in novissimis temporibus discedent quidem à fide, attendentes Spiritibus Erroris & Doctrinis Dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, cauteritatem habentium Conscientiam suam, prohibentium nubere: Hæc si non in Romanum Episcopum congruunt, in quem alium convenient? nemo enim alius quam ipse conjugium Sacerdotibus injustissime eripuit, & cœlibatum impurissimum sub specie Sanctitatis, & ut Paulus ait, in Hypocrisi & per mendacium introduxit.

Scriptura non minus Sacerdotibus, quam alterius fortis hominibus matrimonium liberum permittit, sunt enim de eadem carne, quæ totum genus humanum vestit & continet, nati: Non possunt igitur naturam suam mutare, non possunt carnem abjicere, nec absque singulari Dei dono cœlibes vivere, nam non quilibet, ut Christus inquit, capit Verbum hoc; & Paulus, propter Fornicationem unusquisque suam Uxorem habeat; & peculiariter de Sacerdotibus ait, constituias per civitatis Presbyteros sicut disposui tibi, si quis sine crimine est, unius Uxoris vir, Filios habens fideles, non in accusatione luxuriæ; item, oportet Episcopum esse irreprehensibilem, unius Uxoris virum: Pate igitur hanc prohibitionem non ex jure Divino, sed potius contra Sacram Scripturam decretum esse.

At solet à quibusdam Pontificiis defensoribus opponi, quod licet conjugium Sacerdotum non videatur vetitum Divinis Literis, tamen Sacerdotes à veteribus temporibus in hunc usq; diem in cœlibatu vixisse, eaq; de causa addunt non esse discedendum hac in re à tali exemplo, neq; permittendum conjugium Sacerdotibus. His, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, adperite refragantur historiæ, tum Ecclesiasticæ tum aliæ, ex quibus clare patet, Episcopum & Sacerdotes veteribus temporibus conjugatos fuisse.

Primum enim Spiridion Cyprius Episcopus, vir unus ex ordine Prophetarum, ut Historia Ecclesiastica ait, Uxorem habuit ex qua filiam nomine Irenen suscepit; deinde ordine pæne omnes Episcopi Uxorati fuerunt, quorum plurimi Filii postea, tum Romani, tum alii Episcopi creati sunt: Fuit enim Sylverius Papa Hormisdæ Episcopi Filius, Papa Theodorus

dorus Theodori Episcopi Hierosolymitani, Papa, Adrianus secundus Talaris Episcopi, Joannes decimus Papa Sergii, Papæ, Gelasius Valerii Episcopi, Papa Joannes decimus quintus Leonis Presbyteri Filius; & ne omnes enumeremus, patet vel unica historia Polycratis, ex cujus parentibus septem fuerunt per ordinem Episcopi, ipse vero fuit octavus; at non est credibile omnes illos ex illegitimis nuptiis prognatos esse, cum ipsi canones & decreta Synodorum doceant, conjugia Sacerdotum esse licita; sic enim inquit Canon Apostolorum, si quis docuerit Sacerdotem sub obtentu Religionis propriam Uxorem contemnere, Anathema sit.

Item extat præclarum exemplum de Paphnutio confessore, qui universæ Synodo Nicenæ prohibitionem conjugii dissuasit, & obtinuit ne hac ex parte sancitum, sed hoc in uniuscujusque voluntate non necessitate permissum fuerit. Quæ Historia etiam in jure Pontificio recensetur, extatque decretum quoddam sextæ Synodi, in quo palam damnatur prohibitio conjugii Sacerdotalis.

Sed objicitur iterum, propter votum castitatis, quod Sacerdotes præstiterunt, non posse eis permitti nuptias. Hoc quale votum sit, quamque obligatorium, quod sine peccato servari non potest, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro Summa Sapientia & Doctrina, facile æstimabit: Neque enim donum castitatis omnibus datum est, idque cœlibatus ipse Sacerdotum, & quotidiana experientia etiam nunc testatur; & quid de tali voto sentiendum sit, Sanctorum Patrum sententia declaravit, sic enim Augustinus ait, quidam nubentes post votum adserunt adulteros esse ego autem dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt. Et Cyprianus de virginibus qui continentiam voverunt, sic inquit, si præservare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delicis suis cadant.

Censent itaque prædicti Sancti Patres tale votum non debere impedire Matrimonium, sicut revera etiam non potest obstare quo minus hi quibus donum continentiæ non contigit, matrimonium contrahant: Nam melius est nubere quam uri, ut inquit Paulus: Quid autem est impurius cœlibatu illo Sacerdotali? quam pauci vero continent? quam plurimi in fornicationibus, adulteriis, & id genus similibus ac gravioribus peccatis & flagitiis pæne quotidie deprehenduntur, contra quod si leges severe animadvertent, non habituri essent, quo de illo ficto & hypocritico cœlibatu adeo gloriarentur.

Ac tradunt Historiæ in Germania triennium aut amplius, Sacerdotes acerrime restitisse Sanctioni Pontificis Hildebrandi de cœlibatu, qui summa vi eis Uxores adimere conatus est, hique justissimas causas contra illam constitutionem ac tyrannidam Pontificiam, pro Matrimonio defendendo allegarunt, in qua re cum nihil æqui obtinere potuerint, tandem ingens orta est seditio contra Archiepiscopum Moguntinum, qui decretum pontificium detulerat, adeo ut is ab incepto destiterit; & vix tandem Papa post multas diras Execrationes & Bullas, quibus etiam Cælum ipsum expugnare conatus est, miseris Sacerdotibus facultatem liberam conjugii, contra divina & humana jura abstulerit, & omnis generis libidinis & impuratis exercendæ occasionem præbuerit: Extat quoque Epistola ad Nicolaum Episcopum Romanum I. Divi Udalrici Episcopi Augustensis, qua is gravissimis & optimis argumentis dissuadet & damnat prohibitionem conjugii Sacerdotum.

Cum igitur Principes nostri, & alii profitentes Evangelii Doctrinam, patefacta per Dei Gratiam iterum veritate, intellexerint quid de prohibitionem illa Pontificia conjugii Sacerdotalis sentiendum esset, & palam viderent & experirentur, quod non posset cœlibatus ille sine peccatis & scandalis

scandalis consistere, ruperunt in ea etiam vincula Pontificia, ac Matrimonium Sacerdotibus, sicut hoc Scriptura Sacra & exempla Sanctorum Patrum ac veteris Ecclesiae exigunt & testantur, liberum permiserunt. Existimarunt enim hoc quoque ad suum officium pertinere, ut infinitorum scandalorum & scelerum, quae necessario secum trahit caelibatus Sacerdotalis, occasionem & materiam praescinderent & auferrent, publicaeque honestati hac quoque in re consulerent; maxime cum animadverterent quantae etiam abominations, & in ordine Sacerdotali, & in Monasteriis Vestalium ac Monachorum evenerint, in quibus compertum est saepe infantes crudeliter necatos, pharmacis foetus depulso, & similia nefaria crimina commissa. quos solos fructus caelibatus ille protulit; ideoque plurimi nunc sunt conjugati Sacerdotes apud nos, multi etiam caelibes idque cujusque Consuetudinis ut vel ducat Uxorem vel a Conjugio abstineat, permittitur; modo ita vivat ne sit aliis offendiculo, alioqui enim non minus in Sacerdotes quam reliquum vulgus, hac quoque parte, secundum Leges politicas animadvertitur. Ac per Dei Gratiam, hoc inde secutum est, quod eorum Conscientiis, quibus continentiae donum non contigit, consultum fuerit, plurimorum flagitiorum & scelerum occasio cessaverit, matronis ac puellis quibus plerique istorum sub specie Pietatis sapissime inhiabant, & laqueos necabant, nihil ejusmodi periculi sit; & in summa, quod quum tum Officia Ecclesiastica, tum politica majore reverentia & honestate tractentur, quodque ab universis in majore honore & favore habeantur Sacerdotes, quam antea in illo pleno scandalis caelibatu acciderit, id quoque magna ex parte honestum conjugium Sacerdotum praestat.

Adhaec, nulli acrius & constantius oppugnant Romanum Pontificem, & tum Matrimonii libertatem, tum sanam Doctrinam ab illo obscuratam & oppressam defendunt, quam hi qui ab ejus jugo impuri illius caelibatus liberati sunt; & honeste etiam suos liberos quos ex conjugio suscipiunt educare solent, quibus haud dubie Deus etiam post mortem parentum, ubi in timore Domini aliti & edocti fuerint, prospiciet; gravissimum enim esse, Sacerdotes ideo a conjugio arcere, quia sua munia five officia tantum ad vitam suam, non autem jure haereditario tenent; eadem ratione multis aliis qui sunt aut in publicis muneribus, aut in privatis Ministeriis, Matrimonium interdicendum foret. Quod quidem si fieret, Reip. plus incommodi quam boni allaturum esset; cum & Sacrarum Litterarum Auctoritate, Sanctissimorum patrum Sententiis, Legum, Naturae & Gentium testimonio, & omnium sapientissimorum virorum judicio ac suffragiis constet, Matrimonium semper iis, qui caelibes vivere non queant, ad vitanda graviora pericula, concessum & liberum esse debere.

Haec, Serenissime ac Inviictissime Rex, coram Serenissima Regia Majestate Vestra, breviter differenda duximus, ut Majestati Vestrae rationes quasdam commemoraremus, cur Illustrissimi Principes nostri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes & Status Imperii, in his tribus Articulis adeo dissentiant a Romano Pontifice, ut sicut in reliquis Doctrinae Christianae partibus a veritate vel latum digitum non discedendum esse existiment, ita in his etiam decreverint, abjecta ejus Tyrannide, pro Gloria Evangelii, & ad vitanda infinita scelera, perdurare: Neque vero hic dicemus de aliis abusibus a Romano Pontifice introductis, in quos imprimis Confessio Auricularis recenferi meretur, qua ille, & Potestatem clavium tantum ad turpissimum quaestum & Tyrannidem redegit, & Confessionem ipsam, quae informandarum & consolandarum Conscientiarum gratia, salubriter instituta fuit, carnificinam tantum Conscientiarum reddidit, perque eam tum omnes Reges, Principes, & Potentatus sub

sub suo jugo tenuit, tum multorum malorum auctor extitit; de qua quid nostri sentiant ac qua reverentia in Ecclesiis retineant, edita ipsorum scripta testantur.

Ac gratulamur nobis datam occasionem hæc Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ exponendi, ejusq; censuræ committendi: Cum enim Majestas Vestra & summa Doctrina, Sapientia ac studio Veritatis prædita sit, & Romani Episcopi Tyrannidem (haud sine mente Deum, sive numine Divum, ut Poeta inquit) itidem ex suis amplissimis Regnis exterminari curaverit, neque amplius per Dei Gratiam illius impiis opinionibus captiva teneatur; persuasissimum nobis habemus Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis hisce de rebus maximis, quæ ad Dei Gloriam, salutem Ecclesiæ, & perpetuam profligationem Romani Antichristi pertinent, æquissimum ac liberrimum fore judicium, quod sane ii, quibus vel Doctrina aut veritatis studium deest, vel animum habent additum Pontificiis Opinionibus, vel metu interdum prohibentur, aut etiam ab affectibus diverse trahuntur, non adeo facile præstare possunt; & plurimi interdum interviennes tempore, fingunt se odiisse Pontificem, simulantque studium veritatis, quibus tamen revera aliud est cordi, hi vero quum non possint nec debeant de hisce controversiis ferre sententiam, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra nequaquam ignorat.

Non autem dubitamus, quin ut quisque est eruditissimus, & veritatis Evangelicæ amantissimus, ita facillime cum causam nostram, imo Christi & Ecclesiæ, adprobaturum esse, neque enim ea ullum commodum aut emolumentum privatum quæritur, sed solum agitur de abolendis impiis abusibus in Christi Ecclesiam per Antichristum investis, & Christi Gloria illustranda, ac veris Cultibus restituendis, & ut hominum Conscientiæ Jugo ac Tyrannide pontificia liberentur, ac scandala publica, quantum fieri possit, è medio tollantur. Quarum quidem rerum studium quo jure reprehendi queat, ut etiam magis favore & imitatione dignum censendum sit; Cum enim omnium bene constitutarum Rerumpub. hic præcipue finis & scopus esse debeat, ut & Dei Gloria ornatur, & publica salus, honestas, pax & tranquillitas conservetur, quis dubitat eos qui sedent ad gubernacula Rerumpub. & ad hæc tanquam ad Cynosuram, ut dici solet, cursum suum & omnem rationem regendi Rempublicam, instituunt, maximis Laudibus dignos esse? Et quoniam Serenissima Regia Vestra Majestas, ut Rex sapientissimus, & eruditissimus, hunc quoque scopum in gubernandis amplissimis & laudatissimis Regnis & Provinciis suis ob oculos habere, Luce meridiana clarius adparet, non possumus non nobis ipsis, quum in hac honestissima causa promovendæ Christi Gloriæ & Publicæ utilitatis, ad Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram Oratores missi sumus, non gratulari; non possumus etiam non sælices judicare universos subditos, Majestatis Vestræ, quibus divina bonitate talis Rex & Princeps contigerit, qui cum alia regiis Virtutibus excellit, tum studio veræ pietatis & veritatis Evangelicæ omnibus modis admirandus conspicitur.

Sunt quidem illa maxima Remp. certis & justis Legibus civilibus constituere, bonos tueri & juvare, improbos pœnis adficere, arcere injurias, Pacem & Concordiam subditorum conservare; quis enim non tanquam Deum aliquem talem Principem amplectendum & honorandum putet, a quo ista præstentur: Sed adhuc sunt majora, si vera pietas abcefferit, si Christi Gloria ornatur, si Dei Verbum in pretio habeatur, si cultus Divinæ Voluntati consentanei instituantur, si hominum conscientias consulatur, & publica scandala è medio tollantur; illa enim tantum hanc ci-

vilem

vilem vitam attingunt, quam unumquemq; quum tempus præfinitum ad-  
 venerit, deserere oportet; hæc vero ad æternam salutem pertinent quæ  
 bonos & pios, cessante hac misera conditione humanæ Vitæ, expectat,  
 quibusq; & in hoc, & in futuro sæculo, maxima præmia proposita sunt.  
 Hoc est cur Deus Reges honore sui nominis ornat, cum ait, Ego dixi,  
 Dii estis, maxime ut res divinas intelligant, & veram Religionem in  
 Mundo conferrent; huc præcipue Scriptura hortatur, cum inquit, Nunc  
 Reges intelligite, & erudimini qui judicatis terram, servite Domino, &c.  
 huc invitant exempla præstantissimorum Regum in Sacris Literis, qui  
 summa cura, opera, ac studio veram Religionem promoverunt, &  
 impios cultus abrogarunt: Hoc David, hoc Jolias, hoc Josaphat, hoc E-  
 zechias, & deinceps omnes Sanctissimi Reges præstiterunt. Eadem cum  
 Sereniss. R. M. Vestra haud dubie etiam cogitet, imo jam nunc in hoc  
 totis viribus incumbat, ut sincera Evangelii Doctrina Papæ Tyrannide  
 oppressa restituatur, Gloria Christi itidem à Pontifice obscurata iterum  
 illustretur, & impii abusus ab illo ipso Antichristo in Ecclesiam tanquam  
 venenum quoddam pestilentissimum sparsi & introducti aboleantur, ac  
 veri & Divinis Literis consentanei Cultus & Cæremoniæ constituantur,  
 non dubitamus quin Deus Opt. Max. Sereniss. R. Majestatis Vestræ co-  
 natus & consilia, in hisce rebus Sanctissimis & Honestissimis fortunatu-  
 rus sit, & pro sua bonitate clementer effecturus, ut inter Sereniss. R. M.  
 Vestram & Principes nostros, ac eorum in causa Religionis confœdera-  
 tos, talis concordia constituatur, quam & Laudem Evangelii, & pub-  
 licam totius Christiani Orbis utilitatem cessuram, & majori exitio Roma-  
 no Antichristo futuram esse, minime ambigimus; estque optima spes, ut  
 volente Deo, plures Reges, Principes, & Potentatus, ad hanc Sanctif-  
 simam causam accedant, ac Evangelicæ veritatis Doctrinam agnoscant &  
 recipiant, sicut etiam hæctenus per Dei Gratiam, maximi progressus facti  
 sunt, & non tantum in Germania, verum etiam extra Germaniam, Po-  
 tentissimi Reges, Principes & Civitates, Divini Verbi Doctrinam rece-  
 perunt.

Adparetque homines passim agnita veritate, ex Scriptis eorum qui  
 Evangelii Doctrinam profitentur & docent, per totum pæne orbem ter-  
 rarum sparsis sanioris Doctrinæ admodum cupidos esse, quorum preces  
 aliquando Deus pro sua benignitate exaudiet, ac suum Verbum illumi-  
 natis mentibus Regum & Principum latissime propagabit, ut si unus  
 Pastor, hoc est Dominus noster Jesus Christus, & unum Ovile quod est  
 Ecclesia Catholica, quæ profitetur sincerum Christi Evangelium; & illi  
 consentaneum usum Sacramentorum retinet, non Papistica aut Romana,  
 quæ utrumque reprobat, odit, & oppugnat.

Quod reliquum est, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, Domine Cle-  
 mentissime, precamur & optamus ut Sereniss. Regia Majestas Vestra in  
 cæpro negotio veritatis Evangelicæ pro illustranda Christi Gloria & salu-  
 te publica, per Dei Gratiam fortiter pergat, quod quidem Majestatem  
 Vestram, ut Regem veræ Pietatis & omnis virtutis ac Doctrinæ aman-  
 tissimum, facturam nihil dubitamus: Oramusque ut Serenissima Regia  
 Majestas Vestra dato benigno responso, ad Illustrissimos Principes no-  
 stros, quam primum fieri queat, ne commodam præsentis Navigationis  
 occasionem negligamus, clementer nos dimittat; & ut Serenissima Regia  
 Majestas Vestra, erga quam nostra debita officia atque servitia summa  
 cum observantia perpetuo constabunt, has nostras Literas pro sua insigni  
 humanitate, bonitate ac clementia, in optimam partem accipiat, nosque  
 etiam clementer commendatos habeat. Bene valeat Serenissima Regia  
 Majestas

Majestas Vestra, quam Deus Opt. Max. pro illustranda & propaganda nominis sui Gloria & publica salute, diu fervet incolumem. Datæ Londini quinto die Augusti Anno Dom. 1538.

Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ

Majestatis

Addictissimi & obsequentissimi,

Franciscus Burgratus  
Vicecancellarius,

Georgius a Boyneburghli  
D. Oratores.

Friderichus Myconius  
Ecclesiastes Gothanus.

VIII. *The King's Answer to the former Letter.*

*Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.* **L**iteras Vestras, Egregii ac præstantissimi Oratores, per ministrum vestrum nuper ad nos missas, summa humanitate plenas, atque ingentem erga nos benevolentiam spirantes, tum libenter accepimus, tum magna cum voluptate legimus; quibus significatis vos, post exposita nobis mandata, cum quibusdam Episcopis & Theologiæ Doctoribus à nobis designatis de Christianæ Religionis nonnullis Articulis per duos menses contrulisse; non dubitare quoque quin inter Principes vestros & nos, atq; utrorumq; Episcopos, Theologos & subditos, firma perpetuaq; concordia in Evangelii Doctrina ad laudem Dei, & Romani Antichristi perniciem sit sequutura: Verum quia reliquam disputationem de abusibus expectare non potestis, cum jam naves appulerint vos in patriam deportaturæ, ante discessum Vestrum existimatis vestri officii esse ut sententiam vestram de quibusdam abusuum Articulis nobis declaretis, de quibus nos post discessum vestrum cum Episcopis & Theologis nostris conferre possemus. Et quia tria capita præcipua putatis quæ fundamentum Pontificiæ Tyrannidis sustentare videntur, nempe Prohibitionem utriusque speciei in cœna Domini, Missas privatas, & Prohibitionem Conjugii Sacerdotum; de his Articulis sententiam vestram ingenue aperitis, atque eam judicio nostro quantumcunq; id sit, & censuræ committitis: Quis non hanc vestram benevolentiam, Egregii Oratores, summopere amplectatur? Quis non hanc Vestram Gratitude modis omnibus admiretur? Qui nobiscum ea communicare studetis, quæ non modo ad præsentem vitam transigendam, sed ad futuram quoque assequendam conferunt? Enim vero si illos non abs re existimamus amicos, qui in Regionum commerciis ea quæ sunt gratia atque commoda important, ne quid usquam desit quod ad præsentem vitam degendam pertinet; quanto magis illi sunt amici judicandi, qui quæ ad æternam vitam conferunt, impertiri non gravantur! nam quæ præsentis vitæ subsidia parantur durabilia diu non sunt, quæ vero ad æternam promovent nunquam intermoriuntur? quinimo amicitia ipsa terrena, quantumvis ingens, quantumvis firma, finem habet è vita excessum charitas vero quæ nunquam excidit post hanc vitam splendescit magis.

Et

Et quia nostrum iudicium non aspernari videmini, quod nos ipsi indignum existimamus, ut de rebus tam arduis iudicemus, atque ea proponitis quæ putatis imprimis amplectenda, qua in re non vulgarem sed ingentem vim erga nos amoris ostenditis, ne nos non respondeat hinc vestra tantæ gratitudini videremur, si quæ nobis ad præsens videntur vobiscum non communicaremus, decrevimus itidem de his tribus Articulis non-nihil attingere, & pectus nostrum ingenue vobis aperire: Quo fiet ut mutuus inter nos & Principes vestros amor eo magis augeatur, eo diutius foveatur, si nihil occultum inter amicos retentetur, sed summa sinceritate gerantur omnia, id quod nos cum omnibus amicis semper facere consuevimus; quod nostrum perpetuum institutum in præsentia apud Amicissimos, eosque quos habemus charissimos, mutare nequaquam libuit. Verum de Articulis ipsis tandem agamus.

*De utraque Specie.*

Quod imprimis sub utraq; Specie semper Eucharistiam populis secundum primariam, Christi institutionem dandam esse existimetis, & nullo pacto sub altera tantum, non possumus quovis pacto adduci, egregii & præstantissimi Oratores, ut putemus vos id serio affirmasse, sed forsitan probandi causa nobis id potuisse, ut quid sentiamus intelligeritis; nam ipsa opinio tam aliena est à recta Scripturæ intelligentia, ut vix quivis id serio affirmare præsumeret, quod latius in hac Epistola declarabimus. Nec nobis persuadere possumus, etsi occasio sit, vos non nobiscum credere, quod sub specie Panis sit realiter & substantialiter verum & vivum Corpus Christi, & una cum Corpore Sanguis verus, alioqui fatendum esset Corpus ibi exsanguis esse, quod nefas esset dicere, cum Caro illa Christi non modo viva, sed & vivificatrix sit; & quod sub specie vini non modo vivus & verus Christi Sanguis sit, sed etiam una cum vero Sanguine viva & vera etiam Corporis sit Caro. Quod cum ita sit, necessario consequetur etiam eos qui sub altera specie communicant, & solum sub specie Panis Corpus Christi sumunt, non fraudari Communionem Sanguinis Christi, atque eos etiam qui sub specie vini Communicant non fraudari Communionem Corporis Domini; Quocirca cum sub alterutra specie utrumq; contineatur, viz. & Corpus & Sanguis Christi, utraque solum species porrigatur populis, utrumque, id est tam Sanguis quam Corpus Christi, per hoc eisdem exhibeatur. Nam Christus ipse sub altera specie dedisse legitur in Evangelio Lucæ Discipulis duobus in Emaus euntibus, quando agnitus est in fractione Panis; scribitur enim, quod cum recumberet cum eis, accepit Panem & benedixit, ac fregit & porrigebat illis, & aperti sunt oculi eorum, & cognoverunt eum fractione Panis. Ubi de Eucharistia eum locum vetustissimi Authores Chrysostomus, Theophylactus, & Augustinus intelligunt, & tamen de vini poculo nulla ibi fit mentio: Unde Christus qui in altera specie ministravit Eucharistiam, libertatem Ecclesiæ sponsæ suæ reliquisse videtur, ut imiteretur sponsi sui vestigia, ac similiter sub altera specie, sicut sub utraque, communicare libere possit. Nam Christus qui sub utraq; specie Communionem docuit, etiam de Communionem sub altera ipse exemplum reliquit, qui secum tamen nusquam vel in præceptis, vel in exemplis dissidet.

Simile idem Lucas in Actis Apostolorum citat, quando post adventum Spiritus Sancti, prædicante Petro, appositæ sunt animæ circiter tria milia, inquit, Erant autem perseverantes in Doctrina Apostolorum & Communicatione & fractione Panis & orationibus: Ubi similiter de Eu-

charistia eum locum intelligunt veteres, & de poculo nulla fit ibi mentio. Jam si Christum ipsum Autorem, si Apostolos ab eo ad docendum orbem missos Patronos habet, Communio sub una specie nempe Panis, usitata in Ecclesia non est tanquam Evangelicis præceptis contraria, statim repudianda; nam Apostoli, qui per adventum Spiritus edocti sunt omnem veritatem, nunquam in tractione Panis Communionem dedissent populo, si utraq; species de præcepto Christi semper necessario fuisset porrigenda, ne Christi jubentis parum memores institutum ejus mutasse viderentur.

Porro ipsa Christi Verba, quæ post Evangelistas Paulus totam cœnam dominicam Corinthiis enarrans citat, nos admonent Christum separatim de alterutra specie locutum esse; ait enim, Dominus Jesus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit Panem & Gratias agens fregit, & dixit, accipite & manducate, Hoc est Corpus meum quod pro vobis traditur, hoc facite in mei Commemorationem. Ecce Christus de Corpore suo sub specie Panis sumendo separatim locutus est, inquens, Hoc facite, priusquam ullam de poculo faceret mentionem. Postea autem de Calice ait Paulus, Similiter & Calicem postquam cœnavit accepit dicens: Hic Calix Novum Testamentum est in meo Sanguine, hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis in mei Commemorationem: Nec dixit sicut de corpore dixerat simpliciter, Hoc facite in mei Commemorationem, sed dixit, Hoc facite, cum hac adjectione, nempe quotiescunq; bibetis in mei Commemorationem, per hoc nobis indicans, non semper sub specie vini sumendum esse sanguinem una cum Corpore sub specie Panis, sed quotiescunq; sumeretur Sanguis sub specie Vini in Commemorationem Christi, id faciendum.

Ecce rursus Christus post distributionem corporis sui, peracta cœna in qua corpus suum sub speci Panis separatim prius dederat, iterum separatim sub specie Vini Sanguinem suum offeret, inquens, Hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis in mei Commemorationem, significans nobis & seorsum nonnunquam alterum porrigi posse, & tamen cum ita sit, utriusq; vim integram Populis dari, alioqui suffecisset semel duntaxat de utroq; fuisse dictum, Hoc facite, nec de Calice adjecisset Hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis, cum prius de specie Panis simpliciter dixisset Hoc facite, nisi separatim ea sumi posse judicaret.

Neque quisquam negare potest Discipulos in cœna sub specie Panis sumpsisse Corpus Christi, cœnantibus illis, accepit Panem & benedixit ac fregit deditq; illis, dicens, Hoc est Corpus meum: Calicem autem non nisi post intervallum ac peracta cœna porrexit, nisi quis adeo stupidus esset, ut crederet post sumptionem specie Panis non prius eos sumpsisse Corpus Christi, quum postquam cœnavit porrexisse Calicem quasi vero priora Verba Christi irrita fuissent, cum de specie Panis diceret Hoc est Corpus meum, aut ipsa distributio facta Discipulis nullam vim haberet, priusquam de Calice peracta Cœna bibissent: Quod cum impium sit sentire, tum ipsum Verbum & Factum Christi, proh nefas! evacuat. Denique ipse Paulus, postquam etiam de utraque specie conjunctim locutus est, rursus de ipsis speciebus disjunctim infert, inquens

*ὡς ἂν εἰδήσῃ τὸ ἄρτον τῶτον, ἢ πίνῃ τὸ ποτήριον ἔκκειν ἀναξίως, ἐροῦσθε ἑαυτὸν ἢ σώματός καὶ αἱματός τῷ Κυρίῳ.*

Quæ verba latine sic transtulit Erasmus, Itaq; quisquis ederit Panem hunc aut de Calice biberit indigne, reus erit Corporis & Sanguinis Domini; ubi ex Pauli verbis aperte liquet, Quisquis indigne Panem hunc sumpserit, reum esse Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, aut si quis de Calice biberet indigne, similiter reum esse Sanguinis & Corporis Domini, quod tamen nullo modo crimini daretur, nisi seorsum sub specie Panis esset & Corpus



Corpus & Sanguis Christi, atque iridem sub specie Vini seorsum esset & Corpus & Sanguis Christi; nec disjunctim de specie Panis locutus fuisset Paulus, si nunquam nisi conjunctim cum Calice sumeretur: Neq; rursus disjunctim de Calice dixisset, si nunquam nisi conjunctim cum specie Panis esset sumendus. Quorsum enim ea disjunxisset si nunquam nisi conjuncta esse possent? An Verba ipsa Scripturæ singula sunt attendenda, nam Propheta inquit, *Inclinate aurem Vestram in Verba oris mei;* & Moises in Deuteronomio ait, *Ponite corda vestra in omnia Verba quæ ego testificor vobis hodie, quia non incassum præcepta sunt vobis.* Et iterum, *non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo.* Verba igitur Domini atque ipsius Pauli, & separatim de alterutra specie primum posita, & post utriusque conjunctionem etiam iterum disjuncta, significare nobis videntur, & posse alterutram speciem seorsum porrigi secundum Verbum Christi.

Nec per hoc quod Christus dixit, *Bibite ex hoc omnes,* statim consequetur Christum jussisse Communionem cuilibet de populo semper sub utraq; specie & nunquam sub altera dandam esse: Nam illorum Verborum sensum non alium esse apparet, quam quem ipse Dominus Apostolum suum Paulum, qui à Domino de hoc Sacramento omnia se accepisse testatur, edocuit, nempe quod quotiescunq; de Calice hoc quisquam biberet, id in Christi memoriam faceret, sicut fecerunt Discipuli, qui tunc aderant præsentibus & de eo biberunt omnes: Itaque quotiescunq; Sanguis Christi bibendus à quoquam esset, in memoria Passio Christi recordanda est; sicut similiter quisquis Corpus Christi sumpserit, ad memoriam passionem ejus revocare debet: Neque ex præcepto Christi toties bibendum esse de hoc Calice, quotiescunq; Corpus Christi sumendum est, apparet per ea quæ de verbis & de exemplo Christi supradicta sunt. Certe quicquid Christus omnino observari præcepit, non posse ulla humana sanctione prohiberi putamus, cum humana Lex divinam abolere non possit. Similiter etiam existimamus, nec morem ullum, nec ullam consuetudinem tantopere apud homines valere, ut Dei Verbum expugnet & Christi præceptum subvertat.

Verumtamen cum Christus nobis libere reliquerit ut eum tribus modis corporaliter sumere possimus, & quarto spiritualiter, nempe primo, sub utraque specie; secundo, sub Panis specie tantum; tertio, sub Vini; quarto, voluntate & desiderio solo cum aliter necessitate coacti eum sumere nequimus; existimamus pro primo, ut si quis fidelis ardenti in Deum amore flagrans, pietateq; ingenti æstuans, magnopere desideraret Sacramentum sub utraq; specie sumere, si nullum vel valetudinis vel imbecillitatis obstaret impedimentum, ei sub utraq; specie Communio præberi possit, dummodo neq; postulans neq; ministrans Sacramentum in scandalum Populi, aut in contemptum Ecclesiæ id faciat, neque suo jure Leges Religionis in qua degit sive Ecclesiasticas sive Laicas infringere præsumat.

Pro secundo & tertio sic, Quod si impedimentum aliquod hujusmodi intervenit, ut in utraque specie absq; periculo sumi non possit, ut si quis Paralyti correptus, aut ab alio quovis naturæ aut morborum impedimento utramq; speciem recipere commode non possit, hic si desideret Sacram Communionem sumere, ei sub altera tantum specie porrigatur. Pro quarto autem, Quod si quis nausea, vel alia corporis molestia adeo sit infestatus, ut nihil in stomachum receptum non rejectet, huic si id petat, Sacramentum saltem ostendi posset, ut viso eo morrem Christi redemptoris sui citius revocans in memoriam compunctus corde spiritualiter communicet.

Plurimum igitur demiror, quod hi qui Christianæ Libertatis assertores & acerrimi propugnatores videri volunt, libertatem hanc nostram in hoc uno Corporis & Sanguinis Domini Sacramento, quo nihil superexcellens, nihil celebrius, nihil incomparabilius, nihil deniq; ad consolandos fidelium animos solidius, Christus hinc abiturus Ecclesiæ suæ reliquit, nobis tollere velint, Quid enim majus donare potuit Christus in hoc Sacramento sumendum quam seipsum? Deinde cum ipse omnino liberum nobis reliquerit, & posse aliquos sub utraq; specie Communionem accipere, & posse alios sub altera, nonnullos quoq; morborum necessitate impeditos, saltem in conspectum prolato Corpore Domini compuncto corde posse Spiritualiter communicare, quanta immodestia, quanta inclementia esset, libertate hac fraudare Christianos? Ut quibus sub utraq; specie, ob impedimenta quæ sunt innumera, Communio præberi non posset, his summi boni fruitione privatis sub neutra daretur! Nec adhuc fatentur et si non corporaliter sumatur, saltem Spiritualiter capi posse. Qua non servitute durior esset hæc conditio, ut Christi redemptoris nostri corpus, quod ille a fidelibus sumi voluit, nobis id summopere desiderantibus violenter eripiatur; quis ingenue Christianus libertatem fruitionis hujus sibi extortam non omni morte intolerabiliorem putaret? Itaq; libertas hæc a Christo nobis relicta omni conatu retinenda est, omnibus viribus amplectenda, nec ipsis mea opinione fidendum est, qui eam nobis tollere velint.

Præterea, quid fiat apud septentrionales Populos? quid apud Populos Africæ & qui intra Tropicos habitant? apud quos non ea vini copia est ut Populis omnino sub specie vini præberi possit, (nam his Populis cervisia ex frugibus est potui) an ideo quia sub utraq; specie his ministrari Sacramentum non potest, ab utraq; arcendi essent? aut sub una non integrum Christum capere possent? id quod absit.

Quando autem primum Populus priscum morem deserere, & sub altera tantum Panis specie Communionem sacram sumere cœpit, nobis est incompertum; credible est majores nostros auctoritate Scripturæ motos, quæ alteram nonnunquam speciem per Christum & Apostolos datam memorat, propter periculum effusionis in terram Sanguinis Christi, cum liquida omnia levi membrorum trepidante motu facile effundantur, religiosa quadam & pia reverentia, non mediocriq; Dei timore abstinuisse in Sacramento a vini specie, nec Christum qui se cum Ecclesia usque in finem omnibus diebus mansurum promisit, tot sæculis eam deseruisse, ut si necessarium præceptum de utraq; specie semper ab omnibus sumenda dedisset, in re tanti momenti eam permisisset turpiter labi; sed magis Ecclesiæ suæ liberum reliquisse videtur, ut cum in alterutra specie totus & integer Christus contineatur, sub altera etiam sumi possit.

Qui vero sit mos hodie de utraq; specie in Ecclesiis Græcis, quæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Tyrannidem nunquam admiserunt, non satis nobis est compertum, cum Græcia tota Turcarum subsit imperio, nec liberam habeant facultatem Christum ut libet profitendi, quando nec Verbum Dei publice prædicare, nec ad Campanarum sonitum Populum convocare, nec publicas Litanias crucis vexillo præeunte facere, his ullo pacto est concessum.

Illud quoq; imprimis est observandum, nempe quod in Universis Ecclesiis in die Parasceves Sacerdos & omnis Populus sub una tantum specie Panis communicant, non sub specie vini, ut cum is dies repræsentat mortem Christi in qua Sanguis ejus pretiosus pro nostra salute effusus est & separatus a corpore, separatim illo die sub altera solum specie commu-  
nicarent

nicarent omnes sive Sacerdos sive Populus; qui mos per universam Ecclesiam nunquam fuisset admissus, nisi sub altera tantum specie integer Christus contineretur, atq; nisi sub altera Sacramentum Populis ministrari.

*De Missa Privata.*

Per Missas autem privatas multos abusus introductos esse dicitis, quas velut Atlantem quendam Papatum sustinuisse, indulgentias invexisse, orbem expilasse, ut pote quæ ad quæstum pateant, Monachorum turbas coarctasse, Verbum Dei exterminasse asseritis, atq; ideo Germanos Principes Synaxim veteri more reduxisse quam Lingua vernacula facere, ritu satis decoro atque decenti commemoratis; privatas vero Missas apud vos in totum abolitas esse, quæ tot pepererunt abusus & sætus malignos. Quæ de re nobiscum diu multumq; cogitantes, consideramus inprimis nihil unquam in Ecclesia sua Christum ordinasse quo malignus serpens aliquando non sit abusus, neque tamen propterea rejiciendum est quicquid sancte est ordinatum, alioqui Sacramenta omnia antiquanda essent; quin magis reputavimus longe satius esse abusus omnes in totum remove, quæ vero Sancte & pie introducta sunt in Ecclesiam, illa ipsa stabilia manere.

Nam si ideo Missæ privatæ abolendæ sunt in totum, quia dei illis Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii Doctrinas ut dicitis impias induxerunt, viz. Missas ex opere operato gratiam mereri, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum, & applicari posse alienum opus ad alterum, Quicquid sit, quod illi asserunt, hoc de omni Missa asserunt, non de privata duntaxat; Quæ propter si ad tollendas illas opiniones qualescunque Missa privata esset abroganda, eadem ratione abroganda esset Synaxis & Missa publica, quam vos ipsi retinetis nec censetis abolendam, quicquid de ea alii opinentur. Missa vero privata, velut privata quædam est Communio & Synaxis, quæ si recte atque ut decet fiat, quicumque fideles illi interesse decreverint, si pœnitentes convenerint contriti de peccatis, Deiq; implorent Misericordiam cum Filio prodigo dicentes, Pater peccavi in Cœlum & coram te, haud dubie quin ipsi Spiritualiter cum Sacerdote communicant, offerentes se & animas suas, hostias vivas & acceptabiles Deo, tametsi pauci fuerint, atq; à corporali Sacramenti sumptione abstinerint: Ac per hoc Missa privata Ecclesiæ adeo non obest, ut non parum & ad vitam corrigendam, & ad fidem in Christum corroborandam prodesse videatur; quippe Christiani per hoc peccatores se agnoscunt quotidie delinquentes, quotidie veniam postulant, quotidie per peccatum in salebroso vitæ hujus cursu cadentes, quotidie pœnitentes refurgunt, & velut alacriores redditi, devicto sæpius hoste, fiunt ad pugnam audentiores.

Porro statim in exordio omnis Missæ privatæ publica est peccatorum omnium generalis Confessio, venia postulatur à Deo, absolutio impartitur à Sacerdote secundum Dei Verbum, quemadmodum in Missa publica.

Et si in Missa publica & quantumcunq; solenni nemo adsit alius præter Sacerdotem qui communicare velit in esu Sacramenti, quid quæso differet Missa publica à privata? An Sacerdos in solemnibus diebus populo ad Sacra conveniente, si nemo alius communicare velit, abstinet à Missa publica? Atque inter Græcos ipsos, ubi singulis dominicis diebus fit una Missa publica uti asseritis, raro admodum communicat in esu Sacramenti quisquam à Populo, uti à Fide dignis accepimus, qui ipsi Græcorum Sacerdis interfuerunt.

Quod vero Epiphanium citatis qui singulis septimanis ter celebratam Synaxim in Asia asserit, eumq; morem ab Apostolis inductum, cum jam tantum in Græcia singulis Dominicis fiat Populi conventus ad Sacra, si mutari mos potuit ab Apostolis inductus, ut rarius quam statuerant Apostoli Populus congregatur, cur non etiam mutari potuit ut sæpius conveniret, quando per hoc celebrior fit mortis Christi memoria, id quod in Missa fit etiam privata.

Jam vero si Sacramentum hoc à fidelibus exerceri Christus in mortis suæ memoriam præcepit, inquit, hoc facite in meam Commemorationem, ne mors ejus raro admodum commemorata in Oblivionem transiret, quo crebrius, quo frequentius, memoria ejus in Sacramento repetitur, eo mandatum ejus servatur magis: Etenim sicut raro admodum memoriata Oblivioni sunt obnoxia, ita crebro frequentata radices in mente agunt altius, ne obliterari unquam possint; itaq; ut mos Christi crebra memoria illustretur, Missa etiam privata non parum confert.

Certe Paulus Apostolus singulas domos privatas, ubi credentium numerus aliquis erat, Ecclesias vocat, membra Majoris Ecclesiæ, Civitatis illius in qua essent, sicut majores ipsas Civitatum Ecclesias, membra Catholicæ & universalis Ecclesiæ appellat, scribens ad Corinthios; at quæ Ecclesia arcenda est à Communione Corporis Domini? Christus etiam ipse instituendo Sacramentum hoc Corporis & Sanguinis sui, inquit, Hoc quotiescunq; facitis, facite in meam Commemorationem: Nec tempus nec locum ullum cohibuit, quo fieri id non posset, quonam modo igitur arcebumus quenquam à Missis privatis? Et ad dies festos publicamq; Synaxim eum relegabimus? Cujus arbitrio Christus liberum reliquit, quando & ubi id vellet decenter exequi, dum inquit quotiescunq; nam si certa tempora servanda essent, non indefinite locutus fuisset Christus ipsum Dei Verbum, ipsa sapientia Patris.

Jam vero ab initio nascentis Ecclesiæ per singulas domos ubi erant fideles fiebat Communio, atq; id quotidie, teste Luca in Apostolorum Actis, ubi ait, Quotidie quoq; perdurantes unanimiter in templo, & frangentes circa domos Panem; quem locum etiam de Communione veteres interpretes intelligunt, & tamen singulis diebus non agebant publice dies festos, sed privatim per domos communicabant: Etsi terrenorum Regum atq; Principum Ministri pleriq; omnes nullum diem transigere cupiunt, quo non fruantur vel solo aspectu sui Domini, tametsi propior congressus non contingat, quis fidelis Christianus non omnibus optabit votis, ut quando in hac vita Christum Regem Regum, & Dominum Dominantium, in Majestate gloriæ regnantem cernere mortales oculi non possunt, saltem per Fidem in Sacramento Corporis Domini, quod ille fidelibus in memoriam sui frequentandam reliquit, interim quotidie Regem gloriæ videat?

Quod vero Chrysostronus Sacerdotem ad altare stare, & alios ad Communionem accersere, alios arcere scribit, enarrat morem publicæ Communionis, qui in initio nascentis Ecclesiæ crebrius quam nunc fit frequentabatur; qui mos nunc in Paschat, quando ubiq; communicat Populus apud omnes servatur Ecclesias: Cæterum ille ipse exposulat cum fidelibus sui temporis, quod rarius communicent, quam vel oporteret, vel vetus mos erat; cæterum nusquam is privatas Missas vetuit.

At Canon Nicenus Diaconis in Communionem publica suum locum designat post Presbyteros; cæterum nec is Canon, nec ullus alius Missas privatas abrogat.

Sacramentum autem Eucharistiæ Sacrificium non esse arbitramini, quod unum Sacrificium sit propitiatorium mors Christi, & cum is ultra non moritur, qui semel tantum pro nobis oblatus est, nullum restat ultra Sacrificium, nisi cultus Spiritualis, hoc est, iustitia Fidei & Fructus Fidei. Quid sibi velit iustitia quæ ex Fide est scimus, quippe quam Paulus opponit Iustitiæ quæ est ex Lege: Cæterum qui sunt fructus Fidei, nobis ex Scripturis non satis liquet, ipsam Fidem sicut charitatem, & multas alias virtutes scimus esse fructus Spiritus. Verum enim vero non satis miramur, cur quispiam ægre ferat Missam Sacrificium vocari, quando omnis vetustas & Græcorum & Latinorum sic eam appellare consuevit, quum ibi fiat consecratio Corpus & Sanguinis Domini in memoriam mortis ejus, qui, ut inquit Paulus, pro peccatis offerens hostiam, in sempiternum det ad dextram Dei, una enim oblatione consummavit in sempiternum sanctificatos; itaq; si Christus & Sacerdos esset, & Sacrificium, & Hostia, ubicunq; est Christus, ibi est Hostia nostra, ibi est Sacrificium nostrum; at si in Sacramento altaris est verum Corpus Christi, & verus Sanguis Christi, quo pacto manente veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, non est ibi Sacrificium nostrum?

Porro quia in Missa est Christus Sacrificium nostrum, qui ipse ultra non moritur, ibiq; cum ipso capite nostro, nos illius Corpus & Membra nosmet ipsos Deo Hostias vivas offerimus, Græci idtotum ἀνάμνητον θυσίαν, id est, Sacrificium incruentum vocant: Ita veteres omnes intrepide Missam Sacrificium vocarunt, quod ibi sit Christus Sacrificium nostrum in Sacramento.

Sic Basilius, sic Chrysostomus, sic Hieronymus, sic Augustinus, eam appellare non dubitavit; Quocirca quid vetat Missam, in qua consecratur Panis in Corpus Christi, & Vinum in Sanguinem ejus, qui vere est Sacrificium nostrum, & hoc fieri in memoriam sui iussit, vocari Sacrificium: Aliqui si id negabimus, non parum verendum est, ne cum Sacramentariis quos nunc vocant, qui veritatem Corporis & Sanguinis in Sacramento negant, & cum Anabaptistis consentire videamur, à qua suspicione sicut in animo nostro nos profiteremur longe abesse, ita quoq; cupimus calumniantibus adversariis omnem obtrectandi ansam auferri: Atqui cum in Missa tum Sacerdos, tum Populus contritus de peccatis se ut hortatur Paulus, Hostiam vivam, sanctam atq; Deo placentem exhibeat, Laudes quas Deo canat & in gratiarum actione versetur, quis dubitare potest, ea quoq; ratione, Missam jure Sacrificium nominari, cum Propheta appellat Sacrificium Laudis, & Paulus omnes hortetur, ut se Hostias vivas exhibeant, id quod fit in Missa. Malachias etiam propheta inquit, Ab ortu solis usq; ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, & in omni loco Sacrificatur, & offertur nomini meo Oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Dominus exercituum. At quæ alia Oblatio munda in omni loco inter gentes, nisi solus Christus aut quod aliud Sacrificium Christianorum, nisi Missa, ubi Commemoratio mortis Christi igitur? Nam aut aliquot inter gentes Christianorum oportet esse Sacrificium, aut mentitus est Propheta: Quænam quæso est Oblatio munda, nisi solus Christus Hostia nostra, qui in Sacramento altaris est sub Panis & Vini speciebus? quippe quantumcunq; nos ipsi nos Deo offeramus, hostiæ munda non meremur nomen, quorum omnis iustitia velut pannus est menstruatus; Itaque, constat Missam Sacrificium vocari ex Verbo Dei per Malachiam enunciato, quod cum ita sit, cur Missæ invidemus nomen Sacrificii, quod Propheta prædixit, & in qua Christus in Sacramento præsens est ipse mundi Sacrificium.

*De Conjugio Sacerdotum.*

Cœlibatum Sacerdotum contra Scripturam, contra Leges Naturæ, contra Honestatem, per Pontificem Romanum asseritis introductum, cum Scriptura Sacerdotibus, sicut cæteris hominibus, conjugium permittat, nec possit naturam suam mutare, nec absq; singulari dono cœlibes vivere: Nam non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, & Paulus inquit, propter fornicationem unusquisq; Uxorem suam habeat.

Hic primum ordiri juvat, ut locum illum Evangelii de tribus Eunuchorum generibus consideremus, quandoquidem Christus alios à natura Eunuchos esse asserit, alios per vim factos, quorum neutrum genus continentia virtute splendet; quoniam alteros ad generandum natura, alteros violentia reddidit inutiles. Tertium vero genus eorum est, qui quanquam terrena generatione uti possunt, malunt continere, & se castrare propter Regnum Cœlorum; de quo genere Christus statim infert, qui potest capere, capiat, id quod nec de primo, nec de secundo Eunuchorum genere intelligi potest, quibus continentia palma negata est, cum descendere in certamen nequeunt: Tertium vero genus eorum est, qui continentia student, & à licitis nuptiis abstinere malunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, quo Christum liberius atq; expeditius sequantur, ne terrenis nuptiis implicati, cogitare cogantur, ut inquit Paulus, quæ sunt mundi; ad quod genus Christus virginitatis author homines sapientissime invitat, inquit, Qui potest capere, capiat: Per hoc quod inquit, capiat, homines adhortans ad capescendum certamen ut palmam arripiant, nempe Regnum Cœlorum, ad quod neminem hortaretur, si nemo carnem possit vincere; per hoc vero quod ait, qui potest capere, posse capi palmam indicans; alioqui si impossibile esset carnem superare quorsum attineret dicere, qui potest, si nemo id possit.

Præterea per ea verba, Qui potest capere, quosdam etiam esse declarat, qui non facile possunt, nam nisi aliqui non facile possent capere, cur secerneret eos qui possunt; itaq; considerandas animi vires admonet, priusquam certamen aggrediare, ne temere arrepto certamine turpiter succumbas: Nec dixisset quosdam esse, qui se castraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, si caro esset insuperabilis, & nemo se castrare posset. Nec dubitandum est quin is qui hortatur ad subeundum certamen, gratiam suam sine qua nihil possent, his non defuturam demonstrat, qui nomina sua in militiam ei dederunt, quorum ille ipse dux futurus est, qui non modo in periculis suos Milites invocatus nunquam deserit, sed stat ante Januam & pulsat, paratus semper ad succurrendum, si quis ei aperiat: Nam Paulus tentationes superari posse nos admonet, modo Dei auxilium imploremus, inquit, Tentatio vos non apprehendit nisi humana, fidelis autem Deus qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum ut possitis sustinere. Quamobrem his qui continentiam semel profitentur, & eam postea turpiter deserunt, etiam atq; etiam considerandum est, ne nomen Dei blasphemare videantur, Christum accusantes deserti auxilii, cum sint ipsi desertores militiæ, & primo statim congressu terga dantes hosti, itaq; quod Paulus liberum cuiq; facit, ut propter fornicationem Uxorem suam habeat, id de his intelligi, qui continentiam non sunt professi, Paulus ipse nos docet, inquit, de viduis adolescentioribus, quæ cum luxuriatæ fuerunt in Christo nubere volunt, habentes damnationem quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt. Augustinus Pauli Doctrinam secutus, Psal. 83. inquit, alius ex  
Dei

Dei munere majus aliquid vovit, statuit nec nuptias pati, qui non damnaretur si duxisset Uxorem; post votum quod Deo promisit si duxerit damnabitur: Sic virgo quæ si nuberet non peccaret, Sanctimonialis si nupserit Christi adultera reputabitur, respexit enim retro de loco quo accefferat, exemplo Uxoris Loth, & sicut canis reversus ad vomitum reputatur.

Itidem Augustinus, Psal. 75. ample asserit votum semel emissum servandum esse. Hieronymus etiam adversus Jovinianum inquit, vergo quæ se Deo dicavit, si nubat, damnationem habet; atq; alio loco advertus eundem, Virgines tuæ quas prudentissimo consilio (quod nemo unquam legerat, nec audierat de Apostolo) docuisti, melius esse nubere quam uri, occultos adulteros in apertos verterunt maritos; non suavit hoc Apostolus, non Electionis vas Virgilianum consilium est, conjugium vocat, hoc prætexit nomine culpam. Verbum ipsum Dei palam adversatur ubique ne rumpantur vota. Propheta inquit, vovete & reddite Domino Deo Vestro; in Deuteronomio quoq; scribitur, cum votum voveris Domino Deo tuo, non tardabis reddere, quia requiret illud Dominus Deus tuus, & si moratus fueris, reputabitur tibi in peccatum; si nolueris polliceri absq; peccato eris, quod autem egressum est de labiis tuis, observabis & facies, sicut promissisti Domino Deo tuo & propria voluntate & ore locutus es. Ecclesiastes etiam inquit, siquid vovisti ne moreris reddere, sed quodcumq; voveris redde: Et in Numerorum libro scribitur, siquis virorum votum Domino voverit, aut se constrinxerit juramento, non faciat irritum verbum suum, sed omne quod promisit implebit. Quocirca Ecclesia à principio sicut conjugatos Sacerdotes & Episcopos, qui sine crimine essent unius Uxoris viri propter necessitatem admisit, cum tot alii quot possent ad edocendum orbem sufficere tunc non reperirentur idonei, & tamen Paulus Timotheum cælibem elegit; Ita quoq; siquis ad Sacerdotium cælebs accersitus, postea Uxorem duxerit, semper à Sacerdotio deponeretur, secundum Canonem Neocæsariensis Concilii, quod fuit ante Nicenum. Similiter in Calcedonenſi Concilio, in cujus primo capite priora Concilia confirmantur, statuitur ut Diaconissa, si se nuptiis tradat, maneat sub Anathemate, & Virgo Deo dicata & Monachus jungentes se nuptiis, maneat excommunicati.

Hoc quoq; observandum est, quod in Canonibus Apostolorum habetur, tantummodo Lectores Cantoresq; non conjugatos posse Uxores ducere, cæteris vero in Clerum admissis postea Uxorem ducere nunquam licuit.

Qui vero conjugati ad Sacerdotium admissi erant, Uxores suas prætextu Religionis abjicere nequaquam poterant, ut docet Canon Apostolicus; cumque in Niceno Concilio proponeretur de Presbyterorum jam ductis Uxoribus abjiciendis, restitit Paphnutius ne legitimæ Uxores pellerentur, cujus sententiam, cum Canone Apostolorum de non abjiciendis Uxoribus concordatem, omnes sunt secuti.

Cæterum in Niceno Concilio nihil unquam propositum fuit, ut Sacerdotes post Sacerdotium Uxores ducerent, quod jam ante sic erit prohibitum, ut siquis contrarium auderet, ducens postea Uxorem, deponeretur à Sacerdotio, ut supra dictum est; itaq; Paphnutius de non abjiciendis jam ductis ante Sacerdotium Uxoribus, non autem de ducendis post Sacerdotium aperte locutus est.

Itaq; neq; Canon aliquis Apostolicus, neq; Concilium Nicenum quicquam habet ejusmodi ut in Sacerdotium admissi, postea Uxores ducant, sicut vos allegatis.

His concordat sexta Synodus in qua fancitum est quod si quis è Clero vellet Uxorem ducere, ante subdiaconatum id faceret, postea nequaquam liceret, nec ulla usquam libertas Sacerdotibus in sexta Synodo datur post Sacerdotium Uxores ducendi, sicut vos asseritis.

Itaq; à principio nascentis Ecclesiæ, plane compertum est nullo unquam tempore licuisse Sacerdoti post Sacerdotium Uxorem ducere; atq; ubicunq; id fuit attentatum, id non fuit impune, nam tantum nefas ausus deponeretur à Sacerdotio. Paulus Apostolus inquit, de conjugibus loquens, nolite fraudare invicem nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut varetis orationi. Hieronymus in Apologia ad Pammachium ait, Paulus Apostolus dicit, Quando coimus cum Uxoribus nos orare non posse, si per coitum quod minus est impeditur, id est orare, quanto plus quod majus est, id est Corpus Christi, prohibetur accipere: Idque late profequitur exemplo Panum Propositionis, qui non dabantur nisi continentibus Davidi & Ministris, ut scribitur in libro Regum; Panes enim Propositionis, quasi Corpus Christi, de Uxoribus cubilibus confurgentes edere non poterant, ut inquit Hieronymus, atq; exemplo dationis legis veteris, ante cujus dationem filii Israel in Exodo triduo abstinere sunt iussi ab Uxoribus.

Hieronymus etiam adversus Jovinianum inquit, si Laicus & quicumq; fidelis orare non potest, nisi careat officio conjugali, Sacerdoti cui semper pro Populo offerenda sunt sacrificia, semper orandum est: Si semper orandum est, semper ergo carendum Matrimonio. Idem asserit Ambrosius ample in Epistola ad Timotheum prima, cum quo consentit Augustinus.

Paulus Timotheum Discipulum in Sacerdotali Officio erudiens, admonet secularia negotia fugienda esse, inquit, Labora ut bonus miles Christi Jesu, nemo militans implicat se negotiis secularibus, ut ei placeat cui se probavit; & si Sacerdotes Uxores acciperent, curis secularibus necesse est involvantur, nam teste Paulo, qui cum Uxore est, sollicitus est quæ sunt mundi, quomodo placeat Uxori; qui vero sine Uxore est, sollicitus est quæ Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo: Ideoq; eundem ad cœlibatum hortatur, quando ait Teipsum castum custodi, nam Castitas, ubi de conjugatis non fit sermo, cœlibatus intelligitur, suum enim Discipulum sui similem reddere cupiebat; atque quodam in loco Corinthiis scribens, omnes homines hortatur ad continentiam, ait enim, volo omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, & rursus dico non nuptis & viduis bonum est, si sic permanserint sicut & ego. Alio in loco scribens eisdem, Ministros Ecclesiæ sui officii admonet, adhortans ne in vacuum Gratiam Dei recipiant, & subdit, Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium, se in omnibus exhibeamus nosmetipsos sicut Dei Ministros, &c. in vigiliis, in jejuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in verbo veritatis. Quæ omnia ad Ministros Ecclesiæ pertinent quos castitatem maxime sectari convenit, ut impuri non appropinquent altaribus, à quibus salaces omnino arceri decet: Nam non nisi de Sacerdotibus ea intelligi possunt, quando scientia divinæ Legis & Populi institutio ad eos spectat, ut inquit Malachias, Labia Sacerdotis custodiunt Scientiam & Legem requirunt ex ore ejus. Et Paulus Timotheum vult se exhibere operarium inconsusibilem, recte tractantem verbum veritatis, viz. in Doctrina populi; igitur Sacerdotes Domini, qui se Deo jam pridem dedicaverunt, qui se castraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, qui pro suis & populi peccatis orare assidue debent, quonam pacto, deserto cœlibatus vexillifero Christo, novis nuptiis operam dare secularibusq; molestiis quibus scaturiant



scaturiunt se implicare decet? quid enim est ad aratrum manum mittere, retroq; recipere exemplo Uxor<sup>is</sup> Loth, si hoc non est? cujusmodi homines non aptos esse Regno Dei, Christus ipse pronunciat, etenim si nemo potest Uxori pariter & Philosophiæ operam dare, ut mundana prudentia docet, quanto magis is qui se Deo dicavit, duobus Dominis servire non poterit, nempe Deo pariter & mundo, quorum uterq; totum hominem, non dimidiatum, ad se raprat?

Quanquam autem & conjugati & cælibes in initio Ecclesiæ admittebantur ad Sacerdotium, id tamen non ubiq; ita servabatur teste Hieronymo adversus Vigilantium, ubi inquit, quid facient Orientis Ecclesiæ, quid Egypti, & Sedis Apostolicæ quæ aut Virgines clericos accipiunt, aut continentes, aut si Uxores habuerint mariti esse desistunt? Atque ad Pammachium Hieronymus inquit, Christus Virgo, Virgo Maria, utriusq; sexus virginitatem dedicaverunt, Apostoli vel Virgines, vel post nuptias continentes, Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, aut Virgines eliguntur, aut vidui, aut certe post Sacerdotium in æternum pudici, in morem Ecclesiæ veterem, cujus autor est haud dubie Paulus & Scriptura ipsa. Jam vero uti Augustinum citatis, qui ait quidam nubentes post votum asserunt adulteros esse, ego dico vobis quod gravitur peccant qui tales dividunt: At ille ipse Augustinus asserit, lapsus & ruinas à castitate Sanctiori quæ vovetur Deo adulteriis esse peiores, neq; statim legitimum est quicquid tolerat Ecclesia.

Cyprianus quoq; ipse quem citatis, in illa ipsa Epistola de Virginibus quæ continentiam voverunt, ubi inquit, si perseverare nolunt, vel non possint, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis suis ruant; ex quo infertis tale votum non impedire Matrimonium, longe aliud sentit: Nam consultus à Pomponio Sacerdote, quid sibi videretur de Virginibus his, quæ cum semel statum suum continenter & firmiter tenere decreverint, detectæ sunt postea in eodem lecto pariter mansisse cum Masculis; ea de re altius repentes Sermonem, periculosamq; esse Virginum & Masculorum cohabitationem, confirmans per Scripturas ac graves multorum ruinas ex hoc enatas, asserens generaliter de omnibus Virginibus inquit, quod si ex fide Christo se dicaverint caste & pudice sine ulla fabula perseverent, ita fortes & stabiles præmium Virginitatis expectent; si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis suis cadant, certe nullum Fratribus aut Sororibus scandalum faciant, cum scriptum sit, &c. Et paulo post infert, Christus Dominus & Judex noster, cum Virginem suam sibi dicatam & sanctitati suæ destinatam jacere cum altero cernat, quam indignatur & irascitur, & quas pœnas incestis hujusmodi conjunctionibus comminatur! Deinde ad quæsitum respondens, jubet obstetrices adhiberi ut videatur an Virgines illæ sint corruptæ, ubi inquit, si autem aliquæ ex eis corruptæ fuerunt deprehensæ, agant pœnitentiam plenam, quia quæ hoc crimen admisit, non mariti sed Christi adultera est, & ideo æstimato justo tempore & ex Homologesi facta ad Ecclesiam redeant; quod si obstinatæ perseverent, nec se ab invicem separent, sciant se cum hac sua impudica obstinatione nunquam à nobis admitti in Ecclesiam posse, ne exemplum cæteris ad ruinam delictis suis facere incipiant. Ecce quid sentit Cyprianus de votis ruptis, incestuosos & Christi Adulteros hujusmodi flagitiosos appellat, & nisi separentur, nunquam admittit in Ecclesiam; quomodo erga talia vota non impediant Matrimonium, aut quis ad tale Matrimonium quenquam hortari audebit, quod sine violatione voti & transgressione divini mandati, ideoq; sine gravissimo scelere contrahi non possit?

possit? Atqui quod Principes Germaniæ, scribitis, cum viderent multa flagitia de cœlibatu Sacerdotum provenire, Matrimonia Sacerdotibus libera permisisse, si meum, Egregii Oratores, consilium requisissent vestri Principes, priusquam tot Sacerdotes apud vos ruptis vinculis ad nuptias convolassent, ad id consilii dedissem quod vestri Principes arripuerunt hæsito magnopere; nam si Sacerdotes qui continere nollent, erumpere ad nuptias omnino voluissent, quanto satius forte fuisset, exemplo veterum deposuisse tales à Sacerdotio, suæq; de cætero Conscientiæ quæquam reliquisse, ac deinde puriores altaribus admovisse, quam libere omnia permittendo peccatis alienis auctores videri, atq; ea ratione aliena peccata nostra facere: Veruntamen nos qui in aliena Repub. curiosi nunquam fuimus nec esse volumus, omnia Principum vestrorum acta atq; gesta in optimam partem interpretamur, non dubitantes, quin ad tollendos abusus omnes sincerus his animus, atq; ad repurgandam Dei Ecclesiam appositus non desit.

Porro nos qui in Regno nostro Romani Episcopi Tyrannidem profligare magna industria studimus, & Christi Gloriam sinceriter promovere curabimus Deo propitio, quantum humano consilio fieri potest, ne quis abusus sive à Romano Episcopo sive à quovis alio inductus non aboleatur, & si quos comperimus tempore inservientes, fingentesq; se odisse Romanum Episcopum, atq; in Sermone simulare viritatem, quam corde non amplectuntur, ejusmodi viris consilia nostra de rebus sacris non communicabimus, nec eorum vel de Sacris vel de Prophanis expectabimus sententiam.

Quæ vero Christi purum atq; sinceram Doctrinam promovere, quæ Christi Evangelium dilatare, quæ ad repurganda Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ vitia tendere, quæ ad extirpandos abusus atq; errores omnes spectare, quæ deinq; Ecclesiæ candorem exonare posse videbuntur, ea totis viribus lectabimur, his studebimus, his Deo volente in perpetuum incumbemus.

De Articulis vero quos jam differuimus maturius cum Theologis nostris quamprimum vacabit agemus, atq; ea demum statuemus quæ ad Christi Gloriam Ecclesiæque sponsæ ejus decorem conducere existimabimus.

Vobis autem, Præstantissimi Oratores qui tot labores terra marique perpessi estis, ut nos inviseretis, qui cum Theologis nostris tamdiu contulistis, qui ob Evangelii negotium à Patria absuistis multis mensibus, immensas atq; innumeras habemus gratias; nec miramur si dulcis amor Patriæ, post diuturnam absentiam vestram, ad reditum vos invitat. Itaque post expleta Principum vestrorum mandata, post absoluta in totum negotia vestra, si non gravabimini nos invisere, vester ad nos accessus admodum gratus erit, vosque in Patriam non modo libenter dimittemus cum bona venia, sed ad Principes etiam vestros, literas dabimus summæ diligentiae vestræ in exequenda legatione Testimonium perhibentes  
Valet.

IX. *A Letter written by the King to his Bishops, directing them how to instruct the People. An Original.*

By the KING.

HENRY R.

**R**ight Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: And whereas for the Vertue, Learning and good Qualities which we saw and perceived heretofore in you, judging you thereby a Personage that would sincerely, devoutly, purely, and plainly set forth the Word of God, and instruct our People in the truth of the same, after a simple and plain sort, for their better Instruction, Unity, Quiet, and Agreement in the Points thereof, we advanced you to the room and office of a Bishop within this our Realm; and so endowed you with great Revenues and Possessions; perceiving after, by the contrariety of Preaching within this our Realm, our said People were brought into a diversity of Opinion, whereby there ensued Contention amongst them; which was only engendred by a certain contemptuous manner of speaking, against honest, laudable, and tolerable Ceremonies, Usages, and Customs of the Church; we are enforced by our sundry Letters, to admonish and command you, amongst others, to Preach God's Word sincerely, to declare Abuses plainly, and in no wise contentiously to treat of matters indifferent, which be neither necessary to our Salvation, as the good and vertuous Ceremonies of Holy Church, ne yet to be in any wise contemned and abrogated, for that they be incitements and motions to Virtue, and allurements to Devotion: All which our travail notwithstanding, so little regard was by some taken and adhibited to our Advertisements therein, that we were constrained to put our own Pen to the Book, and to conceive certain Articles, which were by all you the Bishops and whole Clergy of this our Realm in Convocation agreed on, as Catholick, meet, and necessary to be by our Authority for avoiding of all Contention set forth, read and taught to our Subjects, to bring the same in Unity, Quietness, and good Concord: Supposing then that no Person having Authority under us, would either have presumed to have spoken any word, that might have offended the sentence and meaning of the same, or have been any thing remis, slack, or negligent in the plain setting forth of them as they be conceived, so as by that mean of abstinence such Quiet and Unity should not grow thereupon as we desired and looked for of the same; and perceiving est-soons, by credible report, that our labours, travail, and desire therein, is nevertheless defeated, and in manner by general and contemptuous words spoken by sundry light and seditious Persons, contemned and despised, so that by the abstinence of direct and plain setting forth of the said Articles, and by the fond and contentious manner of speaking, that the said light Personages do still use against the honest Rites, Customs, Usages, and ceremonial things of the Church, our People be much more offended than they were before; and in a manner exclaim that we will suffer that injury at any Man's hand, whereby they think both God, Us, and our whole Realm highly offended, insomuch that principally upon  
that

*Cott. Libr.  
Cleop. E. 5.*

that ground, and for the Reformation of those Follies and Abuses, they have made this Commotion and Insurrection, and have thereby grievously offended us, damaged themselves, and troubled many of our good Subjects: We be now enforced, for our discharge towards God, and for the tender Love and Zeal we bear to the Tranquillity and loving Unity of our said People and Subjects, again to readdress these our Letters to all the Bishops of our Realm, and amongst other unto you, as a peremptory Warning to admonish you, to demean and use your self for the redobbing of these things as shall be hereafter declared, upon pain of deprivation from the Bishoprick, and further to be punished for your Contempt, if you shall offend in the contrary, as Justice shall require for your own Trespas.

And first, we straitly charge and command you, that plainly and distinctly, without any additions, ye shall every Holy-day, wheresoever ye shall be within your Diocefs, when ye may so do with your Health and convenient Commodity, openly, in your Cathedral Church, or the Parish Church of the place where ye shall for time be, read and declare our Articles; and in no wise, in the rest of your words which ye shall then speak of your self, if you speak any thing, utter any word that shall make the same, or any word in the same, doubtful to the People.

Secondly, We will and command you, That you shall in your Person travel from place to place in all your Diocefs, as you may with your Commodity, and endeavour your selves every Holy-day to make a Colation to the People, and in the same to set forth plainly the Texts of Scripture that you shall treat of; and with that also as well to declare the Obedience due by God's Laws to their Prince and Sovereign Lord, against whose Commandment they ought in no wise, though the same were unjust, to use any violence, as to commend and praise honest Ceremonies of the Church as they be to be praised, in such plain and reverent sort, that the People may perceive they be not contemned, and yet learn how they were instituted, and how they ought to be observed and esteemed; using such a temperance therein, as our said People be not corrupted, by putting over-much affiance in them, which a part should more offend, than the clear silencing of the same, and that our People may thereto the better know their Duties to us, being their King and Sovereign Lord.

Thirdly, We straitly charge and command you, That neither in your private Communications you shall use any Words that may sound to the contrary of this our Commandment, ne you shall keep or retain any Man of any degree, that shall in his words privately or openly, directly or indirectly, speak in these matters of the Ceremonies, contentiously or contemptuously; but we will that in case ye have, or shall have towards you any such Person that will not better temper his Tongue, you shall, as an Offender and a Seductor of our People, send the same in sure custody to us and our Council, to be punished as shall appertain; and semblably to do with other Strangers whom ye shall hear to be notable Offenders in that part.

Fourthly, Our Pleasure and Commandment is, That you shall on your behalf, give strait Commandment upon like pain of deprivation and further punishment, to all Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and Governors of Religious Houses, Colledges, and other places Ecclesiastical within your Diocefs, that they and every of them shall, touching the indifferent  
praise

praise of Ceremonies, the avoiding of contentious and contemptuous Communication, concerning any of the same, and the distinct and plain reading of our said Articles, observe and perform, in their Churches, Monasteries, and other Houses Ecclesiastical aforesaid, the very same order that is before to you prescribed. And further, that you permit nor suffer any Man, of what degree soever in Learning, Strangers or other, to preach in any place within your said Diocess out of his own Church, by virtue of any License by us, or any other of our Ministers, granted before the fifteenth day of this Month, neither in your presence nor elsewhere, unless he be a Man of such Honesty, Vertue, Learning, and Judgment, as you shall think able for that purpose, and one whom in manner you dare answer for.

Finally; Whereas we be advertised that divers Priests have presumed to marry themselves, contrary to the custom of our Church of *England*, Our Pleasure is, Ye shall make secret enquiry within your Diocess whether there be any such resiant within the same or not: And in case ye shall find that there be any Priests that have so presumed to marry themselves, and have sithence nevertheless used and exercised in any thing the Office of Priesthood, we charge you, as ye will answer upon the pains aforesaid, not to conceal their doings therein, but rather to signify their demeanour to our Council, or to cause them to be apprehended, and so sent up unto us accordingly. Given under our Signet at our Castle of *Windsor*, the 19th day of *November*, in the 28th Year of our Reign.

### X. *Tonstall's* Arguments for the Divine Institution of Auricular Confession; with some Notes written on the Margent by King *Henry's* own Hand: An Original.

*Quod Confessio Auricularis sit de Jure Divino.*

**P**robari videtur ex illo loco Matthæi 3. ubi Joanne Baptista in deserto prædicante pœnitentiam, exhibat ad eum Hierosolyma & omnis Judæa, & baptizabantur ab eo in Jordane confitentes peccata sua; quem locum Chrysofomus ita exponit, inquiens, Confessio peccatorum est Testimonium Conscientiæ confitentis Deum, qui enim timet Judicium Dei peccata sua non erubescat confiteri; qui autem erubescit non timet, perfectus enim timor solvit omnem pudorem; illic enim turpitude confessionis aspicitur, ubi futuri judicii pœna non creditur. Nunquid nescimus quia: Confessio peccatorum habet pudorem, & quia hoc ipsum erubescere pœna est gravis, sed ideo magis non jubet Deus confiteri peccata nostra, ut verecundiam patiamur pro pœna? nam & hoc ipsum pars est judicii; O misericordia Dei! quem toties ad iracundiam excitavimus, sufficit ei \* solus pudor pro pœna.

Si verecundia pro pœna est apud Deum, ea autem non continget ex confessione facta soli Deo, nam nemo rationis compos ignorat etiam absque Confessione Deum peccata nostra scire, de Confessione facta homini necesse est intelligantur. Præterea ipsa Verba demonstrant quod Joanni Baptistæ confessi sunt peccata sua, nam dixit eis, facite ergo fructum dignum pœnitentia, quod apte dicere non poterat, nisi pœnitentes eos ex confessione sibi facta rescivisset.

*Corr. Libr.  
Cleop. E. 5.*

*\* Nota bene  
de solo pudore.*

*Fallax:*

## Beda Marci. I.

Et Baptizabantur ab illo in Jordane flumine, confitentes peccata sua.  
 \* Exemplum \* Exemplum confitendum peccata ac meliorem vitam promittendi datur  
 dicit non prae- eis, qui Baptisma accipere desiderant, sicut etiam praedicante † Paulo in  
 ceptum. Epheso multi credentium veniebant, confitentes & annunciantes actus suos,  
 † Non prae- quatenus abdicata vita veteri, renovari mererentur in Christo.  
 cepto.

Huic respon-  
 dendum est.  
 Absolutio da-  
 tur in reme-  
 dium peccato-  
 rum penenti-  
 bus tantum,  
 nam si non  
 petiero.

\* Exemplum  
 bene declarat  
 rem, sed non  
 perite posi-  
 tum.

Scribitur quoque in Evangelio Joannis 21. Quorum remisistis peccata, remittuntur eis & quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt: & Matth. 18. Quaecumque ligaveritis super terram, erunt ligata in Caelo, & quaecumque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta in Caelo. Remittere autem & solvere nemo potest id quod ignorat, occulta autem peccata praeter peccantem novit nisi solus Deus, quare nisi peccata aperiantur Sacerdoti, nec ea ligare nec solvere posset. Et \* quemadmodum Sacratissima tua Majestas, si commissionem aliquibus dedisset audiendi & terminandi negotium aliquod, non possent iudices rem ignorantem nisi negotio coram eis patefacto causam finire, viz. propter culpam litigatorum non comparentium coram eis; sic nec Sacerdotes ligare & solvere possunt peccata quae ignorant. Itaque cum Deus, Sacerdotem velut medicum Spiritualem Ecclesiae dederit, si quis enim sua Vulnera ce'at, ipse sua Culpa perit, cum tamen de salute sua deberet esse sollicitus, sicut Paulus ad Phil. 2. admonet, inquiens, cum metu & tremore Salutem vestram operamini.

## Origenes in Levit. Homilia 2. loquens de Remissionibus Peccatorum.

De sua opini-  
 ne loquens.

Est adhuc & septima, licet dura & laboriosa, per poenitentiam Remissio Peccatorum, cum lavat Peccator Lachrimis stratum suum, & fiunt ei Lachrimae suae Panis die & nocte, & cum non erubescit Sacerdoti Domini indicare Peccatum suum, & quaerere medicinam secundum eum qui ait, \* Dixi pronuntiabo adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, & tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei, in quo impletur & illud quod Jacobus Apostolus dicit, Siquis autem infirmatur, vocet Presbyteros Ecclesiae, & imponant ei manus † ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, & oratio Fidei salvabit infirmum, & si in Peccatis fuerit remittentur ei.

\* Male sentit  
 qui abutitur  
 Scriptura.

† Nunquam is  
 modus unctio-  
 nis in Confes-  
 sione utebatur

## Origenes Homilia 2. in Psal. 37.

Non ait, neces-  
 se est ut confi-  
 teantur, jam  
 de contemptu  
 loquitur.

Intellige mihi fidelem quidem hominem sed tamen infirmum, qui etiam vinci ab aliquo Peccato potuit, & propter hoc mugientem pro delictis suis & omni modo curam vulneris sui sanitatemque requirentem, licet praeventus sit & lapsus, volentem tamen medelam ac salutem reparare; si ergo hujusmodi homo memor delicti sui, confiteatur quae commisit, & humana confusione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, & notant vel irrident, ille autem intelligens per hoc veniam sibi dari, & in die Resurrectionis pro his quibus nunc confunditur coram hominibus, tunc ante Angelos Dei confusionem atque opprobria evasurum, ut nolit tegere & occultare maculam suam, sed pronunciet delictum suum, nec velit esse Sepulchrum dealbatum, quod de foris quidem appareat hominibus speciosum, id est ut videntibus se quasi justus appareat, intus autem sit repletus omni immunditie & ossibus mortuorum.

Et paulo post, Quoniam iniquitatem meam pronuncio. Pronunciationem iniquitatis, id est, confessionem Peccati, frequentius diximus, vide ergo quid edocet nos Scriptura divina, quia oportet Peccatum non celare intrinsecus; fortassis enim sicut ii qui habent intus inclusam escam indigestam,  
 aut

aut humoris, vel phlegmatis stomacho graviter & moleste imminentem si vomuerunt relevantur, ita etiam hi qui peccarunt, si quidem occultant & retinent intra se Peccatum intrinsecus urgentur, & propemodum suffocantur à phlegmate vel humore Peccati: Si autem ipse sui accusator fiat, dum accusat semetipsum, simul evomit & delectum, atq; omnem morbi digerit causam. Tantummodo circumspecte diligentius cui debeas confiteri Peccatum tuum, proba prius medicum cui debeas causam languoris exponere, qui sciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi & compatiendi noverit disciplinam, ut ita demum siquid ille dixerit, qui se prius & eruditum medicum ostenderit & misericordem, siquid Consilii dederit, facias & sequaris, si intellexerit & præviderit talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius Ecclesiæ exponi debeat & curari, ex quo fortassis & cæteri ædificari poterunt, & tu ipse facile sanari, multa hac deliberatione & fatis perito medici illius Consilio procurandum est.

*Cyprianus in Sermone de Lapsis.*

Denique quando & fide majore & timore meliores sunt, qui quamvis nullo Sacrificii aut Libelli facinore constricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud Sacerdotes Dei dolenter & simpliciter confitentur, Exomologesin Conscientiæ faciunt, animi sui pondus exponunt, salutarem medelam parvis licet & modicis vulneribus exquirunt, scientes scriptum esse, Deus non deridetur; derideri & circumveniri Deus non potest, nec astutia aliqua fallente deludi: Plus imo delinquit qui secundum hominem Deum cogitans evadere se pœnam Criminis credit, si non palam Crimen admisit. Christus in præceptis suis dicit, qui confusus me fuerit, confundet eum Filius Hominis, & Christianum se putat qui Christianus esse aut confunditur aut veretur: Quomodo potest esse cum Christo qui ad Christum pertinere aut erubescit aut meruit? minus plane peccaverit non videndo idola, nec sub oculis circumstantis atq; insultantis Populi sanctitatem Fidei profanando; non polluendo manus suas funestis Sacrificiis, nec sceleratis cibus ora maculando; hoc eo proficit ut sit minor Culpa, non ut innocens Conscientia; facilius potest ad veniam Criminis pervenire, non est tamen immunis a Crimine, nec cesset in agenda pœnitentia, atq; in Domini Misericordia deprecanda, ne quod minus esse in qualitate delicti videtur, in neglecta satisfactione cumuletur. Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos fratres, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in sæculo est, dum amitti confessio ejus potest, dum satisfactio & remissio facta per Sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est; convertamur ad Dominum mente tota, & pœnitentiam Criminis veris doloribus exprimentes Dei Misericordiam deprecemur; illi se anima prosternat, illi mœstitia satisfaciat, illi spes omnis incumbat; rogare qualiter debeamus dicit ipse, Revertimini, inquit, ad me ex toto corde vestro, simulq; & jejunio, & fletu, & planctu, & scindite corda vestra & non vestimenta.

Præterea Esaias Peccatorem admonet Cap. 42. secundum 70. inquit, Dic tu prior iniquitates tuas ut justificeris; & Solomon Prov. 18. ait, Justus prior est Accusator sui, atq; ideo ne Satan nos in judicio coram omnibus accuset, nos illum in hac Vita, per priorem confessionem delicti nostri factam aliis prævenire debemus, nam Deum prævenire in nostri accusatione nequimus qui omnia facta nostra jam novit, imo vero antequam fierent ea præcivit; quare Confessio illa necesse est, intelligatur, de extranea confessione facta Dei Ministro qui id ignoravit, nam Deum nihil unquam latuit, non modo jam factum, sed ne futurum quidem quicquam.

*Fateor Cyprianus Confessionem auricularem nobis non plus præcipi quam virginitatem.*

*Si præceptum haberet non persuaderet.*

*Hi omnes suadent, sed non præcipiunt.*

Cum nec cui  
nec tempus  
designatur non  
firmum precep-  
tum datur.

Circa personas verò Ministrorum quibus fieri deberet Confessio, atq; circa tempora Ecclesiæ nonnunquam aliquid immutarunt, & varie pro regionibus statuerunt.

Et ne tuam sollicitudinem, Sacratissima Majestas, circa publicam Regni tui tranquillitatem stabilendam sanctissime occupatam, longa multorum lectione, quæ præter ista afferre possem, remorari videar, plura adjungere superfedebam, illud tantummodo precatus, ut meam hanc scribendi Temeritatem boni consulat, quam ego totam perspicacissimo atq; eruditissimo Majestatis tuæ judicio considerandam pensitandamq; committo. Atq; ita felicissime valeat Sacratissima tua Majestas cujus Regnum & prosperimum & in sæculum diuturnum vobis fore precamur.

XI. *A Letter of King Henry's to Tonstall, Bishop of Durresme, against Auricular Confession being of Divine Institution. An Original.*

Cott. Libr. Since methought (my Lord of *Durham*) that both the Bishops of  
Cleop. E. 5. *York, Winchester,* and your Reasons and Texts were so fully answered this other day, in the house, as to my seeming and supposal, the most of the house was satisfied; I marvelled not a little why est-soons you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other Texts or Reasons than there were declared both by the Bishop of *Canterbury* and me, to make smally or nothing to your intended purpose: But either I esteem that you do it to prove mine simple judgment alone, which indeed doth not much use (tho' not the wisest) to call in aid, the Judgments of other learned Men, and so by my ignorant Answer, seem to win the Field; or else that you be too much blinded in your own Fancy and Judgment, to think that a Truth, which by learning you have not yet proved, nor I fear me cannot by Scriptures, nor any other Directors probable grounds, though I know mine insufficiency in Learning, if the matter were indifferent, and that the Ballance stood equal, since I take the verity of the Cause rather to favorize the part I take than yours, it giveth me therefore great boldness not presuming in Learning, but in justness of the Cause, seeing by writing you have provoked me to it, to make answer to your Arguments: Therefore I begining now to reply to your first Allegation, shall essay to prove, if I can, that your own Author in place by you alledged, maketh plain against your Opinion; for as you alledg him, *St. Chrysoftom* saith, *Quod sufficit solus pudor pro pœna*, then Auricular Confession is not by commandment necessary; for if it were, this word (*Solus*) is by your Author ill set; therefore your Author in this place furdereth you but little. To your *Fallax* Argument, I deny your consequent, founded only upon small Reason, which is the ground of your *Fallax* Argument: which Reason I need not take away, for your alledged Author doth shew too plainly, in his 5. *Homily, Tom. 5.* that you gather wrong sense upon his Words, for he saith, with much more touching this matter, these few Words, *Non hominibus peccata detegere cogo*; Then this other Text before rehearsed, is not to be understood as you will by writing it. Further, me thinketh I need not (God thank you) too greatly study for Authors to conclude your wrong taking of Texts, for those your self alledg serveth me well to purpose: for all your labour is to prove that Auricular Confession were by God commanded, and both your Authorities of *Bede*  
and



and *Paul*, sheweth nothing but that they did confesse their Sins, and yet do not they affirm that it was by commandment; wherefore they make for mine Argument and not for yours. Your other Texts of *John* 21. and *Matthew* 10. were so thoroughly answered this other day, and so manifestly declared not to appertain to our grounded Argument, that I marvel you be not ashamed est-soons to put them in writing, and to found your Argument now so fondly on them; for what sonder Argument can be made to prove thereby a necessity of Confession, than to say, If you confesse not, I cannot forgive? Would a Thief which committeth Felony, think himself obliged by the Law to disclose his Felony, if the Law say no more, but if thou confesse not I cannot forgive thee? Or would Theft the sooner therefore be forgiven? This is matter so apparent, that none can but perceive except he would not see. As touching *Origen's* places by you alledged; as the first, in *Leviticum*, sheweth that we be as much bound *lavare stratum Lacrimis, as dicere Sacerdoti*, which no Man, I think, will affirm that we be bound to do; and yet he affirmeth not that any of them is commanded: The Text also whereby ye would approve his so saying, doth not yet speak *quod pronuntiabo justitiam meam Sacerdoti*, but *Domino*: The other of *James* seemeth better to make for extream Unction, than for Confession; for when was ever the use, that Folk comming only to Confession, were wont to be anointed with Oil, therefore this makes nothing to your Argument. As touching *Origen* in *Psal.* 37. he saith not *quod obligamur dicere Sacerdoti*, but *si confiteantur*; and seemeth rather to perswade Men that they should not *parvi pendere Confessionem*, (as all good Folk would) than that they were obliged to confesse them to a Priest. Though *Cyprian de Lapsis*, doth praise them which do confesse their Faults to Priests, yet doth he confesse that we be not bound to do so; for he saith in the highest of his praise these Words, *How much be they then higher in Faith, and better in Fear of God, which though they be not bound by any Deed of Sacrifice, or Book, yet be they content sorrowfully to confesse to the Priest Sins!* He knowledgeth no bond in us by neither fact of Sacrifice or Libel, why alledg you (tho he praise Auricular Confession) that we should be bound by God and Law thereto? This is no proof thereof, neither by Reason nor by Scripture, nor any good Authority. And whereas he saith further, *Confiteantur singuli, quaso vos fratres, delictum suum*; this doth not argue a Precept; nor yet the saying of *Esay*, cap. 43. *secundum Septuaginta*; nor *Solomon* in the *Proverbs* 10. for these speak rather of knowledging our Offence to God in our Heart, than of Auricular Confession; after *David* the Prophet's saying and teaching, when he said, *Tibi soli peccavi*, that was not to a Priest. By the Text also which you alledg, begining, *circa personas vero Ministrorum, &c.* you do openly confesse that the Church hath non accepted Auricular Confession to be by God's Commandment; or else by your saying and Allegation, they have long erred; for you confesse that the Church hath divers times changed, both to whom Confession should be made, and times when; and that also they have changed divers Ways for divers Regions; if it were by God's Commandment they might not do thus: Wherefore, my Lord, since I hear no other Allegations, I pray you blame not me tho I be not of your Opinion; and of the both, I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your Authors and Allegations make so little to your purpose. And thus far you well.

XII. *A Definition of the Church, corrected in the Margent  
by King Henry's own Hand. An Original.*

*De Ecclesia.*

Cott. Libr. **E**cclesia præter alias acceptiones in Scripturis duas habet præcipuas:  
Cleop. E. 5. Unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione Sanctorum & vere  
fidelium qui Christo capiti vere credunt, & Sanctificantur Spiritu ejus  
hæc autem una est, & vere Sanctum Corpus Christi sed soli Deo \* cog-  
nitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est, qua Ec-  
clesia accipitur pro Congregatione omnium Hominum qui baptizati sunt  
in Christo, & non palam abnegarint Christum, nec sunt † excommuni-  
cati ||: Quæ Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus Statui in hac vita duntaxat,  
ubi habet malos bonis simul admixtos (a), & debet esse cognita per  
Verbum & Legitimum usum Sacramentorum ut possit audiri; sicut do-  
cet Christus, Qui Ecclesiam non audiret. Porro ad veram unitatem Ec-  
clesiæ, requiritur ut sit consensus in recta Doctrina Fidei & administra-  
tione Sacramentorum.

\* Sponsus Chri-  
sti cognita.

† Juste.  
hæc autem obstinati.  
(a) Et cognitio  
hujus Ecclesiæ  
pervenit per u-  
sum Verbi &  
Sacramento-  
rum, acceptione,  
perfecta, unita-  
te, ac unanimi  
consensu accep-  
tata.

\* Modo recto-  
ribus placeant  
quibus semper  
obtemperandum  
est, Sic tamen  
ut eorum jussu  
atq; Lex Verbo  
Dei non adver-  
setur.

† Ista est Eccle-  
sia nostra Catho-  
lica & Apostoli-  
ca, cum qua nec  
Pontifex Ro-  
manus, nec

Traditiones vero & Ritus atq; Cæremoniæ quæ vel ad Decorum, vel  
Ordinem, vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt iustitutæ, non om-  
nino necesse est, ut eadem sint ubiq; aut profus similes: Hæ enim &  
variæ fuere & variari possunt \* pro regionum atq; morum diversitate &  
commodo †, sic tamen ut sint consentientes Verbo Dei: & quamvis in  
Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti, atq;  
etiam Ministeriis Verbi & Sacramentorum nonnunquam præsent, tamen  
cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato & autoritate, li-  
cet eorum Ministerio uti tam in verbo audiendo quam recipiendis Sacra-  
mentis, juxta illud, Qui vos audit me audit; nec por eorum malitiam  
imminuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus,  
sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem & ordinationem Christi etiam  
per malos exhibeantur.

quiquis aliquis Prælatus aut Pontifex, habet quicquid agere præterquam in suas Dioceses.

*The end of the Addenda.*

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