

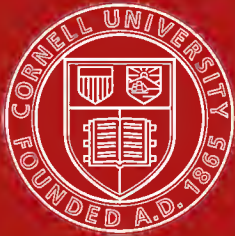




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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PART I.
OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN IT DURING THE
REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY
GILBERT BURNET, D.D.
LATE LORD BISHOP OF SARUM.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. I.



OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCXVI.

TO THE
K I N G.

SIR,

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 disseized by the craft and violence of an unjust Pretender: to whom the Clergy, though your Majesty's 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 forbade men to use all those arts by which the papacy grew up, and yet subsists : 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 easy 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 ourselves, 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 overrun in the latter and darker ages.

GREAT SIR, this work was carried on by a slow and unsteady progress under King Henry the Eighth; 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 Majesty's blessed father, who fell with it, and honoured it by his unexampled suffering for it; and was again restored to its former beauty and order, by your Majesty's happy return.

What remains to complete 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 landmarks 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 complete 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.

THE
P R E F A C E.

THERE is no part of history better received 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 concerned, 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 em-

ployed their best pens, rather to justify what they did, than to deliver how it was done; or whether by a mere 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 men's 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 provoked by Sanders's history, which he published to the world in Latin: yet, either despising a writer, who did so impudently deliver falsehoods, 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 inquired 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 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 looked 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 complete 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 clothes 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 public, 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 handsomely, his method and style 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 he 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 vouched any authority for what he writ, which is 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 most 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 unfitness 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 easy for me to bear. My acquaintance with the most ingenious Master William Petyt, counsellor of the Inner Temple, cleared one difficulty; he of-

fering me his assistance and direction, without which I must have committed great faults. But I must acknowledge myself 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 forborne. 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 myself 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 public records and offices, the Parliament and Treaty Rolls, with all the 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 show nothing like it. I had also the favour of some MSS. of great value, both from the famous and eminently learned Doctor Stillingfleet, who gave me great assistance in this work, and from Mr. Petyt and others. When I had looked 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 looked 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 public registers of that time, yet I am still in the dark myself 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 lie, 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 meddled, 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 wondered 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 eurolling 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 practised in the church of Rome; but it might have been imagined, that public registers and records would have been safe; yet, lest 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. Paul's, 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 Pope's Holiness, and the see apostolic, 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 empowered to cite any persons before them, and examine them upon the premises upon oath, and to bring all such writings before them, and certify 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 in the History.

It will surprise 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 Sixth, 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 eighteen 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 easy thing to serve him ; for being boisterous and impatient naturally, which was much heightened 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 controversies ; 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 Cromwel 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 burden 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 relics, by forging of miracles, and other like impostures, drawn together a vast wealth, to the enriching of their saints, of whom some perhaps were damned 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 dependence 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 completed it in five years time. With these fell the superstition of images, relics, 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 every national church was a complete body within itself: 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 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 King's design seemed to have been to terrify 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 life's end more Papist than Protestant.

There are two prejudices, which men have generally drunk in against that time. The one is, from the King's 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 public 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 extreme old, 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 extreme severity to all Cardinal's Pool's family : his cruel using, first Cromwel, and afterwards the Duke of Norfolk and his son, besides his unexampled proceedings against some of his wives ; and that

which was worst 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 King's 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 lewd 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 was false to the highest degree ; a vice which cannot be charged on this King ; and Paul the Third was a vile and lewd 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 Adrian 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 showed 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 supreme Creator and Governor 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 complete, 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 King's 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 quieted without blood; and that a mighty Prince, who was victorious almost in all his undertakings, Charles the Fifth, 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 servilely 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 prevaricated 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 show the base compliances of some, even of the best of their popes; as Gregory the Great, whose congratulations to the usurper Phocas are a strain of the meanest and undecentest flattery that ever was put in writing; and his compliments 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 enlightened, 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 reformations about the mass, though they judged them necessary to be done as soon as was possible, yet they had not so full a persuasion of the necessity of these, as to think it a sin not to do them. The Prophet's 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 uneasy 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 human 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 assertors of the faith, we must conclude them to have been nothing inferior to any that can be charged on Cranmer; whom if we consider narrowly, we shall find as eminent virtues, 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 resent-

ment of his former frailty, with a pitch of constancy of mind above the rate of modern examples.

But their virtues, 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 worse in the conclusion.

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OF
THE FIRST PART.

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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 extinguished, 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 father's reign they were rather cemented and joined than united; whose great partiality to the house of

BOOK I.
King Henry's succession to the crown, Apr. 22, 1509.

BOOK 1. 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 universally 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 domestic broils had so long excluded them.

He proceeds against Dudley and Empson. ^a Hall says, the same day. Lord Herbert says, the day following. 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 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 outdid 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 BOOK he proceeded according to law; all the other inferior I. 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 master's 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 Hall. father's 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 He holds a parliament, Jan. 21, 1510. 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 other Aug. 18. 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 extreme commonly produces another, so his father's covetousness led him to be prodigal; and the vast wealth which was left him, being reckoned no less than 1,800,000*l.* was in three years dissipated, as if the son in his expence had His great expence. vied industry with his father in all his thrift.

BOOK 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 father's sparingness.

I.

But this in the beginning of the Prince's 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 King's bounty, that he was every where much magnified, though his expence proved afterwards heavier to the subject, than ever his father's avarice had been.

His affairs
beyond sea.

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 maxim 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 arbiter. His first action was against France, which by the accession of the dutchy of Britain, through his father's oversight, 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

A war with
France.

willingly joined themselves in the quarrel. The kingdom of Spain being also then united, conquered Navarre, 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 Tournay; the former he

Aug. 24.
and Oct. 2,
1513.

demolished, the latter he kept: and in these exploits **BOOK**
 he had an unusual honour done him, which though it I.
 was a slight thing, yet was very pleasant to him; Max-
 imilian the Emperor taking pay in his army, amounting
 to a hundred crowns a day, and upon all public solem-
 nities giving the King the precedence.

The peace between England and France was made Aug. 7,
1514. a
 firmer by Lewis the French King's marrying Mary the peace, and a
 King's sister; but he dying soon after, new counsels match with
 were to be taken. Francis, who succeeded, did in the France,
 beginning of his reign court this King with great offers Oct. 9.
 to renew the peace with him, which was accordingly Lewis dies
 done. Afterward Francis falling in with all his force Jan. 1,
1515.
 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 re-
 signing 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 Lady Mary
 and the Lady Mary the King's daughter, and Tourney betrothed to
 was delivered up to the French again. the Dol-
phin, Oct.
8, 1518.

But now Charles, Archduke of Austria by his father,
 and heir to the house of Burgundy by his grandmother,
 and to the crown of Spain by his mother, began to
 make a great figure in the world; and his grandfather
 Maximilian dying, Francis and he were corrivals for Emperor
 the empire: but Charles being preferred in the com- dies, Jan.
12, 1519.
 petition, there followed, what through personal animos- Charles
 ities, what through reason of state, and a desire of con- electd,
June 28.
 quest, 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

BOOK eclipsed most other princes about them, so they raised

I.

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

1520.

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 the effects he feared from it, resolved to outdo the French King in the compliment, and without any treaty or previous assurances

The Em-
peror comes
to England,
May 26.

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 uneasy 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

June 7.

that the following interview between Francis and him produced nothing but a vast expence and high compli-

ments: 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 entered into a league with the former, and made war upon France.

But the Pope dying sooner than it seems the Emperor looked 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 public 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 been fallen 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 compliments 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 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 100,000 pounds.

BOOK I.

July 10.
A second war with France.

Leo X. dies, Dec. 1, 1521.

Adrian chosen Pope, Jan. 9, 1522.

He died Sept. 14, 1523.

Clement VII. chosen, Nov. 19.

1522.

Emperor landed at Dover, May 26.

The Emperor contracted to the King's daughter, June 19.

BOOK I. The war went on with great success on the Emperor's 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 joining with Francis, 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 public 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, joined 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.

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 Colonnas, being of the Imperial faction, with 3000 men entered Rome, and sacked 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 entered 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 creation of fourteen cardinals for money) having raised 300,000 ducats, he disowned the treaty, and gave the kingdom of Naples to Count Vaudemont, whom he sent with forces to subdue it: but the Duke of Bour-

BOOK
I.
Mar. 18,
1526.

The Cle-
mentine
League,
May 22,
1526.

Sept. 20.

1527.

BOOK I. bon prevented him, and went to Rome; and giving the assault, in which himself received his mortal wound, the city was taken by storm, and plundered for several days, about 5000 being killed. The Pope with seventeen cardinals fled to the Castle of St. Angelo, but was forced to render his person, and to pay 400,000 ducats to the army.

Rome taken
and sacked,
May 16.

This gave great offence to all the princes of Christendom, except the Lutherans of Germany; but none resented 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 owed 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 a war against the Emperor, when he began first to move about his divorce.

July 11.

Dec. 9.

The King's
success
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 go-

Sept. 9,
1513.

vernment 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 it is 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.

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 choose a wise council, partly out of those whom his father had trusted, partly out of those that were recommended to him by his grandmother, 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 herself, but the satisfaction of being mother to a king. She was a wise and religious woman, and died soon after her grandson came to the crown. There

BOOK

I.

His coun-
sels at
home.

BOOK was a faction in the council between Fox Bishop of
I. 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 easy 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.

Jan. 21,
1510.

Feb. 4,
1512.

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 Apostolic 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, Archbishop 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 counsellor, and frequently admitted to the King's presence, and waited on him over to

Cardinal
Wolsey's
rising.

France. The King liked him well, which he so managed that he quickly engrossed the King's favour to himself, and for fifteen 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 counsellors would, according to the office of good counsellors, divers times persuade 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 counselled the King to leave his pleasures, and to attend his affairs, so busily did the Almoner persuade 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 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 fourteenth and fifteenth year, and no more till the one and twen-

BOOK
I.Caven-
dish's Life
of Wolsey,
MSS. in
Biblioth.
Nob. D. G.
Pierpoint.

BOOK tieth, when matters were turning about : but he raised
 I. 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 public, 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.

Oct. 1513.

^a Rest. temp.
 4. Mar.
 5. Regni,
 1. part.
 Rot. Pat.
^b Nov. 6.
 Regni,
 1. part.
 R. P.
^c Aug. 28.
 10. Regni,
 1. part.
 R. P.
^d Dec. 7.
 13. Regni,
 3. part.
 R. P.
^e Apr. 30.
 15. Reg.
 2. part.
 R. P.
^f 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 ^a 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 Archbishop of ^b York ; then Hadrian, that was a Cardinal and Bishop of Bath and Wells, being deprived, that ^c see was given to him ; then the abbey of ^d St. Alban's was given to him *in commendam* : he next parted with Bath and Wells, and got the bishoprick of ^e Duresme, which he afterwards exchanged for the bishoprick of ^f 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 seventh 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 seventh to the twenty-fifth 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 entered in the journals, are sermons begun with a text of Scripture; which he expounded and applied 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 dexterously, 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 jealousy rather than guilt: this shewed how dexterous a man he was, that could stand so long in that employment under such a King.

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

BOOK Viscount Lisle, and some months after Duke of Suffolk.

I. Nor was he less in the ladies' favours, than the King's ;
 May 15. for his sister the Lady Mary liked him, and being but
 5. Reg. so long married to King Lewis of France, as to make
 1. Part. Rot. her Queen Dowager of France, she resolved to choose
 Pat. her second husband herself, 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 be-
 tween 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 declara-
 tion he was like to meet with no great difficulty from
 Apr. 1515. her. So they were married, and the King was easily
 pacified, and received them into favour ; neither did his
 Lady Mary favour die with her, for it continued all his life : but he
 died June never meddled much in business, and, by all that ap-
 23, 1533. pears, was a better courtier than statesman. Little
 needs be said of any other person more than will after-
 wards occur.

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 public dis-
 contents. 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
 Fitzroy, whom in the seventeenth 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.

June 17.
 18. Reg.
 Rot. Pat.

Duke of
 Richmond
 died June
 23, 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 fourteenth and fifteenth of his reign, the demand of the subsidy towards the war with France being so high as 800,000*l.* the fifth of men's 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 three shillings 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 nineteenth 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.

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 Seventh, though illiterate himself, yet took care to have his children instructed in

He was
bred a
scholar.

BOOK good letters. And it generally passes current, that he
I.
 bred his second son a scholar, having designed him to be Archbishop 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 twenty-eighth 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 Seventh 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 dexterously with the Cardinal, which BOOK did much intercept the King's favour to them ; so that ^{I.} the one left England, and the other was but coarsely used in it, who has sufficiently revenged himself upon the Cardinal's 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 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 churchmen 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 nineteenth year of his reign, he could scarce have escaped being canonized, notwithstanding all his faults ; for he abounded in those virtues which had given saintship to kings for near a thousand years together, and had done more than they all did, by writing a book for the Roman faith.

BOOK I. England had for above three hundred 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 King's 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 expedited 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 Seventh his reign, of Cardinal Adrian's being invested in the bishoprick of Bath and Wells. So that upon the matter the Kings

The King's prerogative in ecclesiastical matters.

Custodia temporalitatis.

Restitutio temporalitatis.

Collect. Numb. 1.

then disposed of all bishopricks, keeping that still in BOOK their own hands which made them most desired in I. 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 passed 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 sixteenth of Richard the Second against the Pope's pretended power in England.

Licence to
the Prior of
Peterburg.
Novemb. 3.
1. part. 5^o
Reg. Rot.
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.

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

A contest
about the
ecclesiasti-
cal immu-
nity. Keil-
way's Re-
ports.

BOOK
I. 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 provisos 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 provisos it was unanimously assented to by the Lords on the twenty-sixth of January, 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 inferior 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 seventh 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 incurred 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, BOOK
with all the judges, and the King's temporal council. I.

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 public 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 the trying of clerks in the civil courts was a sin in itself.* 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 tried 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 one thousand years before Christ; and he said these words had no relation to the

BOOK I. 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

Madeclerk,
Oct. 29.
1. Reg. Rot.
Pat. Part.
1^o.

*Journal
procerum 7
Hen. VIII.
Dissolutum
et finitum
fuit hoc
parliamen-
tum 22
Dec. 1515.*

*Johanne Ty-
lor, juris
pontificii
Doct., Cle-
rico parlia-
mentorum
Domini Re-
gis : et eo-
dem tempore
Prolocutore
Convocatio-
nis Cleri,
quod raro
accidit. In
hoc parlia-
mento et con-
vocatione
periculosissi-
mæ seditio-
nes exortæ
sunt inter
clerum et*

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 friar, 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 heresy on him; and understanding that he had Wick-

liff's Bible, upon that he was attached of heresy, 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 sounding 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 suit in the King's courts, they used him most cruelly. On the fourth of December he was found hanged 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 hanged 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.

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 heresy; 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

BOOK
I.

*secularem
potestatem
super liber-
tatis Ec-
clesiasticis,
quodam fra-
tre minore,
nomine
Standish,
omnium
malorum
ministro as
stimulatore.*
Hall and
Fox.

Hunne
hanged in
prison,

BOOK judged an heretic, and his body delivered to the secular
I. power. When judgment was given, the Bishops of
 Duresme and Lincoln, with many doctors both of di-
 vinity and the canon law, sat with the Bishop of Lon-
 don; so that it was looked on as an act of the whole
 clergy, and done by common consent. On the twen-
 tieth of December his body was burnt at Smithfield.

And his bo-
 dy burned,
 Dec. 20,
 1514.

But this produced an effect very different from what
 was expected; for it was hoped that he being found an
 heretic, nobody should appear for him any more: where-
 as, 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 in-
 clined to follow any body who spoke against them, and
 every one looked 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 he-
 resy. 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, BOOK I. that Hunne had hanged himself, that the inquest were false perjured caitiffs, and if they proceeded further, he could not keep his house for heretics; so that the bill which was sent up by the Commons was but once read April 3. in the House of Lords, 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 counsel. 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 counsel; 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

BOOK mind to lose any part of his temporal jurisdiction, and
I. 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 chapel, 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-Friars, 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 expressed 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 sense are sacred, and in another they are not sacred*. For the second and fourth, he confessed he had taught them, and was ready to justify 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 churchmen being *spiritual fathers*, 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 inferior 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 virtue 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 celibate 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 man's interest, for the commonwealth of the whole realm was chiefly to be looked at, and to be preferred to all other things.

When the matter was thus argued on both sides, all

BOOK the judges delivered their opinions in these words :

I.

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 friar do alone, against all the bishops and clergy of England? After a short silence the Archbishop of Canterbury said, That in former times divers holy fathers of the church had opposed the execution of that law, and some of them suffered martyrdom in the quarrel. To whom Fineux, 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 tried, or it was only in the temporal court; so that either clerks must do as they please, or be tried 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 superior, 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 Archbishop 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 Horsey, the Bishop of London's Chancellor, he did abscond in the Archbishop's house; though it was pretended he was a prisoner there, till afterwards a temper was found that Horsey should render himself a prisoner in the King's Bench, and be tried. 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 re-

BOOK
 I. referred to a jury ; since he said the citizens of London did so favour heresy, 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 Horsey to the bar, ordered the Attorney to do so. And accordingly, when Horsey was brought to the bar and indicted 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 King's Bench, since there was no 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 people's minds, and to have disposed them much to the changes that followed afterwards. How these things were entered in the books of Convocation, cannot be now known. For among the other sad losses sustained in the late burn-

ing of London, this was one, that almost all the registers of the spiritual courts were burnt, some few of the Archbishops 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.

This was the only thing in the first eighteen 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 Archbishop 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 pacy 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 catholic church as had not been for several of the later ages in the western church: in which a few bishops, packed out of several kingdoms, and many Italian bishops, with a vast number of abbots, priors, and other inferior dignified clergymen, were brought to confirm together whatever the Popes had a mind to enact; which passing easily among them, was sent over the

BOOK
I.

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

Treaty Rolls 3. Reg.

19 April, 1512.

BOOK world with a stamp of sacred authority, as the decrees
I. and decisions of the holy Universal Church assembled
 in a general council.

Octob. 11,
 1521.
 Ld. Her-
 bert.

Nor was there a worse understanding between this King and Pope Leo the Tenth, that succeeded Julius, who did also compliment him with those papal presents of roses, and at his desire made Wolsey 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 Luther,) in a pompous letter signed by the Pope, and twenty-seven 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 easy 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 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.

A bull for
 reforming
 the clergy,
 10 June,
 1519. Ld.
 Herbert,
 and article
 29. of his
 impeach-
 ment.

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 dispense 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 public 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.

He did also affect a magnificence and greatness, not only in his habit, (being the first clergyman 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 inferior 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 of it by some, who advised him

BOOK
I.
The Cardinal's pride.
Polydore
Virgil.

He designs
a reformation.

BOOK rather to suppress monasteries by the Pope's authority,
 I. than proceed in a method which would raise great
 And a sup-pression of monaste-ries. 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 calling of convocations.

Collect. Numb. 3.

Collect. Numb. 4.

Regist. Tonst. fol. 33, 34.

The summoning of convocations he assumed by virtue 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 archbishops for calling a convocation of their provinces; the style 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 day; requiring them only to be summoned to meet with all convenient speed; and the archbishops, having the King's pleasure signified to them, did in their writs prefix the day. Other convocations were called by the archbishops in their 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 twentieth of April. But the Cardinal prevailed so far with the King, that, on the second 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 Can-

terbury 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 heretics: 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 it 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

BOOK a precedent, a clause was put in the act, *that it should*
I. *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 year's rent in the same time: out of which number were excepted the Bishop of Worcester and Landaffe, Polydore Virgil, Peter the Carmelite, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Silvester Darius, and Peter Vannes, who were to pay only as natives did. This increased 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.

Collect.
Numb. 5.

Of the state
of the mo-
nasteries.

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 Archbishop 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 VI^{to} on St. Innocent's day, signed by the King, the Queen, two archbishops, five bishops, six abbots, (but neither bishoprick nor abbey are named,) six dukes, and five knights; but there is no seal to it. It bears, that the King, with the counsel and consent of his princes and gentry, did confirm and establish that priory; and that

Rot. Pat.
11. Hen.
VIII. Par. 1.

he had erected forty-seven monasteries, which he intended to increase to fifty, 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 chastely and canonically.

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 every where 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 heresy, 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 looked 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 pre-

The Cardinal's colleges.

BOOK bends into canons regular; the endowed goods being
 I. 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 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 third of April, 1524, Pope Clement by a bull gave him authority to suppress the monastery of St. Frideswide in Oxford, and in the diocese of Lincoln, and to carry the monks elsewhere, with a very full *non obstante*. To this the King gave his assent the nineteenth 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 eighteenth year, and that at Ipswich in the twentieth year of the King's reign, as appears by the dates of the King's patents for founding them.

The bull and royal assent.
 15. Reg.
 2. Part. Rot.
 Pat.

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 nineteenth year of the King's reign.

The first beginning of reformation 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 BOOK
I. 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 joined 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 public 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.

In the primitive church, though in their councils they were not backward to pass anathematisms on every thing that they judged heresy, yet all capital proceedings against heretics were condemned; and The cruelties of the church of Rome.

BOOK when two bishops did prosecute Priscillian and his
I. 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 heretics, 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 heretics or schismatics, 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 inferior punishments, they were always interposing, to moderate the severity of the prefects and governors. The first instance of severity on men's 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 anathematize the council of Chalcedon) to be cut out. In the eighth century, Justinian the Second (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 twelfth, and in the beginning of the thirteenth 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 public worship, separated from their assemblies; BOOK
and then Dominick and his brethren-preachers, who I.
came among them to convince them, finding their
preaching did not prevail, betook themselves to that
way that was sure to silence them. They persuaded
the civil magistrates to burn all such as were judged
obstinate heretics. That they might do this by a law,
the fourth council of Lateran did decree, that all he-
retics 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 inquisitor's 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
heretic: *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 ge-
neral 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.

Burning was the death they made choice of, because
witches, wizards, and sodomites had been so executed.
Therefore, to make heresy 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

Fitz-Her-
bert De
Nat. Bre-
vium.

BOOK
 I. 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 virtue 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 easy to disprove what they said, people believed the one, as they saw the other sentence executed. So that whatever they condemned as heresy was looked on as the worst thing in the world.

The laws of
 England
 against
 heretics.

Under
 Richard II.

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 stopped the proceedings against him. But in the fifth 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 Archbishop 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 Chancellor 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.

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 Chancellor, sent this, with the other acts of that parliament, to be proclaimed. The writ bears date the twenty-sixth of May, 5^{to} Reg. But in the next parliament that was held in the sixth 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; 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 Second was deposed, and the crown usurped by Henry the Fourth, 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 second 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 Catholic faith; with*

BOOK
I.

Coke's In-
stitutes,
3. part,
chap. 5. of
heresy.

6^{to} Rich.
II. 1. Part.
Numb. 52.
Rot. Parl.

Another
law under
King Hen-
ry IV.

BOOK I. *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 catholic faith, or the determination of the holy church, and that none should favour and abet them, nor keep their books, but deliver them to the diocesan of the place, within forty 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 publicly 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 mayors, 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 heretics 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 combu-**

rendo, upon what grounds of law I cannot tell. For in BOOK
 the same year, when William Sautre (who was the first I.
 that was put to death upon the account of heresy) was
 judged relapse by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Can-
 terbury, in a convocation of his province, and there-
 upon 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 Eighth I have not been able
 to find any of these writs in the rolls. But by War-
 ham's register I see the common course of the law was,
 to certify into the chancery the conviction of an he-
 retic, 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 Fourth. But in the beginning of his
 son's reign, there was a conspiracy (as was pretended)
 by Sir John Oldcastle, and some others, against the
 King and the clergy; upon which many were put into
 prison, and twenty-nine were both attainted of treason,
 and condemned of heresy, 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 pretend-
 ed, produced a severe act against those heretics, who
 were then best known by the name of Lollards. By
 which act all officers of state, judges, justices of the
 peace, mayors, 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

Fitz-Herbert's *Natura Bre-
 vium.*

Hall.

BOOK held in *fee simple*, and their goods and chattels to the
I. 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 heresy, and vexed with imprisonments, and articles were brought against him.

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 heresy, 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 heresy, then by consequences they studied to fasten it on them, but were sometimes overruled by the judges. Thus, when one Keyser (who was excommunicated by Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the suit of another) said openly, that *That sentence was not to be feared*; for though the Archbishop, or his commissary had excommunicated him, *yet he was not excommunicated before God*; he was upon this committed by the Archbishop's warrant, as one justly suspected of heresy: 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

Fifth year
of Edward
IV.

prison, and brought his action of false imprisonment BOOK against Vaughan. Whereupon Vaughan pleading the I. statute of Henry the Fourth, and that his opinion was an heresy against the determination of the catholic 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 heresy.* So that the judges, looking on themselves as the interpreters of the law, thought, that even in the case of heresy they had authority to declare what was heresy 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 heretics in the beginning of this reign.

On the second of May, in the year 1511, six men and four women, most of them being of Tenterden, appeared before Archbishop Warham, in his manor of Knoll, and abjured the following errors. First, That in the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ, but material bread. Secondly, That the sacraments of baptism and confirmation are not necessary nor profitable for men's souls. Thirdly, That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest. Fourthly, That there is no more power given by God to a priest than to a layman. Fifthly, That the solemnization of matrimony is not profitable nor necessary for the well of man's soul. Sixthly, That the sacrament of extreme unction is not profitable nor necessary for man's soul. Seventhly, That pilgrimages to holy and devout places be not profitable, neither meritorious for man's soul. Eighthly, That images of saints be not to be worshipped. Ninthly, That a man should pray to no saint, but only to God. Tenthly, That holy water and holy bread be not the better after the benediction made

Warham's
proceedings
against he-
retics.
Regist.
Warham,
fol. 164.

BOOK by the priest, than before. And as they abjured these
 I. — 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 sate again the fifth of May, and the Archbishop enjoined them penance, to wear the badge of a fagot in flames on their clothes 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 fagot on their shoulders: which was looked on as a public confession that they deserved burning.

That same day another of Tenterden abjured the same doctrines. On the fifteenth of May the court sate at Lambeth, where four men and one woman abjured. On the nineteenth four men more abjured. On the third of June a man and a woman abjured. Another woman the twenty-sixth of July. Another man the twenty-ninth of July. Two women on the second of August. A man on the third, and a woman on the eighth of August. Three men on the sixteenth of August; and three men and a woman on the third of September. 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: First, That the images of the crucifix, of our Lady, and other saints, ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with men's hands, and were but stocks and stones. Secondly, 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 enjoined them. BOOK
I.
 Others met with harder measure; for on the twenty-ninth of April, in the same year 1511, one William Carder of Tenterden being indicted 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 heretic, and he was delivered up to the secular power. On the same day a woman, Agnes Grevill, was indicted 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 Fourth, one John Ive had persuaded 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 indicted, and pleading Not guilty, witnesses did prove the articles against him. And on the second of May sentence was given against these two as obstinate heretics. And the same day the Archbishop 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 leave the fore-mentioned heretics, and every one of them, to your Royal Highness, and to your secular council.* And on the eighth of May, John Brown

BOOK and Edward Walker, being also indicted of heresy on
 I. the former points, they both pleaded Not guilty. But the witnesses deposing against them, they were judged obstinate heretics ; and the former a relapse, for he had abjured before Cardinal Morton. And on the nineteenth 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 to 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 heresy : 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 heretic 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 indicted abjured. And in the year 1512, on the fifth 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 fourth and thirteenth of September, two other women abjured the former articles : and this is all that is in Warham's register about heretics.

Fitz-James, Bishop of London, his proceedings against heretics, 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 indicted 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 virtue of the sacrament of the altar, when the priest was not in clean life, and saying, BOOK
I.
 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 herself 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 particulars 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 Potter was indicted 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

BOOK dispose people to receive the writings which came after-
I. wards out of Germany.

The pro-
gress of
Luther's
doctrine.

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 extreme 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 joined to their true works, which critics 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 BOOK
ages; and in the last four, the restless ambition and I.

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 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 looked 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 one hundred and fifty years: between which opinions, and the doctrines of the reformers, there was great affinity;

BOOK and therefore, to give the better vent to the books that
 I. came out of Germany, many of them were translated
 into the English tongue, and were very much read and
 applauded. This quickened the proceedings against
 the Lollards, and the inquiry became so severe, that
 great numbers were brought into the toils of the bi-
 shops 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 bishop's officers; and if
 any taught their children the Lord's 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 fourth of April.
 Fox. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, was very cruel to all that
 were suspected of heresy in his diocese: several of
 them abjured, and some were burnt.

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 people's 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 Lu-
 ther, 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 mag-
 nified 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 emperors 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 commen-
 dation. But Luther was not at all daunted at it, but
 rather valued himself upon it, that so great a King had
 entered the lists with him, and answered his book.
 And he replied, not without a large mixture of acri-
 mony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting
 that great respect that is due to the persons of sove-
 reign 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 bi-
 shop in his diocese, bearing that some of Luther's fol-
 lowers had erroneously translated the New Testament,
 and had corrupted the word of God, both by a false
 translation, and by heretical glosses: therefore they re-
 quired all incumbents to charge all within their pa-
 rishes, that had any of these, to bring them into the
 Vicar-General within thirty days after that premonition,
 under the pains of excommunication, and incurring the
 suspicion of heresy. There were also many other books
 prohibited at that time, most of them written by Tin-
 dal. And Sir Thomas More, who was a man celebrated
 for virtue and learning, undertook the answering of some
 of those; but, before he went about it, he would needs
 have the bishop's 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 preach-
 ers; not without great cruelty when he came into
 power, though he was otherwise a very good-natured

BOOK
 I.

Octob. 13.
 Reg. Tonst.
 fol. 45.
 with which
 that in Fox
 agrees ex-
 actly.

Collect.
 Numb. 6.

BOOK man. So violently did the Roman clergy hurry all
 I. 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 heretics. 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 heresy 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 process 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 process, 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 human infirmity, what through the great BOOK
importunity of the Bishop of London, who set all his I.
friends on him, he did abjure on the seventh of December, as Arthur had done on the second of that month. And though Bilney was relapsed, and so was to expect no mercy by the law, yet the Bishop of London enjoined him penance, and let him go. For Tonstall being a man both of good learning and an unblemished life, these virtues 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. Geoffrey, Loni, and Thomas Gerrard, also abjured for having had Luther's books, and defending his opinions.

These were the proceedings against heretics 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 eighteen 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.

The end of the first Book.

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.

KING Henry hitherto lived at ease, and enjoyed his pleasures; he made war with much honour, and that **BOOK II.** 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 domestic trouble arose, which perplexed all the rest of his government, and drew after it consequences of a higher nature.

Henry the Seventh, upon wise and good considerations, resolved to link himself in a close confederacy

BOOK II. with Ferdinand and Isabella, Kings of Castile and Aragon, 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, that was then Duke of Burgundy, and Earl of Flanders; out of which arose a triple 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 200,000 ducats, 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.

^{1501.}
The marriage of Prince Arthur to the Infanta of Spain.

The Infanta was brought into England, and on the fourteenth of November was married at St. Paul's to the Prince of Wales. They lived together as man and wife till the second of April following; and not only had 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 hastened by his too early marriage. The Spanish ambassador had by his master's orders 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 six

See the depositions of witnesses in Lord Herbert.

Prince Arthur his death, Apr. 2, 1502.

Bacon's Henry VII.

months. And he was not created Prince of Wales till ten months were elapsed, viz. in the February following, when it was apparent that his brother's 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 Seventh 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 Seventh were Warham, Archbishop 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 persuaded 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 twenty-sixth of December, 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 carnal 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 catholic kings, did absolve*

BOOK
II.

1501.

Consultations about a second marriage of the Infanta to his brother.

Warham's deposition in Ld. Herbert.

It is allowed by the Pope, Collections, Numb. 1.

BOOK II. *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 enjoin them some healthful penance for their having married before the dispensation was obtained.*

1501.

Upon political reasons. Ld. Herbert.

It was not much to be wondered 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 Twelfth, the French King, would have done any thing to make an alliance against him firmer; so he was a warlike Pope, who 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 overruling 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.

Henry protests against it, June 27, 1505.

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 public 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

Collect. Num. 2. Morison.

“not confirm that marriage, but retracted and annulled BOOK
 “it, and would not proceed in it, but intended in full II.
 “form of law to void it and break it off; which he de- 1505.
 “clared he did freely and of his own accord.”

Thus it stood during his father's life, who continued His father
 to the last to be against it; and when he was just dy- also dis-
 ing, he charged his son to break it off, though it is suaded it.
 possible that no consideration of religion might work so
 much on him, as the apprehension he had of the trou-
 bles 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. Apr. 22,
 The King being dead, one of the first things that came 1509. King
 under consultation was, that the young King must ei- Henry VII.
 ther break his marriage totally, or conclude it. dies.
 Arguments were brought on both hands; but those for it
 prevailed most with the King: so, six weeks after he Henry, be-
 came to the crown, he was married again publicly, and coming to
 soon after they were both crowned. They are the crown,
 On the first day of the year she made him a very acceptable new year's marries her,
 gift of a son, but he died in the February thereafter: June 3.
 she miscarried often, and another son died soon after They are
 he was born; only the Lady Mary lived to a perfect crowned,
 age. June 24.
 Son born,
 Jan. 1,
 1511.
 Dies, Feb.
 22.
 Another
 born, and
 dies Nov.
 1514.
 Lady Mary
 born, Feb.
 19, 1516.

In this state was the King's family when the Queen
 left bearing more children, and contracted some dis-
 eases that made her person unacceptable to him; but
 was, as to her other qualities, a virtuous and grave prin-
 cess, much esteemed and beloved both of the King and
 the whole nation. The King, being out of hopes of 1518.
 more children, declared his daughter Princess of Wales, Treaty-
 and sent her to Ludlow to hold her court there, and Rolls,
 and projected divers matches for her. The first was with 10 Reg.
 the Dolphin, which was agreed to between the King His daugh-
 of France and him the ninth of November, 1518, as ter Mary
 appears by the treaty yet extant. contracted to
 But this was broken the Dol-
 phin, Oct.
 11.

BOOK afterwards upon the King's confederating with the Em-
II. peror against France, and a new match agreed and

1522.
 Afterwards
 to the Em-
 peror, June
 22, 1522.

Offered to
 Scotland,
 Sept. 1524.

Again to
 France,
 April 30,
 1527.

For King
 Francis
 himself, or
 for his son
 the Duke of
 Orleans.

The King's
 marriage
 questioned
 by foreign-
 ers.

sworn to between the Emperor and the King at Wind-
 sor the twenty-second of June, 1522, the Emperor be-
 ing 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 him-
 self, which he gladly accepting, a match was treated:
 and on the last of April it was agreed, that the Lady
 Mary should be given in marriage either to Francis
 himself, or to his second son the Duke of Orleans; 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 Tarbe,
 the French ambassador, made a great demur about the
 Princess Mary's being illegitimate, as begotten in a
 marriage that was contracted against a divine precept,
 with which no human authority could dispense. How
 far this was secretly concerted between the French
 court and ours, or between the Cardinal and the Am-
 bassador, is not known. It is surmised that the King
 or the Cardinal set on the French to make this excep-
 tion 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 maxim 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 seclude 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

BOOK
II.
1527.

The King
himself
scruples it.
Sanderus
De Schism.
Angl.

BOOK II. him for his lewd and dissolute life, and had oft admonished and checked him for it: and that he therefore, designing to engage the King to marry the French King's sister, the Duchess of Alenson, 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 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.

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

The grounds of his scruples.

What were the King's secret motives, and the true grounds of his aversion 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 human 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 inquiry, 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 dispense with the laws of the church, but could not dispense with the laws of God; upon this reason, that no law can be dispensed with by any authority but that which is equal to the autho-

rity that enacted it. Therefore he infers, that the Pope can indeed dispense 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 Archbishop 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 unlawful marriage. Only the Bishop of Rochester refused to set his hand to it; and, though the Archbishop pressed him most earnestly to it, yet he persisted in his refusal, saying, that it was against his conscience. Upon which the Archbishop 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 Archbishop 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 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.

BOOK
II.

1527.

All his bishops, except Fisher, declare it unlawful.

Cavendish his Life of Wolsey.

The dangers that were like to follow from it.

BOOK II. 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 Scotland, 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 politic 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 Orleans, as a fitter match in years, was the French King's choice; but this matter fell to the ground upon the process that followed soon after.

1597.

Wolsey
went into
France,
July 11,
1597.

The King's
fears and
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 maxim 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 heart's content. It is certain that the Cardinal had carried over with him out of the King's treasure 240,000*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.

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

BOOK
II.

1527.

Lord Her-
bert.The argu-
ments
against the
bull.

BOOK II. this account, because the matter of it was unlawful, and
 1527. fell not 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 maxim in law, That if the Pope be surprised 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 politic 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 mischief; and it was known that there was no danger at all of that: and so this bull was obtained by a surprise. 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 overreach the Spaniard, the King word to his ambassador 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 easy 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 the world, "That the King had a liking to her mother,

BOOK
II.

1527.

Wolsey's
advice to
the King,
August 1,
1527.

BOOK II. “ who was daughter to the Duke of Norfolk; and to the
 end that he might enjoy her with the less disturb-

1527.
 Sanders his
 story about
 Anne Boleyn
 examined.

For this he
 cites Ras-
 tal's Life of
 Sir Thomas
 More, a
 book that
 was never
 seen by any
 body else.

“ ance, 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 Can-
 “ terbury'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, though
 “ 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 fifteenth 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 privately in the house of a per-
 “ son of quality; then she went to the French court,
 “ where she led such a dissolute life, that she was called
 “ the English Hackney. That the French King liked
 “ her, and, from the freedoms he took with her, she was
 “ called the King's Mule. But returning to England,
 “ she was admitted to the court, where she quickly per-
 “ ceived 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 herself, so increased his affection and es-
 “ teem, 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 lies 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 falsehoods of that writer, together with the evidences of their being so. But all this of Anne Boleyn is so palpable a lie, or rather a complicated heap of lies, 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 Queen 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 falsehood 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 prefixed 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

BOOK
II.

1527.

BOOK upon as a black forgery, devised on purpose to defame
 II. Queen Elizabeth. For, upon her mother's death, who
 1527. can doubt but that some, either to flatter the King, or
 to defame her, would have published these things,
 which, if they 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 public employment, and a process thereupon to
 be entered in the Archbishop's courts, are things that
 are not so soon to be forgotten. And that she herself
 was under so ill a reputation, both in her father's fa-
 mily, 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 pub-
 lished 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 eighty years after, this
 fable was invented, or at least it was then first publish-
 ed, when it was safer to lie, because none who had lived
 in the time could disprove it.

Anti-San-
 derus.

But it has not only no foundation, but Sanders, through the vulgar errors of liars, 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 published 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, deflowered when she was fifteen, 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 herself 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 fifteen years old, though 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 four years of 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 eight 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 trea-

BOOK
II.

1527.

March 10,
1509.

BOOK II. ty between the two crowns, as the King's ambassadors in France. After this, none could be ambassadors there

1527.
Feb. 12,
1511.
1514.

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, though 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 Windsor. 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.

Sept. 23.
6 Regni.

1515.

Camb. in
apparatu 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 fourteen years of age: so they must make him to have corrupted other men's 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,

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 grandfather, Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been Lord Mayor 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 though, 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 herself for some years; and after her death, the King's sister, the Dutchess of Alenson, 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 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

BOOK
II.

1527.

1514.

and breed-
ing.Her coming
to England.
Lord Her-
bert.
Title and
Duplex.
Cavendish
says she
was very
young.
Cambden.

BOOK of France before, as those authors before mentioned say, II. 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 Alenson'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 though the Queen, who had taken her to be one of her maids of honour, had afterwards just cause to be displeased with her as her rival; yet she carried herself so, that, in the whole progress of the suit, I never find the Queen herself, 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.

She is contracted to the Lord Piercy.

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.

Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

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 inferior 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, BOOK
 “ and knew not how to discharge his conscience; and II.
 “ therefore he entreated the Cardinal would procure 1527.
 “ 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
 “ weighty a matter? Yes, I warrant you: but I can
 “ see in thee no submission at all to the purpose; and
 “ said, You have matched yourself 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 unad-
 “ vised bargain, or disinherit 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.”

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 herself 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 Lord Herbert. designed the divorce after he saw on whom the King had fixed his thoughts: but all that is a mistake, as will afterwards appear.

And now, having made way through these things 1527. that were previous to the first motion of the divorce, my narration leads me next to the motion itself. The

BOOK II. 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 fifth of December, 1527, which the reader will find in the Collection: but here I shall give the heads of it.

1527.
The King
moved for
his divorce
at Rome.

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

“ After great and high compliments, 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 marriage 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
“ dominions 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 es-
“ teemed 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 rea-
“ sons for annulling the bull, which were touched be-
“ fore; 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 fur-

“ ther judgments, he now desired help of the apostolic
 “ see, to consider his case, to reflect on what he had BOOK
 “ merited by these services he had done the Papacy, II.
 “ and to find a way that he, being divorced from his 1527.
 “ Queen, may marry another wife, of whom, by the
 “ blessing of God, he might hope for issue male.
 “ Therefore the ambassador was to use all means pos-
 “ sible 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 con-
 “ dolence of the miseries the Pope and cardinals were
 “ in, both in the King’s name and the Cardinal’s, and
 “ to assure the Pope, they would use all the most effec-
 “ tual means that were possible for setting him at li-
 “ berty, in which the Cardinal would employ 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 scru-
 “ ples 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
 “ apostolic see, to engage the King so firmly to his in-
 “ terests 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 commis-
 “ sion which was therewith sent, engrossed in due form,
 “ and ready to be signed; by which the Cardinal 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

BOOK II. “ in due form : and, if these were expedied, he might
 1527. “ 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 Emperor 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 for-
 “ mer power and dignity. And if the Pope were al-
 “ ready at liberty, and had made an agreement with
 “ the Emperor, he was to represent to him how little
 “ cause he had to trust much to the Emperor, 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 remembered, that he had
 “ dispensed with the Emperor’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 mat-
 “ ter, 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 Cardinal, then he was to propose
 “ Staphileus, Dean of the Rota, who was then in Eng-
 “ land, and was to except against all other foreigners,
 “ if the Pope chanced to propose any other. He was
 “ also to represent to the Pope, that the King would
 “ look upon a delay as a denial ; and, if the Pope in-
 “ clined to consult with any of the Cardinals 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 himself 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
 “ letters were sent to Cardinal Pucci, Sanctorum Qua-
 “ tuor, and the other cardinals, to be made use of as
 “ there should be occasion for it. And because money
 “ was like to be the most powerful argument, especially
 “ to men impoverished by a captivity, 10,000 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 par-
 “ ticular they were to be wanting in nothing that
 “ might absolutely engage the Cardinal Datary to
 “ favour the King’s business.”

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 expeded. 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

BOOK
II.

1527.

The Pope grants it when he was in prison. Collect. Numb. 4.

Pope escaped, Dec. 9.

BOOK Rome ; but in respect of his promise, and that yet in
 II. a manner he was in captivity, he begged the King
 1527. 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 be-
 seech 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 pro-
 mising 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 appre-
 hended 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 pre-
 vent 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 re-
 quests 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, though 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 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 public 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 overawed 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

BOOK
II.1527.
And, being
at liberty,
gives a bull
for it.The Pope's
craft and
policy,And the
measures
that gov-
erned
them.

BOOK II. 1527. this whole matter the Pope carried himself as a wise and politic prince, that considered his interest, and provided against dangers with great foresight. 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 wondered 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.

Collect.
Numb. 5.

Secretary Knight, being infirm, could not travel with that haste that was required in this business, and therefore he sent the Proto-notary Gambarà with the commission and dispensation to England, and followed in easy 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, Ravennate, 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 troubles on him from the Emperor. That had been desired from England by a dispatch of the twenty-seventh of December, which pressed a speedy conclusion of the business; upon which the Pope, on the twelfth of January, did communicate the matter under the seal of confession 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 virtue 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 ratify 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 public process by bulls from Rome. But if the thing went on in England, 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 signify to the King, as the advice of the two Cardinals, and take no notice of him

BOOK II.

1527.

The method proposed by the Pope. Collect. Numb. 6.

BOOK in it. But the dispatch shews he was a more faithful
II. minister than to do so.

1527.

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 apostolical see as they pleased. And indeed this advice, how little soever it had of the simplicity of the Gospel, was certainly prudent and subtle, 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.

Staphileus
sent from
England.

But now I must look over again to England, to open the counsels there. At that time Staphileus, Dean of the Rota, was there; and he, either to make his court the better, or that he was so persuaded in opinion, seemed fully satisfied about the justice of the King's cause. So they sent him to Rome with instructions both public and secret. The public 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, and to conserve the dignity of the apostolic see, that they should

His instructions.

Cotton
Libr. Vitel.
B. 10. Jan. 8.

Duplicates
corrected
by the
Cardinal's
hand.

“ choose such a vicar or president, as, partly by his
 “ prudence and courage, partly by the assistance of the BOOK
 “ two Kings, upon whom depended all their hopes, II.
 “ might do such services to the apostolic see, as were 1527.
 “ most necessary in that distracted time, by which the
 “ Pope’s liberty would be hastened.”

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 breviatè
 “ was given him. He was also to represent the great
 “ mischiefs that might follow, if princees got not justice
 “ and ease from the apostolic see. Therefore, if the
 “ Pope were yet in captivity, he was to propose a meet-
 “ ing of the cardinals, for choosing the Cardinal of
 “ York to be their head during the Pope’s imprison-
 “ ment, 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 Eng-
 “ land. 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 cardinal’s

BOOK "hat." By him the King wrote to the Pope. The
 II. rude draught of it remains under the Cardinal's hand,
 1527. earnestly desiring a speedy and favourable dispatch of
 his business, with a credence to the bearer.

The Cardi-
 nal's letters
 by him.

The Cardinal also wrote to the Pope by him, and, after
 a long congratulating his liberty, with many sharp reflec-
 tions 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 de-
 sired 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 joined 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 recompense 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 by the Pope." This dispatch
 is interlined, and amended with the Cardinal's own
 hand.

But upon the arrival of the messenger, whom the Se-
 cretary had sent, with the commission and dispensa-
 A larger
 bull desired
 by the
 King.

tion, 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 refuse 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 counsellors; 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 tenth of February. "By them the King wrote to the Pope, thanking him that he had expressed such forward and earnest willingness to give him ease, and had so kindly promised to gratify his desires, of which he expected now to see the effects. He wrote

BOOK
II.

1527.

Gardiner
and Fox
sent to
Rome,With let-
ters from
the King,Collect.
Numb. 7.

BOOK II. "also to the cardinals his thanks for the cheerfulness
 1527. "with which they had in consistory promised to promote his suit; 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, an
 "useful member of the apostolic see, a promoter of justice and equity, or thought him his faithful creature, or that he desired his own eternal 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 promote it; but he
 "did apprehend, if the King found that the Pope was so overawed by the Emperor, as not to grant that
 "which all Christendom judged was grounded both on the divine and human laws, both he and other
 "Christian princes would from thence take occasion to provide themselves of other remedies, and lessen and
 "despise the authority of the apostolic see." In his letters to Cassali he expressed a great sense of the services which the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor had done the King; and bid him inquire what were the things in which he delighted most, whether furniture, gold, plate, or horses, that they might make him acceptable presents; and assure him, that the King would contribute largely towards the carrying on the building of St. Peter's in the Vatican.

And the
 Cardinal.
 Collect.
 Numb. 8.

Collect.
 Numb. 9.

The substance of
 the bull desired by
 them.
 Collect.
 Numb. 10.

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, BOOK
II.
1527.
 “ 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 apostolic 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
 “ hindered 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 process, and never to revoke or repeal what
 “ they should pronounce : declaring also, that this bull
 “ should remain in force till the process 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.*”

This was judged the uttermost force that could be in a bull ; though the civilians would scarce allow any validity at all in these extravagant clauses : but the most

BOOK material thing in this bull is, that it seems the King
II. was not fully resolved to declare his daughter illegi-
 1527. timate. 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, though the Queen's carriage did soon after provoke him to pursue his resentments against her daughter. The French King did also join 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.
 2. pars.
 Reg. 10.

The Cardinal's earnestness in this matter.

Collect.
 Numb. 11.

By these ambassadors the Cardinal wrote a long and most earnest letter to John Cassali the proto-notary, that was the Ambassador's brother: in which all the arguments that a most anxious mind could invent or dictate, are laid together to persuade 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 Emperor, 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 suit, 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.

With those letters and instructions were Gardiner and Fox sent to Rome, where both the Cassalis 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 into a business which must for ever engage either the Emperor 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 though it is of no great importance, yet will be diverting to the reader.

BOOK II.
 1527. The draught of the letter is in Wolsey'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 dashed 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 compliments 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 apostolic see ; but the Pope was not a man to be cozened so easily.

May 23.

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 Orvieto he might give it the date that it bears, 1527, December 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.

BOOK
II.

1527.

The Pope grants a decretal bull. Anti-Sanderus. Lord 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 recompensed 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

Two letters of Anne Boleyn's to Wolsey.

BOOK *proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm*
 II. *my writing to be true ; and I do trust you do think the*
 1528. *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.

A postscript
of the
King's to
him.

The writer of this letter would not cease till she had
caused me likewise to set to my hand ; desiring you,
though 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, 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 Grace's 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 alonely 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 recompense 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.*

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.

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 fourth 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 though I

BOOK II. 1528.
 More monasteries were to be suppressed.

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 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.

The Emperor opposes the King's suit.

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 be-

A breve found out in Spain, Collect. Numb. 15.

“ tween 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 twenty-sixth 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 it is 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? Though at this time it was 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 inquiry 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.

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 cassated, 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

Presump-
tions of its
being
forged.

BOOK II. presumption that it was lately made by some Spaniards, who knew not how to write the names true. For
 1528. Sigismund, who was secretary when it was pretended to have been signed, was an exact man, and no such errors were found in breves at that time. But that which shewed it a manifest forgery was, that it bore date the twenty-sixth 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 style 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 twenty-sixth 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, though 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 fortify their cause.

Campegio
comes into
England.

When Cardinal Campegio came to England, he was received with the public 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 compliments 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 qualify him, and shewed the decretal bull, by which he might see, that, though 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 herself but by the advice of her nephews.

BOOK II.

1528.

And shews the King the bull ;

But refuses to let it be seen to the council.

Of all this the Cardinal of York advertised the Casalis, 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

Wolsey's endeavour at Rome that it might be shewed ; *Collect. Numb. 16. Collect. Numb. 17.

BOOK II.
 1528. 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 by virtue 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 heresy 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 though it were not so, some things that were not good must be borne 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 counsellors, upon the assurance of absolute secrecy. But the Pope interrupted him, and with great signs of an unusual grief told him, These sad effects

But all in
 vain.

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 Campeggio no commands to make any delays, but only to give him notice of their proceedings. If the King, who had maintained the apostolic see, had written for the faith, and was the defender of it, would overturn 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 entering 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 republic 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 in his resolutions never to consent

BOOK II. to it: for he could not imagine the desire of seeing it was a bare curiosity, or only to direct the King's counsellors, 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.

1528.

The Pope sends Campana to England. Collect. Numb. 18.

New ambassadors sent to Rome,

With other overtures.

Collect. Numb. 19.

But the Pope, finding the King and the Cardinal so ill satisfied with him, resolved to send Francisco Campana, one of his bedchamber, to England, to remove all mistakes, and to feed the King with fresh hopes. In England, Campeggio 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 dexterously. 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 apostolic 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 steadfastly 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 jealousy, 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 though 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 predecessor's bulls. The Cardinal Elector of Mentz had written to him to consider well what he did in the King's divorce; for if it went on, nothing had

BOOK
II.

1523.

A guard of
2000 men
a offered to
the Pope.

The Pope
resolved to
unite him-
self to the
Emperor,

BOOK ever fallen out since the beginning of Luther's sect,
 II. that would so much strengthen it as that sentence. He
 1528. was also threatened on the other side from 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,
 resolved not to run these hazards, which seemed un-
 avoidable, 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 employed that money, which was spent
 in a fruitless negotiation at Rome, on a war in Flan-
 ders, it had so distracted the Emperor's forces, and en-
 couraged the Pope, that he had sooner granted that,
 which in a more fruitless way was sought of him.

Being
 frightened
 with the
 threats of
 the Impe-
 rialists.

1529.
 Jan. 3.

In the beginning of the next year Cassali wrote to
 the Cardinal, that the Pope was much inclined to unite
 himself with the Emperor, and proposed to go in per-
 son 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 counsellor, and that they
 two should go as legates. But Cassali, by Salviati's
 means, who was in great favour with the Pope, under-
 stood that the Pope was never in greater fear of the
 Emperor than at that time; for his Ambassador had
 threatened the Pope severely, if he would not recall the
 commission that he had sent to England; so that the

Pope spoke oft to Salviati of the *great repentance that he had inwardly in his heart for granting the decretal:* BOOK II.
 and said, *He was undone for ever, if it came to the Emperor's knowledge.* He also resolved, that, though the 1529.
Repents his
granting
the de-
cretal.
 Legates gave sentence in England, it should never take effect, for he would not confirm it: of which Gregory Cassali gave advertisement by an express messenger, who, as he passed through Paris, met Secretary Knight King's let-
ter to the
Cardinal,
Jan. 8.
 and Doctor Bennet, whom the King had dispatched 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 signify 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.

At the same time the Pope was with his usual arts Jan. 9.
 cajoling the King's agents in Italy: for when Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes came to Bononia, the Prototary Cassali was surprised 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 assured him he would confirm their sentence; but that he made a great difference between the 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 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 heresy had already gotten, would ruin the ecclesiastical state, and

BOOK II. the church : so dexterously 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 persuade 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 Lyons, 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 popedom 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."

But feeds
the King
with high
promises.

Upon these assurances the Cardinal ordered the Se-

cretary 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 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's offering to put them in his hand to be much regarded; for though he restored them, if the Pope had not a better guarantee for them, it would be easy 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 his being so successful in his former message made them think him the fittest minister they could employ in that court; and to send him with the greater advantage, he was made a privy-counsellor.

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 mass, and a great sickness followed, of which it was generally believed he

BOOK
II.

1529.

BOOK could not recover ; and though his distemper did soon
 II. abate so much, that it was thought to be over, yet it

1529. 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 Colonnas and the other Imperialists were very busy, but the Cardinal of Mantua opposed them ; and Farnese, who was then at his house in the country, came to Rome, and joined with Mantua ; and these of that faction resolved, that, if the Spanish army marched from Naples toward them, they would dispense 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

Jan. 27. 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 Lyons, 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.

Cardinal
 Wolsey's
 intrigues
 for the
 papacy,
 Feb. 6.

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 BOOK II.
 what were the methods in choosing popes in these days, 1529. Collect. Numb. 20.
 by which it may be easily gathered how such an elec-
 tion must needs recommend a man to infallibility, su-
 premacy, and all the other appendages of *Christ's Vi-*
car on earth, I shall give a short summary of them.

“ By his letter to his confidant Gardiner, he commits
 “ the thing chiefly to his care, and orders him to em-
 “ ploy all his parts to bring it to the desired issue,
 “ sparing neither presents nor promises; and that as
 “ he saw men’s inclinations or affections led them;
 “ whether to public or private concerns, so he should
 “ govern himself towards them accordingly. *The in-*
 “ *structions bear*, that the King thought the Cardinal The King’s instructions for the election.
 “ the fittest person to succeed to the papacy; (they
 “ being advertised 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 public and
 “ private ends, the Cardinal was the fittest. Therefore
 “ the ambassadors are required with all possible ear-
 “ nestness and vigour to promote his election. A
 “ schedule of the cardinals’ names is sent them, with
 “ marks to every one, whether he was like to be present
 “ or absent; favourable, indifferent, or opposite to them.
 “ It was reckoned there could be but thirty-nine pre-
 “ sent, of which twenty-six were necessary to choose
 “ the Pope. Of these the two Kings thought them-
 “ selves sure of twenty. So six was all the number
 “ that the ambassadors were to gain, and to that num-
 “ ber they were first to offer them good reasons to
 “ convince them of the Cardinal’s fitness for the pa-
 “ pacy. But because human frailty was such, that
 “ reason did not always take place, they were to pro-
 “ mise promotions and sums of money, with other
 “ good rewards, which the King gave them commission
 “ to offer, and would certainly make them good: be-

BOOK II. “ sides all the great preferments which the Cardinal
 1529. “ 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 Gre-
 “ gory Cassali was thought fittest for that service. And
 “ if they saw the adverse party too strong in the con-
 “ clave, so that they could carry nothing, then Gar-
 “ diner was to draw a protestation, 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 overawed them, the ambassadors were to offer
 “ a guard of two or three thousand 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
 “ Wolsey 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 ex-
 “ cluded, they should consent to any other, and refuse
 “ to make the protestation as it was desired. 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 cardinals of their faction
 “ were to make no protestation.”

These were the apostolical methods then used for choosing a successor 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 gaining as many cardinals as they could, and to take care that the cardinals should not go into the conclave, unless they were free and safe from any fears of the imperial forces. But if the Pope recovered, 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 proposed. And for the apprehensions the Pope had of the Emperor’s being highly offended with him if he granted the King’s desire, or of his coming into Italy, he needed not fear him. They knew, whatever 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, 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 dispensations granted by popes in like cases: and lately there had been one granted by Pope Alexander the Sixth to the King of Hungary, against the opinion of his cardinals, which had never been questioned:” 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 summed up in a short breviare 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.

BOOK
II.

1529.

Feb. 20.
New propositions
about the
divorce.

Collect.
Numb. 21.

The King ordered his ambassadors to make as many

BOOK II. cardinals sure for his cause as they could, who might bring the Pope to consent to it, if he were still averse.

1529.

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 offers, 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 surprised 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 Emperor'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 cipher.

The Pope's relapse.

But the Pope's relapse put a new stop to business; of which the Cardinal 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

April 6.

"get access to the Pope, and though he were in the very agony of death, to propose two things to him :

Another dispatch to Rome.

"the one, that he would presently command all the princes of Christendom to agree to a cessation of

Collect. Numb. 22.

"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 press-

"eth 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 interest with the Pope; so by that, and another dispatch of the same date, (sent another way,) they were ordered to gain him, promising him great rewards, pressing him to remain still about the Pope’s person; to balance the ill offices which Cardinal Angel and the Archbishop 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 trouble him as much to be overcome in this matter by these two friars, as to lose both his crowns: and for my part, (*writes the Cardinal,*) I would expose any thing to my life, yea life itself, rather than see the inconveniences that may ensue upon disappointing of the King’s desire.” For promoting the business, the French King sent the 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

BOOK

II.

1529.

BOOK
II.

1529.

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 fifteen thousand ducats; for though the Cardinal pleaded

The Cardinal's bulls for the bishoprick of Winchester.

his great merits, to bring the composition lower, yet the cardinals at Rome said the apostolic 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 five or six thousand 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 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 increased by the distaste he took at the Cardinal's 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, Salvati, that was the Pope's favourite, wrote to Campegio that the protestation could not be hindered, 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 de-

BOOK
II.

1529.

The Pope
inclines to
join with
the Empe-
ror,Who pro-
tests a-
gainst the
Legates'
commis-
sion.
May 15.

BOOK II. ceive the King no longer, who clearly discovered the
 1529. 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 Em-
 " peror, 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 pur-
 " pose ; upon which they were to try if it were possi-
 " ble 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 though 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 ob-
 tain by the following pretence : " He was to tell the
 " Pope, that the courier to whom he trusted it had
 " been so little careful of it, that it was all wet and de-
 " faced, and of no more use ; so that he durst not deli-
 " ver it. And this might turn much to Gardiner's pre-
 " judice, that a matter of such concern was through
 " his neglect spoiled ; upon which he was to see if the

Collect.
 Numb. 23.

The Pope
 promised
 not to re-
 call, but
 to confirm
 it.

“ Pope would renew it. If that could be obtained, he BOOK
 “ was to use all his industry to get as many pregnant II.
 “ and material words added, as might make it more 1529.
 “ binding. He was also to assure the Pope, that though
 “ the Emperor was gone to Barcellona to give reputa-
 “ tion 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 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 dissi-
 mulation and policy, that he was not to be overreached
 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 car- The Le-
 ried with him one of the fullest and most important gates write
 dispatches that I find in this whole matter, from the to the Pope.
 two Legates to the Pope and the consistory; who wrote
 to them, “ That they had in vain endeavoured to pre- Collect.
 “ suade either party to yield to the other; that the Numb. 24.
 “ breve being shewed to them by the Queen, they
 “ found great and evident presumptions of its being
 “ a mere forgery; and, that they thought it was too
 “ much for them to sit and try the validity or authen-
 “ ticalness of the Pope’s bulls or breves, or to hear his
 “ power of dispensing in such cases disputed: there-
 “ fore it was more expedient to avocate the cause, to
 “ which the King would consent, if the Pope obliged
 “ himself, under 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 instructed
 “ to shew very good precedents. But, in the mean
 “ while, they advised the Pope to press the Queen most

BOOK II. “ effectually to enter into a religious life, as that which
“ would compose all these differences in the softest and
“ easiest way. It pitied them to see the rack and tor-
“ ments 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 singular
“ piety and illumination. To this were to be added,
“ the desire of issue, settlement of the kingdom, with
“ many other pressing reasons; that as the matter did
“ admit of no further delays, so there was not any
“ thing in the opposite scale to balance these consi-
“ derations. 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
“ though the Queen was of a rough temper, and an
“ unpleasant conversation, and was passed all hopes of
“ children; yet who could imagine that the King,
“ who had spent his most youthful 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
“ motives? 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 though all
“ his people pressed him to drive the matter to an issue,
“ yet he would still wait for the decision of the apo-
“ stolic see. Therefore they most pressingly desire
“ the Pope to grant the cure which his distemper re-
“ quired, 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 doubtful cases, where there was
“ great hazard, he ought to mollify the severity of the
“ laws; which if it were not done, other remedies

“ would be found out, to the vast prejudice of the BOOK
 “ ecclesiastical authority, to which many about the II.
 “ King advised him: there was reason to fear they 1529.
 “ should not only lose a King of England, but a *De-*
 “ *fender of the Faith*. The nobility and gentry were
 “ already enraged 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 meddled 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.”

But all these things were to no purpose ; the Pope Campegio’s
ill life.
Pelerin In-
glese.
 had taken his measures, and was not to be moved by
 all the reasons or remonstrances the Ambassador could
 lay before him. The King had absolutely gained Cam-
 pegio 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 bastard
 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 Cam- April 6.
 pegio’s love and affection to him, and if ever he was
 gained by the Emperor’s agents, he had said something
 to him which did totally change that inclination.

BOOK

II.

1529.
The Emperor presses for an avocation;

The Imperialists, being alarmed 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 avocation 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 process 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

Which the King's ambassadors oppose much.

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

The Pope's deep dissimulation.

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

Collect. Numb. 25.

this did afterwards appear to be the deepest dissimulation that ever was practised. 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 decisions. He wrote a cajoling letter to the Cardinal. But words went for nothing.

Collect. Numb. 26.

Soon after this, the Pope complained much to Sir **BOOK**
 Gregory Cassali of the ill usage he received from the **II.**
 French Ambassador, and that their confederates, the 1529.
 Florentines, and the Duke of Ferrara, used him so ill, The Pope complains
 that they would force him to throw himself into the of the Flo-
 Emperor's hands: and he seemed inclined to grant an rentines,
 avocation of the cause, and complained that there was June 5.
 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 Floren- June 13.
 "tines would some day seize on him, and carry him,
 "with his hands bound behind his back, in procession
 "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 in-
 "solencies of their confederates. And whereas they
 "used to say, that if he joined 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 Car-
 dinal's 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.

The motion for the avocation was still driven on, Great con-
 and pressed the more earnestly, because they heard tests about
 the avo- the avo-
 cation. cation.

BOOK II. 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 Legates' 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 Emperor's 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 apostolic see; and that the Cardinal's ruin was unavoidable, if the Pope granted the avocation. The Emperor's agents had pretended they could not send the original breve into 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 sen-

1529.
June 23.
Collect.
Numb. 27.

tence, upon the attested copy that was sent from **BOOK II.**
Spain.

The ambassadors had also orders to take the best counsel in Rome about the legal ways of hindering 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 preferments 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 denied there was any such thing; and Silvester Darius, who was sent express 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 negociations, that they must say and unsay, swear and forswear, as they are instructed, which goes of course as a part of their business.

But now the Legates were proceeding in England: The Legates sit in England. of the steps in which they went, though a great deal be already published, yet considerable things are passed over. On the thirty-first of May, the King, by a warrant under the Great Seal, gave the Legates leave to execute their commission, upon which they sate that

BOOK same day. The commission was presented by Long-
 II. land, 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 re-
 solved to execute it: and first gave the usual oaths to
 the clerks of the court, and ordered a peremptory cita-
 tion of the King and Queen to appear on the eighteenth
 of June, between nine and ten o'clock; and so the
 court adjourned. The next session was on the eigh-
 teenth of June, where the citation being returned duly
 executed, Richard Sampson, Dean of the chapel, and
 Mr. John Bell, appeared as the King's proxies. But
 the Queen appeared in person, and did protest against
 the Legates as incompetent judges, alleging that the
 cause was already avocated by the Pope, and desired a
 competent time, in which she might prove it. The Le-
 gates assigned her the twenty-first, and so adjourned
 the court till then.

A severe
 charge
 against the
 Queen.

About this time there was a severe complaint exhi-
 bited 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 Cardinal's 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 of joy, setting on
 " all people to dancings and other diversions. This it
 " seemed she did out of spite 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
 " people's affections to the King, she shewed herself

“ much abroad, and by civilities, and gracious bowing
 “ 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
 “ shew 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 persuade 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 threatened to any thing. On the
 twenty-first of June the court sate; the King and Queen
 were present in person. Campeggio 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 proceed as they saw
 just cause. And both the Legates made deep protesta-
 tions of the sincerity of their minds, and that they
 would proceed justly and fairly, without any favour or
 partiality.

BOOK
II.

1529.

*Quod stulte
facit, si con-
tendit cum
Rege, quod
male illi suc-
cessit in fas-
tibus: de
Brevi ac
suspitione
falsitatis.*

The King
and Queen
appear in
court.

* *Fidelis
servi infideli
subdito re-
sponsio.*

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.

BOOK II. But here the Lord Herbert's usual diligence fails him; for he fancies the Queen never appeared after the eighteenth; 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 twenty-fifth of June was the next session after the eighteenth: 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 Queen's 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 counsel, nor indifferent judges; she had been long his wife, and desired to know wherein she had offended him: she had been his wife twenty years and more, and had borne him several children, and had ever studied to please him; and protested 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 counsellors, and learned men about them, when the match was agreed: therefore she would not submit to the court; nor durst her lawyers, who were his subjects, and as signed 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

1529.

Collect.
Numb. 28.The
Queen's
speech.

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.

She being gone, the King did publicly 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 merely out of a scruple in his conscience, which was occasioned 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 Archbishop of Canterbury to gather the opinions of the bishops, who did all under their hands and seals declare against the marriage. This the Archbishop confirmed, but the Bishop of Rochester denied his hand was at it. And the Archbishop pretended he had his consent to make another write his name to the judgment of the rest, which he positively denied.

The court adjourned to the twenty-fifth, ordering letters monitory to be issued out for citing the Queen to appear under pain of contumacy. But on the twenty-fifth 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 counsel, in whom

BOOK
II.

1529.

The King
gives the
account of
his scruples.

The
Queen's
appeal.

BOOK she could not confide ; and therefore appealed, and desired her cause might be heard by the Pope, with many

II.
1529.

Articles
drawn by
the Legates:

things out of the canon law, on which she 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 virtue of a dispensation, had married her ; that this marrying his brother’s wife was forbidden both by human 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 counsel 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 checked him, and there passed some sharp words between them.

Upon
which wit-
nesses are
examined.

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. And it cannot be imagined how greater proofs could be made twenty-seven 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 pro-
ceedings
at Rome

The Queen wrote most earnestly to her nephews to procure an avocation ; protesting she would suffer any

thing, and even death itself, rather than depart from her marriage: that she expected no justice from the Legates, and therefore looked for their assistance, that her appeal being admitted by the Pope, the cause might be taken out of the Legates' hands. Campeggio 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 persuade 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 Campeggio'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 deposing 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 threatenings 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.

BOOK II. 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 supreme 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 joint by joint than do any thing in that matter contrary to his conscience or to justice." These things had been oft said, and the Pope did apprehend that ill effects would follow: for if the King fell from his obedience to the apostolic see, no doubt all the Lutheran princes, who were already bandying against the Emperor, would join 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 heresy, and end in the utter ruin of the popedom. But in all this the crafty

1529.

The Pope
agrees with
the Em-
peror:

Collect.
Numb. 29.

Yet is in
great per-
plexities.

Pope comforted himself, that many times threatenings are not intended to be made good, but are used to terrify; 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 heretic: he also resolved to caress 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 ninth 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 savouring so much of an apostolical spirit, I set down: *Woe is me, nobody 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*

BOOK II. *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.*

1529.

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 Campeggio'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 eighteenth of July; and that the Pope did not only fear the Emperor more than all other princes, but that he also trusted him more now. On the nineteenth of July, the Pope sent a messenger with the avocation to England, with a letter to the Cardinal. To the King he wrote afterwards.

July 26.

The avocation is granted.

Collect. Numb. 30.

The proceedings of the Legates.

All this while Campeggio, 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 twenty-fifth of June, the court adjourned to the twenty-eighth, ordering a second citation for the Queen, under the pains of contumacy, and of their proceeding to examine witnesses. And on the twenty-eighth they declared the Queen contumacious a 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 counsel argued long against the validity 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, alleging that his power did not extend so far. This the Legates overruled, 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 twelfth, and from that to the fourteenth. 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 seventeenth; other instruments relating to the process were also read and verified in court. On the twenty-first 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 counsel (of whom Gardiner was the chief) closed their evidence, and summed up all that had been brought; and, in the

BOOK
II.

1529.

BOOK King's name, desired sentence might be given. But
 II. Campegio, pretending that it was fit some interval

1529.
 All things
 are ready
 for a sen-
 tence.

Campegio
 adjourned
 the court;

should be between that and the sentence, put it off till the twenty-third, being Friday; and in the whole process he presided, 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 surprise 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.

Which
 gives great
 offence.

The King was in a chamber very near, where he heard what passed, and was inexpressibly surprised 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 which the Lords spake very high. And the Duke of Suffolk, with great commotion, swore *by the mass, 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 beforehand, 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 colleague 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 joining against him, so matter must needs be found to work his ruin 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.

But the King governed 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 uneasy 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 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 virtue 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 cita-

BOOK
II.

1529.

Wolsey's
danger.

August 4.

BOOK II.
 1529. tion 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 looked on the Cardinal as his inveterate enemy, and designed to ruin him if it was possible; nor was it hard to persuade 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 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 Wolsey 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 Wolsey 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 Tho-

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

mas Boleyn, then made Viscount of Rochford, Sir BOOK Brian Tuke, and Gardiner: concluding that from the II. motions of such weather-cocks the air of the Prince's 1529. affections was best gathered.

Anne Boleyn was now brought to the court again, Anne Boleyn returns to court. 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 threatenings 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 increasing, 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 advisable, 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 persuasion 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.

While his thoughts were thus divided, a new pro- Cranmer's proposition about the position was made to him, that seemed the most rea-

BOOK sonable and feasible of them all. There was one Dr.
 II. Cranmer, who had been a fellow of Jesus College in
 1529. Cambridge; but having married, forfeited his fellow-
 King's di- ship; yet continued his studies, and was a Reader of
 vorce. 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 public occasions.
 But he was a man that neither courted preferment, nor
 did willingly accept of it when offered. And there-
 fore, though he was invited to be a Reader of Divinity
 in the Cardinal's 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 father's house at Wal-
 tham. There he was when the King returned from
 his progress, who took Waltham in his way, and lay a
 night there. The harbingers having appointed Gard-
 diner, 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 cour-
 tiers, knowing Cranmer's learning and solid judgment,
 entertained him with it, and desired to hear his opi-
 nion 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 un-
 lawful in itself by virtue 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 negociation 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, BOOK II.
 notwithstanding the Pope's dispensation. This seemed 1529.
 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 Approved
 was much affected with it, so soon as he heard it, and by the King ;
 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 con-
 ceived an high opinion of his judgment and candour,
 which he preserved to his death, and still paid a re-
 spect to him, beyond all the other churchmen 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 re-
 spect 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 al-
 ways revered him.

He was soon looked on as a rising churchman, and
 the rather, because the Cardinal was now declining ; And he much es- teemed by him.
 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 The Cardi- nal's fall.
 Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. It was offered back
 again to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury ; but he,
 being very old, and foreseeing great difficulties in the
 keeping of it, excused himself. So it was given to Sir

BOOK Thomas More, who was not only eminent in his own
 11. profession, but in all other learning: and was much
 1529. 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 informa-
 tion against the Cardinal in the King's Bench; bear-
 ing, *that notwithstanding the statute of Richard the Se-
 cond, 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 the indictment, but plead-
 ed 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 pa-
 lace of York House, (now Whitehall,) with all that vast
 wealth and royal furniture that he had heaped toge-
 ther, (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 any influence on the Pope:
 therefore, on the twenty-first of November, the King
 granted him first his protection, and then his pardon,
 and restored him to the archbishoprick of York, and
 the bishoprick of Winchester, and gave him back in
 money, goods, and plate, that which amounted to
 6374l. 3s. 7d. and many kind messages were sent him,
 both by the King and Anne Boleyn.

Rol. Pat. 2.
 pars vices.
 prin. Regni.
 Feb. 12.

The mean-
 ness of his
 temper.

But as he had carried his greatness with most extra-
 vagant 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 : BOOK II.
yet his enemies had gone too far ever to suffer a man 1529.
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 sate 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.

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

BOOK II. the court; and his enemies had a mind to send him further from it. Accordingly he went to Cawood in Yorkshire, in which journey it appears, that the ruins of his state were considerable, for he travelled thither with one hundred and sixty horse in his train, and seventy-two carts following him, with his household-stuff.

He is afterwards attached 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 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 sickened 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 twenty-eighth of November, 1530, and was the greatest instance that several ages had shown of the variety and inconstancy of human 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 con-

And dies.

clude all that is to be said of him, I shall add what the BOOK writer of his life ends it with: *Here is the end and* II.
fall of pride and arrogancy; for I assure you, in his 1529.
time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings His charac-
alive, having more respect to the honour of his person, ter.
than he had to his spiritual profession, wherein should
be shewed all meekness and charity.

But now, with the change of this great minister, A parlia-
there followed a change of counsels, and therefore the ment call-
King resolved to hold a parliament, that he might ed.
meet his people, and establish such a good understand-
ing 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 parlia-
ment for seven years; but the blame of that, and of
every other miscarriage, falling naturally on the dis-
graced 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 sev-
eral other laws that were made for the public 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 bene-
fices, and non-residence, and churehmen's being farm-
ers 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.

When these bills were brought up to the House of Hall.
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 de-

BOOK sired they would consider the miserable state of the
 II. kingdom of Bohemia, to which it was reduced by he-
 1529. resy, and ended, *That all this was for lack of faith.*

The House
 of Com-
 mons com-
 plains of
 the Bishop
 of Roches-
 ter.

But this being afterwards known to the House of
 Commons, they sent their Speaker, Sir Thomas Aud-
 ley, with thirty of their members, to complain to the
 King of the Bishop of Rochester, for saying, that their
 acts flowed from the *want of faith*, which was an high
 imputation on the whole nation, when the representa-
 tive of the Commons was so charged, as if they had
 been infidels and heathens. This was set on by the
 court, to mortify that Bishop, who was unacceptable
 to them, for his adhering so firmly to the Queen's
 cause. The King sent for the Archbishop of Can-
 terbury, 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 William 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
 passed, re-
 forming 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 be-
 ginnings of heresy, to complain of abuses, and pretend
 reformation, on purpose to disgrace the clergy, from
 which heresy took its chief strength. And the spi-
 ritual 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 fawning, 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. BOOK
II.

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 increase 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. 1529.

But there passed 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 employed in the public 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 assignments made for their payment, and of all suits that might arise thereupon. One act,
discharging
the King of
his debts.
Collect.
Numb. 31.

This was brought into the House by the King's servants, who enlarged much on the wealth and peace of

BOOK the nation, notwithstanding the wars, the King always
 II. making his enemies' country the scene of them; and
 1529. shewed, that for fourteen years the King had but one
 subsidy from his people; that now he asked nothing for any other purpose, but only to be discharged of a debt contracted for the public, 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 ruin all the Cardinal's 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 itself, 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 qualify 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 highways, 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 Wolsey, that is, the Cardinal's college in Oxford, with the lands belonging to it, which are excepted, upon which the Dean and Canons resigned their lands to the King, the original of which is yet extant:

but the King founded the college anew soon after. **BOOK II.**
 All this was done, both to keep the clergy quiet, and 1529.
 to engage them to use what interest they had in the court of Rome, to dispose the Pope to use the King better in his great suit. After those acts were passed, on the seventeenth 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 King's 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 hollowness 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 embroil his own affairs to carry on his divorce.

The Pope and the Emperor firmly united. June 20.

The women's peace. Aug. 5.

The Emperor went over into Italy, and met the Pope at Bononia, where he was crowned with great

The Emperor's coronation at Bononia.

BOOK magnificence. The Pope and he lodged together in
II. the same palace, and there appeared such signs of a
 1580. familiar friendship between them, that the King's am-
 bassadors did now clearly perceive that they were
 firmly united. The Emperor did also, by a rare mix-
 ture 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 mag-
 nificence 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 looked on as an
 ecclesiastical person. This had risen out of an extra-
 vagant 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 looked for, and the
 Emperor very gently kneeled to pay that submis-
 sion; but the Pope (whether it was that he thought
 it was no more seasonable to expect such compli-
 ments, or more signally to oblige the Emperor) did

Florence
 taken,
 August 9.
 Pope's ne-
 phew made
 Duke of it,
 July 17.
 1531.
 Siege of Vi-
 enna raised,
 Octob. 13.
 1529.
 Emperor
 crowned
 King of
 Lombardy,
 Feb. 22.
 1530.
 Rom. Emp.
 Feb. 24.

humble himself so far as to draw in his foot, and kiss his cheek. BOOK
II.

But 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 Croke (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 Dr. Croke'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 thirty-three doctors and bachelors 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 virtue of that warrant, they did on the eighth of April put the common seal of the University to an instrument, declaring the marriage of the brother's wife to be both contrary to the laws of God and nature. The Col-

1530.
The King
consults his
universities
about his
divorce.

Lord Her-
bert, out of
the record.
April 4.
1530.

BOOK II. 1530. Vid. Wood, p. 8. 257. Lib. 1. p. 225.

lector 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 twelfth 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 instrument, 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 arts, was of itself 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 bachelors 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 contra-

dicts this: for it bears date the second of July, 1530, BOOK II. whereas this was done the eighth of April, 1530. But 1530. what passed at Cambridge I shall set down more Collect. Numb. 32. 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 And at Cambridge, Feb. together, and resolved to oppose them. A meeting of the doctors, bachelors of divinity, and masters of arts, in all about two hundred, was held. There the King's letters were 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 Dr. 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.

The congregation being adjourned till next day, the Vice-Chancellor offered a grace (or order) to refer the matter to twenty-nine persons, (himself, ten doctors, and sixteen bachelors, and the two proctors,) That (the questions being publicly disputed) what two parts of

BOOK three agreed to, should be read in a congregation, and
 II. without any further debate the common seal of the
 1530. 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 King's 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 looked 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 Duchess of Alanson's court (who inclined to the reformation) received such impressions as made them fear, that her greatness, and Cranmer's preferment, would encourage heresy; 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 sociation, taken from many of his original letters. Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 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 po-

verty, that he had scarce whereby to live and pay the BOOK
 copiers who he employed to transcribe passages out of II.
 MSS. He stayed some time at Venice, from whence 1530.
 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 dispensation could have any force
against the law of God? These he proposed in dis-
 course, 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 looked 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 Duresme,) were
 sent by the King into Italy, ambassadors both to the
 Pope and Emperor. Cranmer went with them to jus-
 tify 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
 Queen, as either an abrogation of the other law in Le-
 viticus, or at least a dispensation with it in that par-
 ticular case. 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 com-
 plained heavily, and said, that though he had a great

BOOK task laid on him, yet his allowance was so small,
 II. that he was often in great straits. This I take notice
 1530. of, because it is said by others, that all the sub-
 scriptions that he procured were bought. At this
 time there were great animosities between the mi-
 nisters whom the King employed in Italy; the two fa-
 milies 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 em-
 bassies into Spain. His brother Peter was also em-
 ployed 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 Croke 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 publicly dis-
 covered, that he was employed 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 Croke had informed against them. But they
 wrote to the King, that he was so morose and ill-na-
 tured, 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 ne-
 cessary, if it were not to shew that he was not in a
 condition to corrupt so many divines, and whole uni-
 versities, as some have given out. He got into the ac-
 quaintance of a friar at Venice, Franciscus Georgius,
 who had lived forty-nine years in a religious order,

and was esteemed the most learned man in the republic, 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 heretics*. He was also of the senatorian quality, and his brother was Governor of Padua, and paid all the readers there. This friar 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 republic, among whom he had much credit. Thomas Omnibonus, a Dominican, Philippus de Cre-
Many in Italy write for the King's cause.
 mis, 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 brother's wife, when he died without children, did only bind in the land of Judea, 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 brother's 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 he was employed. But the government of Venice was so strict, that, when it was known whose agent he was, he found it not easy 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 Feb. 18.

BOOK when the ambassador pressed, as an evidence of neutrality, that the senate would leave it free to their di-

II.

1530.

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

Though the Pope and Emperor discouraged them.

July 4.

touching the Pope's power his agents did every where 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 dis-

August 7.

Sept. 16.

patch, that the breve was at length gained, not without much opposition made to it by the Emperor's ambassadors: for at Rome, though they knew not well how to oppose this method, because it seemed 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 BOOK the precedent, that a company of poor friars should II. dictate to them in matters of this nature. Crooke re- 1530. ports, out of a letter of Cranmer's to him from Rome, July 28. these words: *As for our successes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any man's 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 Aug. 5. 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 Septemb. 7. 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 express 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 Feb. 8. by Peter a Ghinuccii, out of which I have extracted these particulars: *Item, to a Servite friar when he sub- Only some small ac- scribed, one crown. To a Jew, one crown. To the knowledg- Doctor of the Servites, two crowns. To the Observant ments; friars, two crowns. To the Prior of St. John and St. Paul's, who wrote for the King's cause, fifteen crowns. To that convent, four crowns. Item, Given to John*

BOOK *Maria for his expence of going to Milan from Venice,*
 II. *and for rewarding the doctors there, thirty crowns.*

1580. *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,

Feb. 22. 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,

Feb. 9. 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.

Sept. 16. 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 five hundred ducats a year given him in reward. And the Emperor's ambassador offered a thousand ducats 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

But great rewards given by the Emperor.

Sept. 29. had a benefice of six hundred 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 tried what could be done at Padua, both by threatenings, 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

Feb. 18. 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. BOOK II.
1530.

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 misrepresent 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 twenty-four 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 Nuncio 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 Pope's and Emperor's emissaries did threaten all that subscribed, yet there were got eighty hands at Padua. Next the universities determined. March 29.
May 26.
June 27.

At Bononia, though it was the Pope's town, many subscribed. The Governor 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 tenth of June, the matter being publicly 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* They determined for the King at Bononia,
June 10.

BOOK *infidels, being parts of the law of nature, as well as of*
 II. *the law of God; and that therefore they judged mar-*
 1530. *riage in these degrees unlawful, and that the Pope had*
no authority to dispense with them.

At Padua,
 July 1.
 Collect.
 Numb. 33.

The university of Padua, after some days public dispute, on the first of July determined to the same purpose; about which Crooke's letter will be found among the Instruments at the end of this book.

And Ferrara, Sept.
 29.

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 seventy-two of that profession, it was determined for the King; but they asked one hundred and fifty 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.

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 seventh of April. The faculty of the canon law at

Paris did also conclude, that the Pope had no power to dispense in that case, on the twenty-fifth of May. BOOK II.

But the great and celebrated faculty of the Sorbonne 1530. At Paris of the canonists, May 25. Of the Sorbonne, July 2. (whose conclusions had been looked on for some ages as little inferior 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 Holy Ghost, and every one took an oath to study the question, and resolve it according to his conscience; and from the eighth of June, to the second 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 dispense in it*; and they set their common seal to it at St. Mathurin's, the second of July, 1530.

To the same purpose did both the faculties of law, civil At Angiers, May 7. and canon, at Angiers, determine the seventh of May.

On the tenth of June, the faculty of divinity at Bourges At Bourges, June 10. made the same determination. And on the first of October the whole university of Tholose did all with one consent give their judgment, agreeing with the And Tholose, Oct. 1. Collect. Numb. 34. 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 Osiander, whose niece he then married. Osiander Jan. 28. his original letter, Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 10. 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.

But now I find the King did likewise deal among

BOOK those in Switzerland that had set up the Reformation.

II.

1530.
Pelerine
Inglese.

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, vicious, 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, Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, and Paulus Phrygion.

Grineus employed amongst the reformers in Switzerland. Whose letters are in a MS. in R. Smith's Library.

The opinions of Œcolampadius;

Bucer;

Œcolampadius, as it appears by three letters, one dated the tenth of August 1531, another the last of the same month, another to Bucer the tenth of September, was positively of opinion, *That the law in Leviticus did bind all mankind; and says, That law of a brother's 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 twenty-ninth of August, another on the tenth 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 tenth 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, 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 public way, upon a received error: but advises, that the King should proceed in a judiciary way, and

BOOK
II.

1530.

Phrygion;

Zuinglius;

BOOK not establish so ill a precedent, as to put away his
 II. Queen, and take another, without due form of law.

1530. Dated Basil, the seventeenth of August. There is a second letter of his to the same purpose from Zurich, the first of September. There is also with these letters a long paper of Osiander's, in the form of a direction how the process should be managed.

And Calvin, Epist.
 384.

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 fancy 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 brother's wife while he is yet alive*; he shews that could not be admitted; for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the same stile, 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 brother's wife after his death. And for the law in Deuteronomy, of *marrying the brother's 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 forbade him to write about it to the King, perhaps as whisperers enjoin silence, as the most effectual way to make a thing public. But for Melancthon's being of that mind, great evidences appear to the contrary ; for there is a letter of Osiander's to him, giving him many reasons to persuade 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.

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, 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

BOOK II.

1590.
Lord Herbert, from an orig. let. Sept. 18, 1580.

The opinion of the Lutheran divines.

Instructions sent by Dr. Barns to Cromwel. Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.

They condemn the King's first

BOOK might be annulled, and therefore demurred upon that ;
 II. 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.

1530.
 marriage,
 but are
 against a
 second.
 Collect.
 Numb. 35.

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 apostolic see, yet they were unworthy of men, who designed to restore an apostolic religion.

Fox.

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 Queen's 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

The King
 refuses to
 appear at
 Rome.

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 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 died in prison.

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 was done by his parliament ; but in that he had not applied his ordinary diligence : the letter bears date the thirteenth 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 twenty-first of June till the first 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,

BOOK
II.

1530.

Cranmer offers to maintain the King's cause.

The nobility, clergy, and commons of England write to the Pope.

In the Life of Wolsey.

BOOK II. and with what cheerfulness he set his hand to it. It was subscribed by the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, two dukes, two marquises, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, most of these being the King's servants.

This letter and the answer are printed 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 the King; who both by his authority, and with his pen, had supported the apostolic see, and the catholic 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 27th 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 apostolic 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 rigour 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 ap-
 “ peal, and an avocation of the cause, must be granted.
 “ That since that time the King had never desired to
 “ put it to a trial, but, on the contrary, by his ambas-
 “ sadors 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 universities
 “ 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 con-
 “ clusions, and he had also seen very important things
 “ for the other side ; and therefore he must not pre-
 “ cipitate a sentence, in a cause of such high import-
 “ ance, 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
 “ threatenings of seeking other remedies, they were
 “ neither agreeable to their wisdom, nor to their reli-
 “ gion. Therefore he admonished them to abstain
 “ from such counsels ; but minded them, that it is not
 “ the physician’s fault if the patient will do himself
 “ hurt. He knew the King would never like such

BOOK
II.

1530.

BOOK “ courses ; and though he had a just value for their
 II. “ intercession, yet he considered the King much
 1530. “ more, to whom, as he had never 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.”

A procla-
 mation a-
 gainst bulls
 from Rome.
 Lord Her-
 bert.

But the King, either seeing the Pope resolved to grant nothing, or apprehending that some bull might be brought into England in behalf of the Queen, or the disgraced Cardinal, did on the nineteenth of September put forth a proclamation against any “ who purchased any thing from Rome, or elsewhere, contrary to his royal prerogative and authority, or should publish or divulge any such thing, requiring them not to do it, under the pains of incurring his indignation, imprisonment, and other punishments on their persons.” This was founded on the statute of *provisors* and *præmunires*. 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 compare all that had been written on it, and out of all the transcripts of the manuscripts, of fathers and councils, to gather together whatsoever 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

Books writ-
 ten for the
 King’s
 cause.

Otho. C. 10.

Ibidem.

Vesp. B. 5.
 Collect.
 Numb. 36,

are three other such MSS. in the Cotton Library, of which one contains 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 Queen’s cause. A third digests the matter into twelve articles, which the reader will find in my Appendix ; and these are there enlarged on and proved. But all these, and many more, were summed up in a short

book, and printed first in Latin, 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 matter, that I hope the reader will not be ill pleased to have a short abstract of them laid before him.

BOOK
II.

1530.

*An abstract of those things which were written for the
Divorce.*

“ The law of marriage was originally given by God, The
 “ to Adam in the state of innocence, with this declara- ^{grounds of}
 “ tion, that man and wife *were one flesh*; but being ^{it in the Old}
 “ afterwards corrupted by the incestuous commixtures ^{Testament;}
 “ of those which were of kin in the nearest degrees,
 “ the primitive law was again revived by Moses. / And ^{Lev. xviii.}
 “ he gives many rules and prohibitions about the de- ^{20.}
 “ grees 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 pre-
 “ face which is so oft repeated before these laws, *I am* ^{Lev. xviii.}
 “ *the Lord*, insinuates that they were conform to the ^{2, 4, 5, 6,}
 “ divine nature; so the consequences of them show ^{21.}
 “ they were moral and natural. For the breaches of ^{Ver. 17, 24,}
 “ them are called *wickedness* and *abomination*, and are ^{26.}
 “ said to *defile the land*; and the violation of them is ^{Ver. 24, 25.}
 “ 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* ^{Lev. xviii.}
 “ *brother's wife; it is thy brother's nakedness.* And it ^{16.}
 “ is again repeated, *If a man shall take his brother's* ^{Lev. xx. 21.}

BOOK II. “ *wife, it is an unclean thing ; he hath uncovered his*
 1530. “ *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.

And in the New. “ In the New Testament, St. John Baptist said to
 Matt. xiv. 4. “ 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
 1 Cor. v. 3. “ 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 *fornica-*
 “ *tion not so much as named among the Gentiles.*
 “ From whence it is inferred, that these forbidden de-
 “ grees 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 catholic 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 pri-
 “ vate understanding of the Scriptures, it is the way of
 “ heresy, and savours of Lutheranism. The first of
 “ the fathers, who had occasion to write of this matter,
 “ was Tertullian, who lived within an age after the
 Lib. iv. cont. Marcionem. “ Apostles. He in express words says, that the law of
 “ not marrying the brother’s wife did still oblige
 “ Christians.

“ The first pope, whose decision was sought in this **BOOK**
 “ matter, was Gregory the Great, to whom Austin, the II.
 “ apostle of England, wrote for his resolution of some 1530.
 “ things, in which he desired direction; and one of The autho-
 “ these is, *Whether a man may marry his brother's* rities of
 “ *wife?* (who in the language of that time was called popes.
 “ 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 dis-
 “ pensed 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. ^a Calixtus, ^b Za-
 “ carias, and ^c Innocent the Third, have plainly asserted
 “ the obligation of these precepts in the law of Moses; ^a Ad omnes
 “ the last particularly, who treats about it with great ^b Galliæ epi-
 “ vehemency: so that the apostolic see has already ^c scopos,
 “ judged the matter. ^{30. Quæst.}
 “ ^{3. Cap. Pi-}
 “ ^{tanum.}
 “ ^{c De Pres.}
 “ ^{cap. cum}
 “ ^{in juven-}
 “ ^{tutem.}
 “ ^{And Coun-}
 “ ^{cils.}
 “ ^{Can. 2.}

“ Several provincial councils have also declared the
 “ obligation of the precepts, about the degrees of mar-
 “ riage in Leviticus, by the council at Neocæsarea;
 “ *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 brother's wife*
 “ *was to be anathematized,* which was also confirmed in Chap. v.
 “ a council held by Pope Gregory the Second. In the
 “ council of Agde, where the degrees that make a mar- Can. 61.
 “ riage incestuous are reckoned, this of marrying the
 “ brother's wife is one of them: and there it was de-

BOOK II. " creed, *that all marriages within these degrees were*
 1530. " *null; and the parties so contracting were to be cast*
 Chap. v. " *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 Con-
 " stance, these condemnations were confirmed. So
 " formally had the church in many provincial coun-
 " cils, and in one that was general, decided this
 " matter.

• And the " Next to these, the opinions of the fathers were to
 Greek. " be considered. In the Greek church ^a Origen first
 In xx. Levit. " had occasion to treat about it, writing on Leviticus;
 b Homil. 71. " and ^b Chrysostom after him; but most fully ^c St. Basil
 on xxii. " the Great, who do expressly assert the obligations of
 Matt. " these precepts. The last particularly refuting, at
 c Epist. ad " great length, the opinion of some who thought the
 Diodor. " marrying two sisters was not unlawful, lays it down
 " as a foundation, that the laws in Leviticus about
 " marriage were still in force. Hesychius also, writing
 On Levit. " upon Leviticus, proves that these prohibitions were
 xviii. and " universally obligatory, because both the Egyptians
 xx. " and Canaanites are taxed for marrying within these
 " degrees; from whence he infers, they are of moral
 " and eternal obligation.

And the La- " From the Greek they went to the Latin fathers,
 tin fathers. " and alleged, as was already observed, that Tertullian

^a Lib. viii. " held the same opinion; and with him agreed the
 Ep. lxvi. " three great doctors of the Latin church, ^a Ambrose,
 b Cont. Hel- " ^b Jerome, and ^c St. Austin, who do plainly deliver the
 vidium. "
 c Cont. "
 Faust.

“ 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 brother’s marrying the brother’s wife, if he died without children.

BOOK
II

1530.

chap. 8,
9, 10.

et Quæst.

64. in Lev.

Ad Bonifac.

lib. iii.

chap. 4.

Lib. 15. de

Civ. Dei,

chap. xvi.

And of the

modern

writers.

In Epist.

ad Pium

fratrem.

^d On xviii.

Lev.

^e Lib. ii. de

Sacram. p.

2. chap. iv.

Art. 2.

^f Epist. ad

Arch. Roto-

mag. et

Epis. Sag.

^g Epist. 240.

“ They observed, that the same doctrine was also taught by the fathers and doctors in the latter ages. ^d Anselm held it, and pleads much for marrying in remote degrees, and answers the objection from the decision in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad. ^e Hugo Cardinalis, Radulphus Flaviacensis, and Rupertus Tuitiensis, do agree, that these precepts are moral, and of perpetual obligation; as also Hugo de Sto. Victore. ^f 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 shows, that by no means it can be allowed. And ^g Ivo Carnotensis, being desired to give his opinion in a case of the same circumstances, of a king’s marrying his brother’s 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. Altisiodorensis says, they are moral laws, and part of

The school
men.

2^{da}, 2^{dæ},

Quest. 154.

art. 9. In

tertiam

BOOK II. “ the law of nature. Petras de Palude is of the same
 1590. “ mind ; and says, that a man’s marrying his brother’s
 Quæst. 54. “ wife was a dispensation granted by God, but could
 art. 3. In “ not be now allowed, because it was contrary to the
 4th dist. “ law of nature. St. Antonine of Florence, Joannes de
 40. Q. 3. “ Turre Cremata, Joannes de Tabia, Jacobus de Lau-
 et 4. “ sania, and Astexanus, were also cited for the same
 “ opinion. And those who wrote against Wickliffe,
^a Cont. “ namely, ^aWydeford, ^bCotten, and ^cWaldensis, charg-
 Wickl. art. “ ed him with heresy, for denying that those prohibi-
 8. “ tions did oblige Christians : and asserted, that they
^b De licitis “ were moral laws, which obliged all mankind. And
 et illicitis “ the books of Waldensis were approved by Pope Martin
 Conjugiis. “ the First. There were also many quotations brought
^c Lib. de Sa- “ out of Petrus de Tarentasia, Durandus, Stephanus
 cram. tom. “ Brulifer, Richardus de Media Villa, Guido Briancon,
 ii. c. 134. “ 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
 And ca- “ the canonists were also of the same mind ; Joannes
 nonists. “ Andreas, Joannes de Imola, Abbas Panormitanus,
 “ Matthæus Neru, Vincentius, Innocentius, and Osti-
 “ ensis, all concluded that these laws were still in force,
 “ and could not be dispensed with.
 Marriage “ There was also a great deal alleged to prove, that
 completed “ a marriage is completed by the marriage-contract,
 by consent. “ though it be never consummated. Many authorities
 “ were brought to prove that Adonijah could not marry
 “ Abishag, because she was his father’s 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
 “ 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 BOOK
 “ her husband by the espousals, that he could not put II.
 “ her away but by a bill of divorce: and was after- 1530.
 “ wards called her husband, and Christ’s father. Affi-
 “ nity 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 con-
 “ sist in the contract: and therefore, as a man in
 “ orders has the character, though he never consecrated
 “ any sacrament; so marriage is complete, 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 complete
 “ 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 con-
 “ tract, which in modesty were suppressed. Both Hil-
 “ debert 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 completed 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 law-
 “ fully married to him, the King could not afterwards
 “ marry her.

“ It was also said, that *violent presumptions* were Violent pre-
 “ sufficient in the opinion of the canonists to prove sumptions
 “ consummation. Formal proofs could not be expect- of the con-
 “ ed; and for persons that were of age, and in good sum-
 “ mation
 “ of Prince
 “ Arthur’s
 “ marriage.

BOOK "health, to be in bed together, was, in all trials about

II.

1530.

"consummation, all that the canonists sought for.
 "And yet this was not all in this case; for it appeared,
 "that, upon her husband's 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, (re-
 "peated 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 herself by oath, that Prince
 "Arthur never knew her, it was proved by many
 "authorities out of the canon-law, that a party's oath
 "ought not to be taken, when there were *violent pre-*
 "*sumptions* to the contrary.

The Pope's
 dispensa-
 tion of
 force.

"As for the validity of the Pope's dispensation, it
 "was said, that though the schoolmen 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*

In quod lib.
 lib. 4.
 Art. 13. et
 in quartam
 dist. 15.
 Q. 3. Art. 2.
 Sup. Cap.
 Coniunc-
 tionis 35.
 Q. 2. et 3.

"cannot dispense with them in any case. This Aquinas
 "delivers in many places of his works, Petrus de
 "Palude says, the Pope cannot dispense with mar-
 "riage 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
 "wife's sister. The matter was long considered of,
 "and debated in the Rota, himself being there, and
 "bearing a share in the debate; but it was concluded,
 "that if any Pope, either out of ignorance, or being
 "corrupted, had ever granted such a dispensation, that

“ could be no precedent or warrant for doing the like BOOK II.
 “ any more, since the church ought to be governed by 1530.
 “ laws, and not by such examples. Antonin, and Jo-
 “ hannes de Tabia, held the same. And one Bacon,
 “ an Englishman, who had taught the contrary, was
 “ censured for it even at Rome; and he did retract his
 “ opinion, 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 An-Sup. Cap. Literas de Rest. Spons.
 “ dreas, 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* Cap. ad Audien. Sponsal.
 “ *in practice, because great princes do often desire dis-*
 “ *pensations from popes.* Pope Alexander the Third
 “ 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 popes, it was brought in in
 “ the latter ages. All the fathers with one consent be-
 “ lieved, that the laws of God could not be dispensed
 “ with by the church, for which many places were
 “ cited out of St. Cyprian, Basil, Ambrose, Isidore,
 “ Bernard, and Urban; Fabian, Marcellus, and Inno-
 “ cent, that were popes; besides an infinite number of
 “ later writers. And also the Popes Zosimus, Damas-
 “ cus, 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
 “ Christ’s Vicar, cannot be supposed to have so great a

BOOK II. " power as to abrogate the law of God : though it is
 1530. " acknowledged, 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 occasions, holy
 " bishops have refused to comply with, or submit to
 " orders sent from Rome, when they thought the mat-
 " ter of them unlawful.

Several bi-
 shops refuse
 to submit
 to the Pope's
 decrees.
 Guljelm.
 Malmesbur.
 lib. i.

" Laurence, that succeeded Austin the Monk in the
 see of Canterbury, having excommunicated King
 Edbald for an incestuous marriage, would not ab-
 solve him till he put away his wife ; though the
 Pope plied him earnestly, both by entreaties and
 threatenings, to let it alone, and absolve him. Dun-
 stan did the like to Count Edwin, for another in-
 cestuous marriage ; nor did all the Pope's interpo-
 sition make him give over. They found many other
 such instances, which occurred in the ecclesiastical
 history, of bishops proceeding by censures, 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 sin-
 ful, ought presently to forsake it, according 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 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 alleged out of profane authors, to show
 “ what an abhorrency some heathen nations had of BOOK II.
 “ incestuous marriages. 1530.

“ And whereas the chief strength of the arguments The authority of tradition.
 “ 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 an-
 “ swered, that if the laws about marriage were moral,
 “ as had been proved, then there was no need of a par-
 “ ticular confirmation, since those words of our Saviour,
 “ *I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it*, do con-
 “ firm 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 catholic faith, lay down
 “ as a fundamental truth. And without it, how could
 “ the seven sacraments, (some of which are not men-
 “ tioned in the New Testament,) with many other
 “ articles of catholic belief, be maintained against the
 “ heretics? 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.”

This I have summed up in as short and compre-
 hensive 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

BOOK against it, by those who wrote on the other side for the
 II. Queen's cause, to prove the validity of the marriage,
 1530. 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 :

The argu-
 ments for
 the mar-
 riage.

“ 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 promised 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 dispensed with ; and if Moses dispensed 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 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 step-mothers allowed ; but even among the Jews, Adonijah desired Abishag in marriage, who had been his father's concubine.”

From all which they concluded, "That the laws about
 " the degrees of marriage were only judiciary pre-
 " cepts, and so there was no other obligation on Chris-
 " tians to obey them, than what flowed from the laws
 " of the church, with which the Pope might dis-
 " pense. 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
 " brother's wife.

" They also pleaded, that the Pope's power of dis-
 " pensing did reach further than the laws of the
 " church, even to the law of God; for he daily dis-
 " pensed with the breaking of oaths and vows, though
 " that was expressly contrary to the second command-
 " ment: and though the fifth commandment, *Thou*
 " *shalt do no murder*, be against killing, yet the Pope
 " dispensed 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 ac-
 " cording 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 mo-
 " ral, and did oblige Christians or not, the Pope must
 " be the only judge. There were also some late pre-
 " cedents found, one of P. Martin, who, in the case of a
 " man's having married his own sister, who had lived
 " long with her, upon a consultation with divines and
 " lawyers, confirmed 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 judg-
 " ment of God, and not to be condemned.

"The Pope had granted this dispensation, upon a

BOOK II. 1531. “ 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
 “ controversy.

The an-
 swers 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 pre-
 “ lates 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 ca-
 “ tholic doctors hold to be the foundation of all he-
 “ resy ; 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 pro-
 “ hibitions of the degrees of marriage are moral, and
 “ do oblige all Christians. Against this authority, Ca-
 “ jetan 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 condemned. May it not
 “ then be justly said of such men, that they plead
 “ much for tradition when it makes for them, but re-
 “ ject it when it is against them ? Therefore all these
 “ exceptions are overthrown with this one maxim of
 “ catholic 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 BOOK
 “ sense of all men : but as there are some moral pre- II.
 “ cepts, which have that natural evidence in them, 1581.
 “ that all men must discern it ; so there are others, that
 “ are drawn from public inconvenience and dishonesty,
 “ which are also parts of the law of nature : these pro-
 “ hibitions 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 conjunctures in these degrees, families would be
 “ much defiled. This is the foundation of the prohi-
 “ bitions 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 evi-
 “ dent, as to be easily collected by the light of na-
 “ ture. And for the story of Judah 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
 “ brother’s 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 public con-
 “ veniency and honesty, are dispensable by God in some
 “ cases ; but because Moses did it by divine revela-
 “ tion, it does not follow that the Pope can do it by
 “ his ordinary authority.

“ For that about Herod, it is not clear from Jose-
 “ phus that Philip was alive when Herod married his
 “ wife. For all that Josephus says is, that she sepa-
 “ rated from her husband when he was yet alive, and
 “ divorced herself 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,

BOOK II. “ and broken by it as much as if the party had been
 1531. “ dead, so that in that case she might have married
 “ any other : therefore Herod’s sin in taking her was
 “ from the relation of having been his brother’s 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 mar-
 “ rying their step-mothers, yet these things were ge-
 “ nerally 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 brother’s 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 fa-
 “ ther, 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 public authority. Nor must
 “ the practices of latter popes be laid in the balance
 “ against the decisions of former popes, and the doc-
 “ trine of the whole church ; and as to the power
 “ that was ascribed to the Pope, that began now to
 “ be inquired into with great freedom, as shall appear
 “ afterwards.”

The Queen
 still intrac-
 table.

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

Hall.

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 unmoveable, 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 twentieth 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

BOOK in the convocation, when another of far greater consequence passed there, which will require a full and

II.

1531.

The whole clergy used in a *præmunire*.

distinct account. Cardinal Wolsey, by exercising his legantine authority, had fallen into a *præmunire*, as hath been already shown; and now those who had appeared in his courts, and had suits 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 the King's Bench against all the clergy of England, for breaking the statutes against provisions or provisors. But to open this more clearly,

The prerogatives of the kings of England in ecclesiastical affairs.

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 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 investures, 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 pope's side, because of the im-

munity 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.

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, abbeyes, 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, abbeyes, 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,

BOOK
II.

1531.
The encroachment of the papacy.

Mat. Paris.

The laws made against them.

25 Edw. I. repeated in the statute of provisors. 25 Edward III.

BOOK II. by another act in his grandchild Edward the Third'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 virtue of such provisions, those provisors, or others employed by them, were to be put in prison till they made fine and ransom to the King at his will; or if they could not be apprehended, writs were to be issued out to seize them, and all benefices possessed by them were to fall into the King's hands, except they were abbeys or priories, that fell to the canons or colleges. By another act, the provisors were put out of the King's protection; and if any man offended against them, in person or goods, he was excused, and was never to be impeached for it. And two years after that, upon another complaint of their suing the King's 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 King's courts, were to be cited to answer for it in the King's courts within two months; and if they came not, they were to be put out of the King's protection, and to forfeit their lands, goods, and chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned and ransomed at the King's will. Both these statutes received a new confirmation*

1531.
25 Ed. III.
Statute of
provisors.

27 Edward
III. cap. 1.

28 Edward
III. cap. 1.

eleven years after that. But those statutes proved ineffectual; and in the beginning of the reign of Richard the Second, 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 seventh year of that King, provisions were made against aliens having benefices without the King's 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 tried and judged in the King's 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 advowsons tried in their courts; and bishops were excommunicated, who proceeded in this matter according to the law. Of which great complaint was made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second. 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 inconveniences 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 King's crown and regality, used and approved in the time of his progenitors: there-*

BOOK
II.1531.
Richard
II. cap. 3.12 Richard
II. cap. 15.16 Richard
II. cap. 5.

BOOK II. *fore all the Commons resolved to live and die 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 leageance. Whereupon it 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 Fourth 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

² Hen. IV.
cap. 4.

*thirteenth year of the former King's reign against pro-
visors.* 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 sixth
year of his reign, complaints being made of the exces-
sive rates of compositions for archbishopricks and bi-
shopricks in the Pope's chamber, *which were raised to
the treble of what had been formerly paid*; it was en-
acted, *that they should pay no more than had been for-
merly wont to be paid.* In the seventh year of his
reign, the statute made in the second year was con-
firmed; and by another act, *the licences which the
King had granted for the executing any of the Pope's
bulls are declared of no force to prejudice any incumbent
in his right.* Yet the abuses and encroachments of the
court of Rome still increasing, all former statutes
against provisors were confirmed again, and all elec-
tions 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 the Fifth, against provisors, *that
the incumbents lawfully invested in their livings should
not be molested by them, though they had the King's
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

BOOK the beginning of Richard the Second's reign, till the
II. fourth year of Henry the Fifth; the popedom was
 1531. broken by a long and great schism; and the kingdoms
 of Europe were divided in their obedience; some hold-
 ing for those that sate 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 to do;
 otherwise this kingdom had certainly been put under
 excommunications and interdicts for these statutes,
 as had been done formerly upon less provocations.

Ex MSS.
D. Petyt.

Reg. Chi-
chel. Fol,
30.

But now that the schism was healed, Pope Martin the Fifth began to reassume 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,

The first letter is to Henry Chichely, 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 : there-
 fore the Pope, who waited for a good conjuncture, 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 *præ-
 munire*, 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, un-
 der 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.

But it seems the Pope was not satisfied with his
 answer ; for the next letter in that MS. 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 Arch-
 bishop's, from the Pope's 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 Pope's zeal in this matter was only that
 he might raise much money out of England* ; which he

BOOK
 II.
 1531.

Collect.
 Numb. 37.

BOOK resents as an high injury, and protests that he designed
 II. only to maintain those rights that Christ himself had
 1531. 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 the next letter is of an higher strain. It is directed to the two Archbishops only; and, it seems, in despite to Chichely, 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 monitory 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 eighth 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 tenth and the twenty-fifth 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 com-*

manded by the King to bring them, with the seals entire, and lay them up in the paper-office, till the parliament was brought together. BOOK
II.

1531.

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 itself 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 thirteenth of October, in the tenth 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 thirteenth of October.

And to the
King and
parliament.
Collect.
Numb. 88.

Collect.
Numb. 89.

The parliament sate in January 1427, being the sixth year of King Henry the Sixth; during which, on the thirtieth of January, the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, St. David's, Ely, and Norwich, 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 Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.* He began with a protestation, that he and his brethren intended not

BOOK to say any thing that might derogate from the King,
 II. the crown, or the people of England. Then he alleged

1531.

But to no
 purpose.
 Collect.
 Numb. 40.

many things for the Pope's power in granting provisions, to prove it was of divine right, and admonished and 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 Archbishop's 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
 themselves.

Thus stood the law of England in that matter, which was neither repealed nor well executed; for the Pope's usurpations still increasing, 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 Wolsey 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 public 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 public, 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.

BOOK
II.

1531.

Yet they
compound;

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 persuade them to it, they were prevailed with to pass it with that title, at least none speaking against it: for when Warham, Archbishop 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

And ac-
knowledge
the King
supreme
head of
the church
of England.
Lord Her-
bert.Antiquit.
Britanniæ
in vita
Warham.Printed in
the Cabala.

BOOK to be understood in their strict sense, but according to
 II. the common acceptation. And among other things, he
 1531. showed what an explanation was made in the convoca-
 tion of Canterbury, that it was *in so far as was agree-
 able 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 sixty-two 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 *supreme
 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 100,000*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
 18,840 *l.* with another submission of the same
 nature afterwards, though that met with more oppo-
 sition, they were also pardoned.

The Com-
 mons desire
 to be in-
 cluded in
 the King's
 pardon.
 Hall.

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 them- BOOK
selves out of his favour, which they concluded from the II.
pardon of the pains of *præmunire* to his spiritual sub- 1531.
jects, 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.

But his other concerns made him judge it very unfit Which the
King after-
wards
grants.
to send away his parliament discontented; and since
he was so easy 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 of his own ac-
cord 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.

During this session of parliament, an unheard-of Oneattain-
ed for poi-
soning.
crime was committed by one Richard Rouse, a cook,
who on the sixteenth of February poisoned a vessel of
yest, that was to be used in porridge in the Bishop
of Rochester's kitchen, with which seventeen 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 in-
fected, one woman dying. The person was appre-
hended, and by act of parliament poisoning was de- 22 Hen.
VIII.
Act. 16.
clared treason, and Rouse was attainted, and sentenced

BOOK II. of poisoning for all times to come, that the terror of
 1591. this unheard-of punishment might strike a horror in
 Hall. 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.

Lord 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 manors. 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 fourteenth of July, and never saw her more. She removed first to Moor, then to Easthamstead, and at last to Ampthill, where she stayed longer.

The clergy went now about the raising of the hundred thousand pounds, 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 inferior 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 Bishop's officers would only admit some few to enter; but the rest forced the door, and rushed in, and the Bishop's 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 burden.* But they answered, they had never meddled with any of the Cardinal's faculties, and so had not fallen in the *præmunire*; and that their

BOOK II.
1531.
A disorder among the clergy of London about the subsidy. Hall.

BOOK II. 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 King's 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 laymen 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 Bishop's 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 laymen were committed to several prisons: but whether the inferior clergy payed their proportion of the tax, or not, I have not been able to discover.

The Pope falls off to the French faction.

This year the state of affairs beyond sea changed very considerably. The Pope expected not only to recover Florence to his family by the Emperor's 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 Pope's 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 Orleans, (afterwards Henry the Second,) and his

niece Catharina de Medici ; which did work much on the Pope's 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.

BOOK II.
1531.
A match projected between the Pope's niece and the Duke of Orleance.

This change in the Pope's mind might have produced another in the King's 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 King's mercy ; so he did not fear much from them, especially in the southern parts, which were the richest and best people : therefore the King went on resolutely. The Pope, on the other hand, was in great perplexity ; he saw England

BOOK ready to be lost, and knew not what to do to rescue or
 II. preserve it. If he gave way to what was lately done in
 1531. the business of the *præmunire*, 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 Empe-
 ror is en-
 gaged in a
 war with
 the Turk.

The Emperor was more remiss in prosecuting the
 Queen's 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 scan-
 dal of the most Christian King, was imputed to his
 councils and presents at the Port;) and all the Empe-
 ror's thoughts were taken up with this. Therefore, as
 he gave the protestant princes of Germany some pre-
 sent satisfaction in religion and other matters; so he
 sent over to England, and desired the King's assistance
 against that vast army of 300,000 men that was falling
 in upon Christendom. To this the King made a gene-
 ral 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, entered into a
 league with him, for the defence of the rights of the
 empire. And, to make this firmer, the King was invit-
 ed by the French King to join in it; to which he con-
 sented, 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 Queen's 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 had
 another consideration, which seems unworthy of so
 great a King, that he himself, being at that time so
 public a courtier of ladies, was not ill pleased to set

forward a thing of that nature. “But though princes BOOK
 “allow themselves their pleasures, yet they seldom II.
 “govern their affairs by such maxims.”

In the beginning of the next year a new session of 1532.
 parliament was held, in which the House of Commons The parlia-
 went on to complain of many other grievances they ment com-
 lay under from the clergy, which they put in a writing, plains of
 and presented it to the King. In it they complained the eccle-
 of the proceedings in the spiritual courts, and especially siastical
 their calling men before them, *ex officio*, and laying courts.
 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 Hall.
 very grievous and intolerable. This was occasioned
 by some violent proceeding against some reputed here-
 tics, of which an account shall be given afterwards.
 But those complaints were stifled, and great misunder-
 standings arose between the King and the House of
 Commons upon this following occasion.

There was a common practice in England of men's But reject
 making such settlements of their estates by their last a bill about
 wills, or other deeds, that the King and some great wards.
 lords were thereby defrauded of the advantages they
 made by *wards, marriages, and primer seisin*. For reg-
 ulating 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 The Com-
they had been at since the beginning of the parliament, mons peti-
and that it would please his Grace of his princely benig- tion that
nity to dissolve his court of parliament, and that his they may
subjects might return into their countries. be dissolv-
ed. To which

BOOK the King answered, " That for their complaints of the
 II. " clergy, he must hear them also before he could give
 1532. " judgment, since in justice he ought to hear both
 The King's " parties ; but that they desiring the redress of such
 answer. " abuses, was contrary to the other part of their pe-
 " tition ; 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 sta-
 tutes, shall be found in the end of this volume. The
 substance of it is as follows :

An act
 against *an-*
nates.
 Collect.
 Numb. 41.

" 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 archbishops and bi-
 " shops, to turn to the utter undoing of their friends,
 " who had advanced those sums for them. These *an-*
 " *nates* 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 parlia- BOOK
 “ ment therefore, considering that these were first be- II.
 “ gun to be paid to defend Christendom against infi- 1532.
 “ dels, 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 Seventh
 “ to that present time, amounted to 800,000 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 hin-
 “ der 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 im-
 “ poverishing of the kingdom. And therefore all pay-
 “ ments of first-fruits to the court of Rome were put
 “ down, and for ever 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 bi-
 “ shoprick should be notwithstanding consecrated by
 “ the archbishop of the province; or if he were pre-
 “ sented to an archbishoprick, 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 and ample manner; yet, that the Pope and court
 “ of Rome might have no just cause of complaint, the
 “ persons presented to bishopricks are allowed to pay
 “ them five *lib.* for the hundred, of the clear profits
 “ and revenues of their several sees. But the parlia-
 “ ment, not willing to go to extremities, remitted the

BOOK II. "final ordering of that act to the King, that if the
 1532. "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 pa-
 "tents, whether the premisses, or any part of them,
 "should be observed or not, which should give them
 "the full force and authority 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 other rites of the church,
 "to be administered, 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
 Parl. Rolls. ninth of July 1533; and then by letters patents (in
 which the act is at length recited) it was confirmed.

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 twenty-fifth 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 apostolic see, to do such a
 "thing while his suit was still depending, notwith-
 "standing a prohibition to the contrary. Therefore
 "the Pope, remembering his former merits, which
 "were now like to be clouded with his present car-
 "riage, did exhort him to take home his Queen, and
 "to put Anne away; and not to continue to provoke
 "the Emperor and his brother by so high an indig-
 "nity, nor to break the general peace of Christendom,

“ which was its only security against the power of the BOOK II.
 “ Turk.” What answer the King made to this, I do 1532.
 not find; but, instead of that, I shall set down the sub-
 stance 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 seventh of Oc-
 tober, 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 dis- Lord Her-
 patched to Rome in January 1532, to shew the Pope bert.
 the opinions of learned men, and of the universities,
 with their reasons. The letter will be found in the Collect.
 end of this volume; the contents of it are to this pur- Numb. 42.
 pose :

“ The Pope had writ to the King, in order to the A dispatch
 “ clearing all his scruples, and to give him quiet in his of the King
 “ conscience; of which the King takes notice, and is to the Pope.
 “ sorry that both the Pope and himself were so de-
 “ ceived in that matter; the Pope, by trusting to the
 “ judgments of others, and writing whatever they sug-
 “ gested; 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
 “ Pope’s letters (which, he says, had things in them
 “ contrary both to God’s law, and man’s law) to the
 “ ignorance and rashness of his counsellors: for which
 “ himself was much to be blamed, since he rested on
 “ their advice; and that he had not carried himself as
 “ became Christ’s Vicar, but had dealt both uncon-
 “ stantly 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 commis-
 “ sion, with a promise not to recall it, but to confirm
 “ the sentence which the Legates should give: and a
 “ decretal was sent over, defining the cause. If these

BOOK II.
 1532.

“ 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 con-
 “ sulting so many learned men, whose judgments dif-
 “ fered much from those few that were about the Pope,
 “ who thought the prohibition 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
 “ apostolic 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 men’s mouths : but many universities in Eng-
 “ land, France, and Italy, had declared the marriage
 “ unlawful, and the dispensation null. None ho-
 “ noured the apostolic 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
 “ Pope’s letters, he would offend God and his own con-
 “ science, and give scandal to those who condemned
 “ his marriage : he did not willingly dissent from him
 “ without a very urgent cause, that he might not seem
 “ to despise the apostolic see ; therefore he desired
 “ the Pope would forgive the freedom that he used,
 “ since it was the truth that drew it from him. And
 “ he added, that he intended not to impugn the Pope’s
 “ authority further, except he compelled him ; and

“ what he did was only to bring it within its first and
 “ ancient limits, to which it was better to reduce it, BOOK
II.
 “ than to let it always run on headlong and do amiss ; 1532.
 “ 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.”

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 proxy, at Rome, to answer to the Queen’s appeal : upon which Sir Edward Karne was sent to Rome, with a Sir Edward Karne sent to Rome. new character of Excusator. “ His instructions were, “ to take the best counsel for pleading an excuse 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.” Doctor 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 threatenings to be used to the Pope and cardinals, he was thought fittest for the employment, but was neither learned nor discreet.

They came to Rome in March, where they found His negotiation there, taken from the original letters. Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 13. 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

BOOK power; and except he provoked him, he did not intend to put it in execution. The ambassadors, finding

II.

1532.

the Cardinal of Ravenna of so great reputation, both for learning and virtue, that in all matters of that kind his opinion was heard as an oracle, and gave 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 shy: 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 twentieth 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 six thousand 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 seventh of February, 1532. This I set down as one of the most considerable arguments that could be used to satisfy the Cardinal's 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 Third) were prevailed with by arguments of the same nature, though I cannot find out what the bargains were. Providellus, that

The Cardinal of Ravenna corrupted by bribes. Collect. Numb. 43.

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 twenty-eight 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 Karne was served with a new order to appear in the congregation the third 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 entered in the Datary. This being considered in the congregation, they renewed the order of hearing it in the consistory on the tenth of April, and then Providellus opened three conclusions. Two of them related to Karne'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 this order, would not appear. Upon which Karne complained of their contumacy, and said, by that it was visible they were distrustful of their cause. On the fourteenth of April a new intimation was made to Karne, to appear on the seventeenth 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 nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first: (what these related to I find not.) Upon which Providellus ap-

BOOK
II.

1532.

Collect.
Numb. 44.Collect.
Numb. 45.

BOOK pealed, and answered the objections that did seem to
 II. militate against them ; but neither would the Impe-
 1532. rialists appear that session.

In June, news were brought to Rome, which gave the Pope great offence : a priest had preached for the Pope's 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 heresy, 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 ambassadors said, all such things might have been prevented, if the King had got justice at the Pope's hands.

A bull for
 erecting
 new bi-
 shopricks.

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.

Upon the twenty-seventh 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 et 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, though 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 King's 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 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 college 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 con-

BOOK
II.

1532.

The Pope
desires the
King would
submit to
him.
Collect.
Numb. 46.

BOOK II. 1532. sistory. 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 inconveniences that were like to follow, if the Queen were put away, particularly the ill consequence of the illegitimation of the Princess.

One moves for bringing the Queen to court:

At which the King is offended.

Upon this, the King took occasion (when he gave them the clergy's answer) to tell them, that he wondered 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 forty-one 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 Chancellor 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 eleventh 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 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.

BOOK
II.

1532.

A subsidy
is voted.The King
remits the
oaths which
the clergy
swore to be
considered
by the Com-
mons.*The oath to the Pope.*

"I John, Bishop or Abbot of A. from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope, and his successors, canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suf-

Their oath
to the Pope.

BOOK II. 1532. “fer 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 the regality of St. Peter, I shall help and maintain,
 “and defend against all men. The Legate of the see
 “apostolic going and coming, I shall honourably en-
 “treat. The rights, honours, privileges, authorities of
 “the church of Rome, and of the Pope and his suc-
 “cessors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, aug-
 “mented, and promoted. I shall not be in council,
 “treaty, 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 apostolic, to my power I shall keep,
 “and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schisma-
 “tics, 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 canonical impediment. The thresholds
 “of the Apostles I shall visit yearly personally, or by
 “my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my posses-
 “sions without the Pope’s counsel. So God me help
 “and the holy Evangelists.”

* *Prosequar
 et impugnabo*
 in orig.

The oath to the King.

Their 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, succes- BOOK
 “ sors, dignity, privilege, or estate royal. And also I II.
 “ do swear, that I shall be faithful and true, and faith- 1532.
 “ 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, acknowledging myself
 “ to hold my bishoprick of you only, beseeching you
 “ of restitution of the temporalities of the same, pro-
 “ mising as before, that I shall be a 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 bishoprick, I shall
 “ truly do, and obediently perform. So God me help
 “ and all saints.” In the original, it is only, So help me Cleop. E. 6.
 God, and these holy Evangelists. Bib. Cott.
Fol. 54.

The contradiction that was in these was so visible, More laid
 that it had soon produced a severe censure from the down his
 House, if the plague had not hindered both that, and office.
 the bill of subsidy. So on the fourteenth of May the
 parliament was prorogued. Two days after, Sir Tho-
 mas 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 King’s designs went; and though he was
 for cutting off the illegal jurisdiction which the popes
 exercised in England, and therefore went cheerfully
 along with the suit 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

BOOK was equal to what the ancient philosophers pretended
 II. in such cases. He also disliked Anne Boleyn, and
 1582. was prosecuted by her father, who studied to fasten
 some criminal imputations on him about the dis-
 charge of his employment; but his integrity had been
 such, that nothing could be found to blemish his re-
 putation.

An inter-
 view with
 the French
 King.

In September following, the King created Anne Bo-
 leyn Marchioness of Pembroke, to bring her by de-
 grees up to the height for which he had designed her.
 And in October he passed the seas, and had an inter-
 view with the French King; where all the most ob-
 liging compliments 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 con-
 sidered, it being generally believed that the French
 King and the Turk were in a good correspondence.
 As for the matter of the King's divorce, Francis en-
 couraged him to go on in it, and in his intended mar-
 riage with Anne Boleyn; promising, if it were ques-
 tioned, 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 con-
 science 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 the 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 BOOK
 this the King of England had some inclinations to go II.
 for ending all differences, if the Pope were well dis- 1532.
 posed to it.

Upon this Sir Thomas Eliot was sent to Rome with Eliot sent
 answer to a message the Pope had sent to the King, to Rome
 from whose instructions both the substance of the with in-
 message and of the answer may be gathered. "The structions.
 "Pope had offered to the King, that, if he would name Cott. Libr.
 "any indifferent place out of his own kingdom, he Vil. B. 13.
 "would send a legate and two auditors of the Rota
 "thither, to form the process, reserving only the sen-
 "tence to himself. The Pope also proposed a truce
 "of three or four years, and promised 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, considering the state of the Emperor's
 "affairs at that time with the Lutherans, he did not
 "think it was seasonable to call one. That as for
 "sending a proxy to Rome, if he were a private per-
 "son, he could do it; but it was a part of the prero-
 "gative of his crown, and of the privileges of his sub-
 "jects, that all matrimonial causes should be origi-
 "nally judged within his kingdom by the English
 "church, which was consonant to the general coun-
 "cils and customs of the ancient church, whereunto
 "he hoped the Pope would have regard: and that for
 "keeping 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
 "public contention, which had been hitherto enjoyed

BOOK II. 1532. “ without intrusion or molestation. 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 verify that, he sent an attested copy of the treaty between his father 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; therefore 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 King’s 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 bishoprick of Ely when it should be void.”

The King married Anne Boleyn Nov. 14. Cowper, Holinsties, and Sanders.

Soon after this, he married Anne Boleyn, on the fourteenth of November, upon his landing in England; but Stow says, that it was on the twenty-fifth 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 itself null, there was no need of a declarative sentence, after so many

universities and doctors had given their judgments 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.

BOOK
II.
1532.

But when the Pope and the Emperor met at Bonna, the Pope expressed great inclinations to favour the French King, from which the Emperor could not remove him, nor engage him to accept of a match for his niece, 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 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 Archbishop of Canterbury, with the whole clergy of his province, should determine it; or, that the King should name one, either Sir Thomas More or the Bishop of London; the Queen should name another, the French King should name a third, and the Archbishop 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 Queen's 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,

An inter-
view be-
tween the
Pope and
Emperor.

Some over-
tures about
the divorce.
Lord Her-
bert.

BOOK there was a nullity in all their proceedings, since the
 II. King was a sovereign prince, and the church of Eng-
 land a free church, over which the Pope had no just
 authority.

1533.
 A session of
 parliament.

An act
 against
 appeals to
 Rome. 24
 Hen. VIII.
 act 22.

But while this depended at Rome, another session
 of parliament was held in England, which began to
 sit on the fourth 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 complete body within itself, 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 annoy-
 " ance of the see of Rome, and other foreign poten-
 " tates; yet many inconveniences had risen by ap-
 " peals to the see of Rome in causes of matrimony, di-
 " vorces, 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, not-
 " withstanding 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 BOOK
 “ because of censures from Rome, they were to suffer a II.
 “ year’s imprisonment, and fine and ransom at the 1533.
 “ King’s will ; and if any persons in the King’s domi-
 “ nions procured or executed any process or censures
 “ from Rome, they were declared liable to the pains in
 “ the statute of *provisors*, in the sixteenth of Richard
 “ the Second. But that appeals should only be from
 “ the archdeacon or his official to the bishop of the
 “ diocese or his commissary, and from him to the arch-
 “ bishop of the province, or the dean of the Arches,
 “ where the final determination was to be made with-
 “ out any further process ; and in every process con-
 “ cerning the King, or his heirs and successors, an ap-
 “ peal should lie to the upper house of convocation,
 “ where it should be finally determined, never to be
 “ again called in question.”

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, Archbishop of Canterbury, was dead since August last year. He was a Warham’s death, Aug. 23. great canonist, an able statesman, a dexterous 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 heretics, and inclined to believe idle and fanatical people, as will afterwards appear, when the impostures of the Maid of Kent shall be related.

The King saw well of how great importance it was The King resolves to promote Cranmer. to the designs he was then forming, to fill that see

BOOK with a learned, prudent, and resolute man; but finding
 II. none in the episcopal order that was qualified to his
 1533. mind, and having observed a native simplicity, joined
 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 Cran-
 mer, designed to raise him to that dignity, and gave
 him notice of it, that he might make haste, and come
 home to enjoy that reward which the King had ap-
 pointed 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 re-
 turned very slowly to England, hoping that the King's
 thoughts cooling, some other person might step in be-
 tween him and a dignity, of which having a just and
 primitive sense, he did look on it with fear and appre-
 hension, 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 entreaties 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.

Cranmer's
 bulls from
 Rome.

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 promo-
 tion, 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 Osiander, 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 nine hundred ducats paid for them.

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 be Archbishop of Canterbury, which is directed to the King. By a second, directed to himself, he is made Archbishop. 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 Archbishop. All these bear date the twenty-first of February 1533. By a ninth bull, dated the twenty-second 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 pall was sent him. And by an eleventh, of the same date, the Archbishop 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 thirtieth of March consecrated by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St.

BOOK Asaph. But here a great scruple was moved by him

II.

1533.

His protestation about his oath to the Pope.

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 chapel 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.

Antiquit. Britanniae in vita Cranmer.

As soon as he was consecrated, and had performed every thing that was necessary for his investiture, he came and sate 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 brother's 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, fourteen were for the affirmative, seven 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, arguing for the affirmative; and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, for the negative. The opinions of nineteen universities were read for it; and the one house being as full as the other was empty, two hundred and sixteen being present, either in person or by proxy, it was carried in the affirmative, *nemine contradicente*; those few of the Queen's 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 looked 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 twenty-three persons in the lower house of convocation, and two hundred and sixteen 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 clergy; and that bishops, abbots, mitred and not mitred, and priors, deans and archdeacons sate then in

BOOK the upper house of convocation. To which I am in-
 II. duced by these two reasons: it is probable that all
 1533. 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 rea-
 son 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 Lords' 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 Canter-
 bury. 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 public
 and well known, any man (especially one of that high
 rank) would have delivered falsehoods, while the books
 were yet extant that would have disproved them.

New en-
 deavours to
 make the
 Queen
 submit:

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 in it. And when it was told her, that the King would settle the jointure 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 seventh 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, remembering 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.

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

BOOK
II.

1533.

But in vain.

BOOK with his marriage, and that it lay on him, as his duty,
 II. to see it tried and determined; therefore craved his

1533.
 Cranmer
 proceeds to
 a sentence
 of divorce.
 Taken
 from the
 originals.
 Cott. Libr.
 Otho. C. 10.

royal leave to proceed in it. Which being obtained, both the King and Queen were cited to appear before the Archbishop, at Dunstable, the twentieth of May; and the Archbishop went thither, with the Bishops of London, Winchester, (Gardiner,) Bath and Wells, and Lincoln, and many divines and canonists. That place was chosen because the Queen lay then very near it at Ampthill, 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 tenth of May the Archbishop sate 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 twenty-third 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 Archbishop in the sentence is called, *The Legate of the Apostolic 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 Archbishop, with all the rest, returned to London; and five days after, on the twen-

Collect.
 Numb. 47.

ty-eighth of May, at Lambeth, by another judgment he in general words (no reasons being given in the sentence) confirmed the King's marriage with the new Queen Anne; and the first of June she was crowned Queen.

BOOK
II.
1533.

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 King's proceedings as canonical and just, since so many authorities, which, in the interval 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 King's second marriage before the first was dissolved; for they thought it against the common course of law, to break a marriage without any public sentence: and since one of the chief politic 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 Archbishop 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

BOOK held when they were divines or canonists. It was also
 II. said, that the Archbishop did only declare, in legal
 1533. form, that which was already judged by the whole
 convocation of both provinces. Some wondered at the
 Pope's 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 Emperor's greatness, and the fear of
 giving the Lutherans advantages in disputing the
 Pope's authority, were, on the other hand, so pre-
 valent considerations, that no wonder they wrought
 much on a Pope, who pretended to no other know-
 ledge but that of policy; for he had often said, *He*
understood not the matter, and therefore left it in other
 men's 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 Anne's conduct, who had managed
 such a King's 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 mar-
 riage, as it made people conclude 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 friars, condemned
 it, both in their sermons and discourses.

But the King, little regarding the censures of the
 vulgar, sent ambassadors 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 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 threatenings, particularly concerning her daughter's being put next to the Queen's 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 herself 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 one's 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 threatening 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 stript her of the real greatness of a Queen, it seemed too much to vex her for keeping up the pageantry of it.

But the news of this made great impressions elsewhere. The Emperor received the King's 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

BOOK
II.

1533.

Cott. Lib.
Otho. C. 10.The Pope
unites him-
self to the
French
King.

BOOK II. 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 disunite those two Kings, whose conjunction had been so troublesome to him.

And condemns the King's 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 Pope's 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 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 Archbishop of BOOK Canterbury, (which, in the stile of the canon-law, II. were called the *attentates*;) for it was pretended, that 1533. the matter depending in the court of Rome, by the Queen's appeal, and the other steps that had been made, it was not in the Archbishop'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 King's 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.

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, Queen Elizabeth born Sept. 7. who was christened Elizabeth; (the renowned Queen of England;) the Archbishop of Canterbury being her godfather. 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.

BOOK

II.

1533.
An inter-
view be-
tween the
Pope and
French
King at
Marseilles.

The Pope
promises
to give sen-
tence for
the King of
England's
divorce.

Fidel. serv.
Infid. sub-
dit. Respon-
sio.

The interview between the Pope and the French King was at Marseilles in October, where the marriage was made up between the Duke of Orleans and Katharine de Medici; to whom, besides 100,000 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 King's 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 apostolic 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 heart's 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 authentic instrument of the King's 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 Archbishop of Canterbury, being threatened with a process from Rome, put in also his appeal to the next general council. Upon which Bonner delivered the threatenings 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 niece, 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 Pope's 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.

BOOK
II.

1533.

Bzovius.

Upon the French King's 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 Emperor's 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 eleventh of May 1534,) giving an account of a conference they had with Queen Katharine ; in which, among other motives they used, this was one ; to persuade her to comply with what

The French
King pre-
vails with
the King
of England
to submit
to the Pope.

BOOK II. the King had done : *That the Pope had said at Mar-*
 1533. *seilles, 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
 King's business.

Which was well received at Rome. When the Bishop of Paris came to Rome, the mo-
 tion 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

Hist. Coun-
 cil of Trent
 by Padre
 Paulo.

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 dispatched from the King, with a formal pro-
 mise 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 Mar-
 seilles, and there were six of that faction before, which,
 with the Pope's creatures, and the indifferent or venal
 voices, balanced 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 con-
 cerned to hinder it, to be the chief instruments of driv-
 ing it on. For the cardinals of the Imperial faction

But the Im-
 perialists
 opposed it.

were now very active ; they liked not the precedent of
 excluding the cardinals of the nation concerned out of
 any business. But above all things they were to hin-
 der 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 apostolic 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 twenty-third of March, the marriage between the King and Queen Katharine was declared good, and the King required to take her as his wife ; otherwise censures were to be denounced against him.

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 Far-

BOOK
II.

1533.

And with great preparation procure a sentence against the King.

The King resolves to abolish the Pope's power in England.

BOOK nese, that was afterwards Pope Paul the Third) came
 II. to the Pope, and desired that it might be again con-
 1533. sidered, 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 anew by
 the Pope and the consistory; and they ordered the
 Emperor to execute the sentence.

The King was now in so good hope of his business, that he sent Sir Edward Karne to Rome to prosecute his suit; who, on his way thither, met the Bishop of Paris coming back with his melancholic 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 fifteenth of January till the thirtieth 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.

Which had
 been much
 disputed
 there.

The Pope's 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 ex-BOOK
actions, which they also condemned. The condemn- II.,
ing all appeals to Rome followed that naturally. And 1533.
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 to-
gether there had been many public debates about it ;
and both in the parliament and convocation the thing
was long disputed, and all that could be alleged on
both sides was considered. The reader will be best Pelerine In-
able to judge of their reasons (and thereby of the ripe- glesc.
ness of their judgments, when they enacted the laws Hall.
that passed in this parliament) when he sees a full ac-
count 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 et 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, wrôte a long
letter in defence of the King's proceedings in this mat-
ter to Reginald (soon after Cardinal) Pool : from these
writings, and the sermons preached by some bishops
at this time, with other authentic pieces, I have ex-
tracted 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 Pope's
pretended power : the other, for setting up the King's
supremacy, with the explanations and limitations
of it.

“ First, of the Pope's power, they declared that they

BOOK " found no ground for it in the Scripture. All the

II. " Apostles were made equal by Christ, when he com-

1533.

The argu-
ments upon
which it
was reject-
ed.

" mitted 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 *wit-*

" *stood him to his face*. But whatsoever preeminence

" St. Peter might have, that was only personal, and

" there was no reason to affix it to his chair at Rome,

" more than at Antioch. But if any see be to be pre-

" ferred 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 : whereas

" 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 founded on St. Peter, as he was a private

" person, and so on the popes in their personal capa-

" city. But both St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, 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 Gerson and Æneas Silvius

" (afterwards Pope Pius the Second) rather 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* BOOK
 “ *of the kingdom of heaven*, and the charge, *Feed my* II.
 “ *sheep*, were addressed to St. Peter, in behalf of all the 1533.
 “ 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 pe-
 “ culiar province, beyond which he was not to stretch
 “ himself; and St. Peter’s province was the circum-
 “ cision, 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 Pope Stephen’s defi-
 “ nition in the point of re-baptizing of heretics; 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 complete and equal share.*
 “ And though some places are brought out of him con-
 “ cerning 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 Nova-
 “ tian had made there at Rome, being elected in oppo-
 “ sition to the Bishop that was rightly chosen; and of
 “ that unity only St. Cyprian writes in those places.
 “ But from all his epistles to the Bishops of Rome, it
 “ is visible he looked on himself as their equal, since
 “ he calls them *brother, colleague, and fellow-bishop.*
 “ And whatsoever 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 sate there, the suc-
 “ ceeding popes have no more right to pretend to such

BOOK II. 1533. “ 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 dignity 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 authority over the countries round about them, that he of Rome had over those that lay about that city. It is true, at that time the Arian heresy having spread generally over the eastern churches, from which the western were free, the oppressed catholic bishops of the east made appeals to Rome, and extolled that see by a natural maxim in all men, who magnify that from which they have protection. But the second general council took care that that should not grow a precedent; for they decreed, that every province should be governed by its own synod; and that bishops, when they were accused, must first be judged by the bishops of their own province, and from them they might appeal to the bishops of the diocese, 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 privileges 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 Faustianus 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 BOOK
 “ copies of the canons of that council ; but it was found II.
 “ that it was a forgery. From whence two things were 1533.
 “ observable : the one, that the church in that age had
 “ no tradition of any divine institution for the autho-
 “ rity 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 Em-
 “ peror 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 forerunner of Anti-
 “ christ ; saying, that none of his predecessors had ever
 “ claimed such a power. And this was the more ob-
 “ servable, 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 spi-
 “ ritual 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’s. The popes, when
 “ they are consecrated, promise to obey the canons of
 “ the eight first general councils, which if they observe,

BOOK II. " they will receive no appeals, nor pretend to any
 1533. " 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 places were also brought out of the fathers,
 " to show that they did not look on the bishops of
 " Rome as superior to other bishops; and that they
 " understood not those places of Scripture, which were
 " afterwards brought for the Pope's 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 Con-
 " stantinople 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 privileges of that and other sees were
 " only founded on the practice and canons of the
 " church, but not upon any divine warrant. Con-
 " stantinople pretended to equal privileges. Ravenna,
 " Milan, and Aquileia pretended to a patriarchal dig-
 " nity and exemption. Some archbishops of Canter-
 " bury contended, that popes could do nothing against
 " the laws of the church; so Laurence and Dunstan.

“ Robert Grostest, Bishop of Lincoln, asserted the same, and many popes confessed it. And to this day no constitution of the Pope’s is binding in any church, except it be received 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 giving investitures, receiving appeals, admitting of legates, and papal constitutions, it was apparent, that the papal authority was a tyranny, 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 hundred years of the present time.”

Upon these grounds they concluded, that the Pope’s power in England had no foundation, neither in the law of God, nor in the laws of the church, or of the land.

“ As for the King’s power over spiritual persons, and in spiritual causes, they proved it from the Scriptures. In the Old Testament they found the kings of Israel intermeddled in all matters ecclesiastical. Samuel, 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. xv. 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 arguments for the King’s supremacy.
From the Old Testament.

BOOK II. 1533. “ 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.
 “ xxviii. 21.) *That the courses of the priests and all the*
 “ *people were to be wholly at his commandment : pur-*
 “ *suant to which, Solomon (2 Chron. viii. 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-priesthood, yet*
 “ *they made no opposition. Jehosaphat, Hezekiah,*
 “ *and Josias made likewise laws about ecclesiastical*
 “ *matters.*

And the
New.

“ In the New Testament, Christ himself was obedi-
 “ ent ; he paid taxes, he declared that he pretended to
 “ no earthly kingdom, he charged the people to *render*
 “ *to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's*, and his dis-
 “ ciples 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 supreme, and say he is God's
 “ minister to encourage them that do well, and to pu-
 “ nish the evil-doers, which is said of all persons with-
 “ out 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 churchmen
 “ 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 *supreme* ; 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 supreme head over all persons.* In the
 “ primitive church, the bishops in their councils made

“ rules for ordering their dioceses, which they only
 “ called *canons* or *rules*; nor had they any compulsive
 “ authority, but what was derived from the civil
 “ sanctions.

BOOK
 II.
 1533.

“ 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 eccle-
 “ siastical persons and causes. The emperors called
 “ general councils, presided in them, and confirmed
 “ them. And many letters were cited of popes to em-
 “ perors, 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 Seventh, for popes to
 “ pretend to depose princes, and give away their domi-
 “ nions. This they compared to the pride of Antichrist
 “ and Lucifer.

And the
 practices of
 the primi-
 tive church.

“ They also argued from reason, that there must be
 “ but one supreme; and that the King being supreme
 “ over all his subjects, clergymen 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.

And from
 reason.

“ For the great objection from those offices that are
 “ peculiar to their functions, it was answered, that these
 “ notwithstanding the King might well be supreme
 “ 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;

BOOK “ and yet the head was still the chief seat and root of
 II. “ life : so, though there be peculiar functions appro-
 1534. “ priated to churchmen, 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 Eng-
 “ land the kings have always assumed a supremacy
 “ in ecclesiastical matters. They began with the most
 “ ancient writing that relates to the Christian reli-
 “ gion in England then extant, Pope Eleutherius’s
 “ letter to King Lucius, in which he is twice called by
 “ him, *God’s vicar in his kingdom*; and he writ in it,
 “ *that it belonged to his office to bring his subjects to*
 “ *the holy church*, and to maintain, protect, and govern
 “ them in it. Many laws were cited, which Canutus,
 “ Ethelred, Edgar, Edmond, Athelstan and Ina had
 “ enacted concerning churchmen ; many more laws
 “ since the conquest were also made, both against ap-
 “ peals to Rome, and bishops going out of the king-
 “ dom 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 bishop’s pastoral care be of divine institu-
 “ tion, yet as the kings of England had divided bi-
 “ shopricks 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 nobility, without dependance on
 “ Rome : they had also granted these houses exemp-
 “ tion from episcopal jurisdiction ; so Ina exempted
 “ Glastenbury, and Offa St. Alban’s, 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 battle was fought, and called BOOK II.
 “ it Battle Abbey; and in the charter he granted 1534.
 “ 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 Christ's*
 “ *Church in Canterbury is.* Many other things were
 “ brought out of King Alfred's laws, and a speech of
 “ King Edgar's, with several letters written to the
 “ popes from the kings, the parliaments, and the
 “ clergy of England, to show, that their kings did al-
 “ ways make laws about sacred matters, and that their
 “ power reached 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 The quali-
 for the King's supremacy, and power of making laws fication of
 for restraining and coercing his subjects, it appeared that supre-
 that they were far from vesting him with such an ab- macy.
 solute power as the popes had pretended to; for they
 thus defined the extent of the King's power: *To them* Necessary
 specially and principally it pertaineth to defend the Erudition
 faith of Christ and his religion, to conserve and main- upon the
 tain the true doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true sacrament
 preachers and setters forth thereof; and to abolish of orders.
 abuses, heresies, and idolatries, and to punish with cor-
 poral pains such as of malice be the occasion of the
 same. And finally, to oversee and cause that the said
 bishops and priests do execute their pastoral office truly
 and faithfully, and specially in these points, which by
 Christ and his Apostles was given and committed 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 supply their lack: and if
 they obstinately withstand their prince's kind monition,
 and will not amend their faults, then and in such case
 to put others in their rooms and places. And God hath

BOOK II. *also commanded the said bishops and priests to obey with all humbleness and reverence, both kings, and princes, and governors, and all their laws, not being contrary to the laws of God, whatsoever they be : and that not only propter iram, but also propter conscientiam, that is to say, not only for fear of punishment, but also for discharge of conscience.*

1534.

Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the King's 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 Pope's power.

“ Upon the whole matter, it was concluded, that the Pope's 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 three hundred 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 reassume 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.”

These were the grounds of casting off the Pope's power, that had been for two or three years studied and inquired 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 Pope's 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 satisfy him. A week before the parliament sate down, the Archbishop 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 Fisher's sickness hindered the progress of it. But now, on the fifteenth of January, the parliament sate down; by the Journals I find no other bishops present but the Archbishop 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,

BOOK
II.

1584.

Pains taken
to satisfy
Fisher
about it.The original
is in the
Cott. Lib.
Otho C. 10.

BOOK I do not know: perhaps some made a difference between submitting to what was done, and being active
 II. and concurring to make the change. During the session, a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's 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.

Journal
 Procer.

On the ninth of March a bill came up from the Commons for discharging the subjects of all dependence on the court of Rome: it was read the first time in the House of Lords the thirteenth of March, and on the fourteenth was read the second time, and committed. The committee reported it on the nineteenth, 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 nineteenth it was read the third time, and on the twentieth the fourth time, and then passed without any protestation. Some provisos were added to it by the Lords, to which the Commons agreed; and so it was made ready for the royal assent.

The act
 for taking
 away the
 Pope's
 power.

“ In the preamble the intolerable exactions for Peter-pence, provisions, pensions and bulls of all sorts, are complained of, which were contrary to all laws, and grounded only on the Pope's power of dispensing, which was usurped. But the King, and the Lords and Commons 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 supreme head of the church
 “ of England by the prelates and clergy in their con-
 “ vocations, therefore it was enacted, that all pay-
 “ ments made to the apostolic chamber, and all pro-
 “ visions, bulls, or dispensations, should from thence-
 “ forth 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 archbishops 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, whe-
 “ ther 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
 “ catholic 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 confirmed 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 twelfth
 “ of March in that year should be valid and in force,
 “ except they were contrary to the laws of the realm ;

BOOK
II.

1534.

It is the act
21 in the
Statute-
Book, 27 in
the Record,
and 8 in
the Jour-
nal.

BOOK II. “giving also to the King and his council power to
 1534. “order and reform 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 *pro-
 “visors* and *præmunire*.”

The judg-
 ments pass-
 ed on that
 act.

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 catholic 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 twenty-first of March, and committed. It was reported on the twenty-third, and read the third time and passed, and sent down to the Commons, who sent it back again to them on the twenty-sixth; so speedily did this bill go through both Houses without any opposition.

An act
 about the
 succession
 to the
 crown; 22
 in the Sta-
 tute-Book,
 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 in-
 “vesting such as pleased them in other princes' king-

“ doms, and princes had often maintained such dona- BOOK
 “ tions for their other ends; therefore, to avoid the II.
 “ like inconveniences, the King’s former marriage with 1534.
 “ the Princess Katharine is judged contrary to the
 “ laws of God, and void and of no effect; and the sen-
 “ tence passed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, an-
 “ nulling 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 enume-
 “ rated in the statute) are declared to be unlawful, ac-
 “ cording to the judgment of the convocations of this
 “ realm, and of the most famous universities and
 “ learned men abroad, any dispensations to the con-
 “ trary 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 mar-
 “ riages 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 de-
 “ scend 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 chat-
 “ tels 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 eighteen, and if a daughter sixteen
 “ years of age; and all the King’s subjects were to
 “ swear that they would maintain the contents of this

BOOK

II.

1534.

The oath
about the
succession.

“ act ; and whoever, being required, did refuse it, was
 “ to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and pu-
 “ 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 alone to
 “ the King’s Majesty, and to his heirs of his body of
 “ his most dear and entirely 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 persons, 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 ob-
 “ serve, keep, maintain, and defend the said act of
 “ succession, and all the whole effects and contents
 “ thereof, and all other acts and statutes made in con-
 “ firmation, 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, dig-
 “ nity, 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 indirectly, any
 “ thing or things, privily or aparty, to the let, hinder-
 “ ance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part
 “ of the same, by any manner of means, or for any
 “ manner of pretence. So help you God, and all
 “ saints, and the holy Evangelists.”

And thus was the King’s marriage confirmed. But when the Commons returned this bill to the Lords, they sent them another with it, concerning the pro-

ceedings against heretics. There had been complaints made formerly, as was told before, of the severe and intolerable proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts against heretics: and on the fourth 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 heresy; 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 heretics, which was read that day for the first time, and the second and third time on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, in which it passed.

“ The act was a repeal of the statute of the 2d of Henry the Fourth, by which bishops, upon suspicion of heresy, might commit any to prison, as was before told; but in that act there was no declaration made, what was heresy, except in the general words of what was contrary to Scriptures, or canonical sanctions. This was liable to great ambiguity, by which men were in much danger, and not sufficiently instructed what was heresy. They also complained of their proceedings without presentment or accusation, contrary to what was practised in all other cases, even of treason itself; and many canonical sanctions had been established only by popes, without

BOOK
II.

1534.

Journal
Procer.Act about
punishing
heretics; 14
in the Sta-
tute-Book,
33 in the
Record,
31 in the
Journal.

BOOK II. 1534. “ any divine precept : therefore they repealed the act
 “ of Henry the Fourth, but left the statutes of Richard
 “ the Second and Henry the Fifth still in force, with
 “ the following regulation : That heretics should be
 “ proceeded against upon presentments by two wit-
 “ nesses at least, and then be committed, but brought
 “ to answer to their indictments 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 heresy 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 twenty-seventh 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 ac-

“ knowledgeable that all convocations had been and ought BOOK
 “ to be assembled by the King’s writ ; and promised, II.
 “ *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor 1584.
 “ execute any new canons or constitutions, without The sub-
 “ the royal assent to them ; and since many canons mission
 “ had been received that were found prejudicial to the made by
 “ King’s prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, the clergy
 “ and heavy to the subjects ; that therefore there to the King ;
 “ should be a committee of thirty-two persons, sixteen 19 in the
 “ of the two houses of parliament, and as many of the Statute-
 “ clergy, to be named by the King, who should have Book, 25 in
 “ full power to abrogate or confirm canons as they the Record.
 “ found it expedient ; the King’s assent being ob-
 “ tained. This was confirmed by act of parliament ;
 “ and by the same act all appeals to Rome were again
 “ condemned. If any party found themselves aggrieved
 “ 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 determina-
 “ tion 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 da-
 “ mage 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 judge’s 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

BOOK
II.

1584.

Journal
Procer.

Act about
election of
bishops ;
20 in the
Statute-
Book, 26 in
the Record.

make such a collection of ecclesiastical laws as should be fixed and unmoveable. The last of the public 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 twenty-seventh 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 engrossed ; 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 sixteenth of March. “ The first part of “ it is a confirmation of their former act against *an-* “ *nates* ; 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 archbishop, and archbishops to “ any archbishop 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 cho- “ sen : and twelve days after these were delivered, an “ election was to be returned by the Dean and Chap- “ ter, 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 cere- “ monies ; 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 re- “ fused to obey the contents of the act, or acted con-

“ trary to it, were declared within the statute of *præ-* BOOK
 “ *munire.*” There passed a private act for depriving II.
 the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester; who were, ^{1534.}
 Cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Ghinuccii: the ^{Collect.}
 former deserved greater severities at the King’s hand; ^{Numb. 48.}
 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 cardinal’s 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 pre-
 “ lates did not that, but lived at the court of Rome,
 “ and neglected their dioceses, 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, 3000l. being at least carried yearly out
 “ of the kingdom; therefore their dioceses were de-
 “ clared vacant.”

But now I come to the act of the attainder of Eli- ^{The act}
 zabeth Barton, and her complices, which I shall open ^{about the}
 fully, since it was the first step that was made to re- ^{Maid of}
 bellion, and the first occasion of putting any to death ^{Kent and}
 upon this quarrel; and from it one may clearly see ^{her com-}
 the genius of that part of the clergy that adhered to ^{pllices.}
 the interests of the court of Rome. On the twenty- ^{12 in Sta-}
 first of February the bill was sent up to the Lords, ^{tute-Book,}
 and read the first time; on the twenty-sixth it was ^{31 in the}
 read the second time, and committed; then the wit- ^{Record,}
 nesses and other evidences were brought before them, ^{7 in the}
 but chiefly she with all her complices, who confessed ^{Journal.}
 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

BOOK II. be heard to speak for themselves in the Star-Chamber :
 as for the Bishop of Rochester, he was sick, but he had
 1534. written to the House all that he had to say for his
 own excuse. What presumptions lay against Sir Tho-
 mas 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 opi-
 nion 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 intercourse he had with the Nun and her com-
 plices to Cromwell : but though, 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 Rastal, who published
 his works in Queen Mary's 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 let-
 ters ; 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 Mary's time they had a mind to magnify that
 story of the Nun's, since she was thought to have suf-
 fered on her mother's 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 prophetess of her. And
 it is certain More had a low opinion of her, which ap-
 pears 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

See his
 Works,
 pag. 1435.

conjectures in this be well grounded or not, is left to BOOK the reader's judgment. In conclusion, More's justifi- II.
1534.
 cations, 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 symp- " toms 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, Archbishop " 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 persuaded 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 Vir- " gin, that was in a chapel 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 " Bocking, a Canon of Christ Church in Canterbury: " upon which they instructed her to say in her coun-

BOOK II.
 1534. “terfeited 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 chapel. 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 two hundred people were gathered together; and she, being brought to the chapel, 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 Archbishop 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 into 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 villain's 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 Queen's 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 Richmond,
 “ 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 chapel, denounced heavy judg-
 ments upon him to his face, and told him, *that many*
lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Mi-
caiah, warned him, that the dogs should lick his blood as
they had done Ahab's; (for that prophecy about Ahab
 was his text;) with many other bitter words: and con-
 cluded, *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 no signs of any com-
 motion; but, to undeceive the people, he took care

BOOK
II.

1534.

The inso-
lence of
some of
the friars:

Stow.

BOOK II. 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 traitor. Peto was gone to Canterbury; but another Observant friar of the same house, Elston, 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.

1534. "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 Pope's ambassadors, and had brought the Maid to declare her revelations 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 Twaites, gentlemen; and Thomas Lawrence; 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 conspi-

Stow.

racy, and were adjudged to stand in Paul's all the BOOK sermon-time; and after sermon the King's officers II. were to give every one of them his bill of confession to 1534. 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 public 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 Twaites, 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 Hankherst of Canterbury; and that the door of the dormitory, which was given out to be made open by miracle, that she might go into the chapel for converse with God, was opened by some of her complices for beastly and

BOOK carnal ends. But, in the conclusion of the act, all
 II. others who had been corrupted in their allegiance by
 1534. 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 twenty-ninth 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 twentieth 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:

The Nun's
 speech at
 her death.
 Hall.

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 fantasy with myself, 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 King's 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.

BOOK
II.

1534.

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, though 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 Bishop's 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 offence, and desire his pardon, which he knew the King, considering his age and sickness, 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

Fisher gently dealt with ;

But is obstinate and intractable.

BOOK great opinion of her holiness, both from common fame,
 II. and her entering into religion; from the report of her
 1534. ghostly father, whom he esteemed learned and religious, and of many other learned and virtuous priests; from the good opinion the late Archbishop 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 falsehood 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 herself: she had named no person who should kill the King, which, by being known, might have been prevented. And as in spiritual things every churchman 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

Collect.
 Numb. 49.
 Cott. Libr.
 Cleopat.
 E. 4.

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 beforehand. 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 entered, 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 easy 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, passed before that time, should be forgiven and forgotten. This shews, 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. 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.

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

BOOK II.
1534.

The oath for the succession generally sworn. Orig. Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 19.

BOOK of persons. Gardiner wrote from Winchester, the
 11. sixth of May, to Cromwell, that, in the presence of the
 1534. Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Audley, and many other
 gentlemen, all abbots, priors, wardens, with the curates
 of all parishes and chapels within the shire, had ap-
 peared and taken the oath very obediently; and had
 given in a list of all the religious persons in their
 houses of fourteen 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 Mary's 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 con-
 tempt of the see of Rome, or to the defamation of re-
 ligious 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 fourth of May 1534. One is by the
 Prior and Convent of Langley Regis, that were Domi-
 nicans; the Franciscans of Ailesbury, the Dominicans
 of Dunstable, the Franciscans of Bedford, the Carmel-
 ites of Hecking, and the Franciscans de Mare. The
 other is by the Prioress and Convent of the Dominican
 nuns at Deptford.

Collect.
 Numb. 50.
 Rot. Claus.

“ 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 acknow-
 “ ledge 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 diocese; and that
 “ they should submit to all the King's laws, notwith-
 “ standing the Pope's censures to the contrary. That

“ in their sermons they should not pervert the Scrip-
 “ tures, but preach Christ and his Gospel sincerely,
 “ according to the Scriptures, and the tradition of or-
 “ thodox and catholic 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 Archbishop of Can-
 “ terbury, 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.

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
 tendered 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 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 Chancellor 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

BOOK
II.

1534.

Those last
clauses are
not in the
other
writing.More and
Fisher re-
fuse the
oath.See his
Works,
p. 1428.

BOOK II. 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.

1594.

The Archbishop of Canterbury urged him with this argument, That since he said he blamed no other person for taking it, it seemed he was not persuaded 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 prelate's 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 fantasy 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 ruin 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 twenty-seventh of April, move, that what they offered might be accepted; for if 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.

BOOK
II.
1534.

Weaver's
Monu-
ments,
p. 504, 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.

And are
proceeded
against.

The separation from Rome was made in the former session of parliament, but the King's supremacy was

Another
session of
parliament.

BOOK not yet fully settled. This was reserved for the next
 II. session, that sate in November from the third of that

1534.

The King's
 supremacy
 declared.

month to the eighteenth 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."

The oath
 about the
 succession
 confirmed.

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*, paid 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 paid; 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 first-
 fruits of
 benefices
 given to
 the King.

Sundry
 things are
 declared
 treason.

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 heretic, schismatic, 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 increase of God's honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people*: therefore they appointed for suffragans' sees, the towns of Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Gilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftsbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penreth, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grant-ham, Hull, 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 diocese was to present two to the King, who might choose 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 diocese 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.

BOOK
II.1534.
An act for
suffragan
bishops.Collect.
Numb. 51.Act 26.
Rot. Parl.
A subsidy
granted.

BOOK fifteenth and a tenth were given, to be paid in three
 II. years, the final payment being to be at Allhallontide,
 1534. 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 un-
 “ reasonable 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 people, and
 “ that he sought not their wealth and quietness only
 “ for his own time, being a mortal man, but did pro-
 “ vide for it in all time coming: therefore they thought
 “ that of very equity, reason, and good conscience,
 “ they were bound to shew 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 ex-
 cluded 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, Ni-
 cholas 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 second 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 con-
 secrated before the year 1537. By the fourth act, Sir
 Thomas More is by an invidious preamble charged

More and
 Fisher
 attainted.
 Act 3. and
 4 Rot.
 Parl.

with ingratitude for the great favours he had received from the King, and for studying to sow and make sedition 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 attaint him of misprision of treason. BOOK II.
1534.

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 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 passed through.

The Cardinal was no great persecutor of heretics, 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 The progress of the Reformation.

BOOK Luther's doctrine. Whether this flowed from any in-
 II. titimation of the King's pleasure to the Bishop, or not;

1534.

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 threatenings to work upon the Pope, that heresy 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 heretics 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 threatenings: and therefore a long proclamation was issued out against the heretics, 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.

Fox.

Tindal and
 others at
 Antwerp.

There were some at Antwerp, Tindal, Joye, 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 relics, and against relying on these things, which were then called, in the common style, *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 Tonstal, then Bishop of

London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do nobody 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 embassy 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. Tindal was very glad of it; for, being convinced of some faults in his work, he was 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 paid the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheap-side. 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

BOOK
II.1534.
Hall.The New
Testament
burnt.

BOOK true translation of it ; which many thought was never
 II. truly designed by them, but only pretended, that they

1534.

The last
 paper in
 Sir Henry
 Spelman's
 second vol.

might restrain the curiosity of seeing Tindal's work, with the hopes of one that should be authorized : and as they made no progress in it, so at length, on the twenty-fourth of May, anno 1530, there was a paper drawn and agreed to by Archbishop Warham, Chancellor More, Bishop Tinstal, and many canonists and divines, which every incumbent was commanded to read to his parish, as a warning to prevent the contagion of heresy. 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 heresy in them ; and it being proposed to them, whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they were of opinion, that though it had been sometimes 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.

Supplication
 of the
 Beggars.

There came out another book, which took mightily ; it was entitled, *The Supplication of the Beggars*, written by one Simon Fish, of Gray's-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 paid well for it, could be discharged out of that prison. This was written in a witty and taking style, and the King had it put in his hands by Anne Boleyn, and liked it well, and would not suffer any thing to be done to the author.

BOOK
II.
1534.

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 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 looked 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.

More an-
swers it.

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,

Frith re-
plies.

BOOK II.
 1534.

by Rastal, a printer, and kinsman of More's: 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 schoolmen, 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 stones, 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 per- BOOK
secution then near at hand, called in other places, *the* II.
fiery trial.

1534.

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 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 inquired 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 track 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 catched, 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 fishermen, women, and rude mechanics; 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

BOOK called, but the poor and despised were chosen : that
 II. men who had much to lose had not that simplicity of
 1534. 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 bishops' 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

More. the end of the year 1530, one Thomas Hitton, who had been Curate of Maidstone, and had left that place, going oft 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.

Tindal.

Bilney's trial. 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 vio-

lent effect, which that desperation might produce, and sometimes watched him whole nights. This continued BOOK II. about a year; but at length his mind was more quieted, and he resolved to expiate his abjuration by as public and solemn a confession 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 cowl 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 Bishop's 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 persuade 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 Bishop's 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 lie of that nature was vented with

1534.
Latimer's
Sermons.

The things
objected to
him.

Fox.

It is given
out that he
abjured.

BOOK II. 1534. so much authority, that men were afraid to contradict 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 shewed 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 inquired 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 conflicts; and, among the rest, Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop 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 cheerful; 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 Isaiah, *When thou walkest 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.

The falsehood of which afterwards appeared. Fox.

The manner of his suffering.

When the day of execution came, being the tenth 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 tossing of the waves, hoping to arrive at their desired port, so, though he was now entering into a storm, yet he hoped he should soon

arrive at the haven ; and desired their prayers. When he came to the stake, he repeated the creed, to shew the people that he died 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 hundred and forty-third Psalm, and paused 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 procured 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 procured his death. Then the fire was set to, and his body consumed to ashes.

Thus it appears, both what opinion the people had of him, and in what charity he died, even towards his enemies, doing them good for evil. But this, though it perhaps struck terror in weaker minds, yet it no less encouraged others to endure patiently all the severities that were used 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 smelled out, he was seized 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

BOOK II.

1534.

Byfield's sufferings.

BOOK lives of the clergy : so being judged an heretic, he
 II. was burnt in Smithfield the eleventh of November.

1534.
 And Tewks-
 bury's.

In December, one John Tewksbury, a shop-keeper in London, who had formerly abjured, was also taken, and tried in Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsey, where sentence was given against him by Stokesley, Bishop of London, (for Tonstal 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 complained 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 heretics 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 extreme courses ; and, to strike a terror in the gentry, they resolved 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 persuade him to discover such as he knew in the Temple, who favoured 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 looked 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 person's hurt ; yet he himself afterwards, overcome with fear, abjured and did penance, but had no quiet in his conscience till he went publicly to church, with a New Testament in his hand, and confessed, 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 con-

science 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 heretics 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 chewed with the teeth, but received by faith. So he was judged an obstinate and relapsed heretic, 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.

BOOK

II.

1534.

Regist.
Tonst.

Crome and Latimer were brought before the Convocation, and accused of heresy. 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 conferred 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

Articles
which
some ab-
jured.

BOOK “ in the churches, and to adorn them and burn candles

II.

1534.

“ 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 preached 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 Œcolampadius came later into England, and hitherto they had only seen Luther’s works, with those written by his followers.

Tracy’s
Testament.

But in the year 1532, there was another memorable instance of the clergy’s cruelty against the dead bodies of those whom they suspected of heresy. The common style of all wills and testaments at that time was, first,

Regist.
Fitz-James.

“ 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

Regist.
Stokes. Fol.
72.

“ pray for his soul.” This being brought to the Bishop of London’s court, he was condemned as an heretic, 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, yet he had no authority to burn it. So, two years after, Tracy’s heirs sued him for it, and he was turned out of his office of Chancellor, and fined in four hundred 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 searched, 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 judged 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 forty days pardon proclaimed to all that carried a fagot to the burning of an heretic; so dexterously 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 fagot at the old man's head, which dashed out his brains.

BOOK
II.
1534.

Fox.

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 established 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 this argument often prevail with the King to punish the heretics; That it would most effectually justify his other proceedings, and convince the world that he was still a good catholic 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 public in their assemblies.

1533.

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 Ox-

Frith's sufferings.

BOOK ford ; so he had offended them by several writings, and,
 II. by a discourse which he wrote against the corporal pre-
 1534. sence of Christ in the sacrament, had provoked the
 King, who continued to his death to believe that firmly.

His argu-
 ments a-
 gainst the
 corporal
 presence.

“ The substance of his arguments was, That Christ in
 “ the sacrament gave eternal life, but the receiving the
 “ bare sacrament did not give eternal life, since many
 “ took it to their damnation; therefore Christ’s pre-
 “ sence 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 corporally,
 “ but fed by faith on a Messiah to come, as Christians
 “ do on a Messiah already come ; therefore we now do
 “ only communicate by faith. He also insisted much
 “ on the signification of the word *sacrament*, 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 visible action to
 “ knit the society of Christians together in one body, to
 “ be a means of conveying grace upon our due partici-
 “ pating of them, and to be remembrances to stir up
 “ men to bless God for that unspeakable love, which in
 “ the death of Christ appeared to mankind. To all
 “ these ends the corporal presence of Christ availed no-
 “ thing, they being sufficiently answered by a mystical
 “ presence: yet he drew no other conclusion from
 “ these premises, but that belief of the corporal pre-
 “ sence 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 style to encounter an opinion,

of which the world was so fond, that to have opposed it in downright words would have given prejudices against all that he could say.

BOOK
II.

1534.

Frith, upon a long conversation with one upon this subject, was desired 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 style, 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 arguments 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 compares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the ingenious defender of an ill cause, and the other a simple assertor of truth. Frith wrote with all the disadvantage that was possible, being then in the gaol, 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 delivered 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

BOOK senses show they are not changed in their natures, and
 II. that they are still subject to corruption, which can no
 1594. 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 sacrament; since the wicked receive
 it, who yet do not eat the flesh of Christ, otherwise
 they should have eternal life. He showed 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 retain-
 ed their former natures, and were only the mysteries,
 signs, and figures of the body and blood of Christ.
 But Gelasius's words seemed so remarkable, that they
 could not but determine the controversy, especially
 considering he was Bishop of Rome: he therefore,
 writing against the Eutychians, who thought the hu-
 man nature of Christ was changed into the divine,
 says, *That as the elements of bread and wine, being con-
 secrated 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 hu-
 man nature of Christ continued still, though it was
 united to the divine nature: this was a manifest indi-
 cation 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 show, 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 borne 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.

BOOK
II.
1584.

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 controversy 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 twentieth 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

Register
Stokes. Fol.
71. and a
letter of his
in Fox.

BOOK think the authority of the church reached so far.

II.

1594.

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 showed 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.

His opinion
of the sa-
crament;

“ 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.”

And of pur-
gatory,

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.”

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 obstinate heretic, 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.

BOOK
II.
1534.
He is con-
demned.

“ 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 extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the catholic 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 fourth 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 fagots 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

His con-
stancy in
his suffer-
ings.

BOOK II. smiled, and prayed God to forgive him ; so the fire was set to, and they were consumed to ashes.

1534.

This was the last act of the clergy's cruelty against men's 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 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 heresy ; and when they searched him, a copy of Tracy's testament was found about him, and butter and cheese 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 heresy during his life, nor favour heretics : 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 heretic, having appealed to the King as the supreme head of the church, was taken out of the Bishop's 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 heretics.

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 catholic 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 join himself to the princes of Germany, who had at Smalcald entered into a

BOOK
II.

1534.

A stop is
put to these
cruel pro-
ceedings.

BOOK II. 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 made that always a condition in their treaties, that those who favoured their doctrine might be no more persecuted.

The Queen favoured the reformers.

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

Cranmer promoted the Reformation.

his writings; all which, except two other that I have seen, are lost, for aught 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 Osiander, and some of Osiander'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 overruled 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.

Next him, or rather above him, was Cromwell, who was made the King's Vicegerent 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 disgraced Cardinal, whose secretary

BOOK II.
1534.
Assisted by Cromwell.

BOOK he was when Gardiner, though more obliged by him,
 II. had basely forsaken him. This was thought so just
 1534. and generous in him, that it did not at all hinder his
 preferment, 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 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 past favours, which showed that he had a noble and generous temper: only he made too much haste to be great and rich. He joined 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 Queen's uncle, yet was her mortal enemy. He was a dexterous courtier, and complied with the King both in his divorce and separation from Rome, yet did upon all occasions persuade the King to innovate nothing in religion. His great friend, that joined all along with him in those counsels, was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was a crafty and politic 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 governed 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 meddled 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 emissaries 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.

But, on the other side, Cranmer represented to him, ^{Reasons for it.} that since he had put down the Pope's 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 Pope's 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

BOOK
II.
1534.

BOOK King's proceedings should appear to all the world.

II.

1534.

Hall.

A resolution of some bishops about the calling of a general council.

And whereas it was objected, that the doctrines of the catholic church ought not to be examined by any particular church; it was answered, that when all Christendom were under one Emperor, it was easy for him to call general councils, and in such circumstances 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 Marquis 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.

*For the General Council.*BOOK
II.

“ Though that in the old time, when the empire of
 “ Rome had his ample dominion over the most part ^{1534.}
 “ of the world, the first four general councils (the ^{Ex MSS.}
 “ which at all times have been of most estimation in ^{DD. Stil-}
 “ the church of Christ) were called and gathered by ^{lingfleet.}
 “ the Emperor’s commandment, and for a godly in-
 “ tent: 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 suf-
 “ fered 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 esta-
 “ blishing 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 Chris-
 “ tian 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 cha-
 “ rity, 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 mat-
 “ ters of the faith and interpretation of the Scripture,
 “ no man made definitive subscription, but bishops and

BOOK II. “priests, for so much as the declaration of the word of
 “ God pertaineth unto them.

1534.

T. Cantuarien.

Cuthbertus Dunelmen.

Jo. Bath. Wellen.

Tho. Elien.”

But, besides this resolution, I have seen a long speech of Cranmer's, 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 easy to discover what they had so artificially concealed: therefore, in the canon law, some honest truths were yet to be found, but so mislaid, 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 showed, that many of the ancients called every thing which they thought

A speech of Cranmer's about a general council.

Ex MSS. DD. Stillington.

“ well done, *of divine institution*, by a large extent of
 “ the phrase, in which sense the passages of many fa-
 “ thers, that magnified the see of Rome, were to be
 “ understood. BOOK
II.
1534.

“ Then he shewed, for what end general councils
 “ were called ; to declare 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 summoned them, and
 “ all Christendom did agree to their definitions, which
 “ he proved 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 au-
 “ thority of the bishops, but the matter of their deci-
 “ sions, 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 contests 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 archbishops 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 headship for Rome’s
 “ 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 no-
 “ thing from him, but as they followed his faith ; and
 “ Liberius, and some other bishops there, had been
 “ condemned for heresy ; and if, according to St.

BOOK

II.

1584.

“ James, faith be to be tried by works, the lives of the
 “ popes for several ages gave shrewd presumptions,
 “ that their faith was not good. And though it were
 “ granted that such a power was given to the see of
 “ Rome, yet by many instances he showed, that po-
 “ sitive precepts, in a matter of that nature, were not
 “ for ever obligatory. And therefore Gerson wrote a
 “ book, *De Auferibilitate Papæ*. So that if a Pope
 “ with the cardinals be corrupted, they ought to be
 “ tried by a general council, and submit to it. St. Pe-
 “ ter 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 vicious 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 heretic may be judged in a
 “ council, the same reason would hold against a si-
 “ moniacal, covetous, and impious Pope, who was salt
 “ that had lost its savour. 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 preeminence of the see 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 coun-
 “ cil, which many popes in former ages had con-
 “ fessed. 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 overrule it, or have a negative vote in it. BOOK
II.
1534.

“ 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 heretics : nor were their decrees laws, till they were enacted by princes. Upon this he enlarged much, to show, that though a council did proceed against a king, (with which they then threatened 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 showed, with what moderation and charity the church should proceed even against those that held errors. And the standard of the council’s definitions should only be taken from the Scriptures, and not from men’s 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 him-

BOOK II. 1534. “ self 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 of the ancient council, were only to be
 “ read in the churches. The fathers SS. Ambrose, Je-
 “ rome, 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 show,
 “ what difference he put between the Scriptures, and
 “ all the other writings even of the best and holiest fa-
 “ thers. But when all the fathers agreed in the ex-
 “ position 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 er-
 “ ror cannot bind, when the error upon which they
 “ were done comes to be discovered ; and all human
 “ laws ought to be changed, when a public visible in-
 “ convenience follows them. From which he con-
 “ cluded, that the Pope, being a party, and having al-
 “ ready 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 com-
 “ mon 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 BOOK
 “ every man may make his escape out of the hands of II.
 “ a robber. And the court of Rome was so corrupt, 1534.
 “ that a Pope, though he meant well, as Hadrian did,
 “ yet could never bring any good design to an issue;
 “ the cardinals and the rest of that court being so en-
 “ gaged 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 pro-
 mised 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 show 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.

The end of the second Book.

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, seemed now at ease in his own dominions. But though matters were carried in public 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 pre-

BOOK III. tended out of policy, for avoiding the inconveniences
 1535. 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 embark 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 looked 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 to heresy; and therefore they were every where meeting together, and consulting what should be done for suppressing heresy, and preserving the catholic faith.

By the practices 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 privileges, further than it pleased the King to allow them. No new saints from Rome could draw more riches or honour to their orders. Privileges 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 embroil 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 joined with the enemy. But the King did so dexterously manage his leagues with the French King, and the princes of the empire, that the Emperor could never make any impressions on his dominions.

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 fretted 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 slight 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 rigour 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 father's last commands at his death. His severity to the other was imputed to the Cardinal's malice. The proceedings were also le-

BOOK
III.

1535,

Which provoked the King to great severities.

BOOK III. gal. 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 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.

1535.

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 human 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.

The bishops swear the King's supremacy.

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 privileged 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 complete delegation of the King's whole power in ecclesiastical affairs. For two years he was only Vicar-General: but the tenor 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 the thirteenth of January, in the twenty-seventh year of the King's reign; by which it appears, that Cromwell's commission was at first conceived in very general words; for he is called, the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical causes, his Vicar-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 tried or proved in the bishops' courts, but in the Vicar-General's court. Yet, though he was called Vicegerent in that commission, he was spoken of, and writ to, by the name of Vicar-General; but after the second commission, seen and mentioned by the Lord Herbert, in July 1536, he was always designed Lord Vicegerent.

BOOK
III.

1535.

BOOK III. 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 bachelors, who were empowered 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 Coventry and Litchfield, (Rowland Lee,) and Thomas Bedyl, tendered 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 Archbishops, 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 Archbishop of Canterbury. And for the chapter which

1535.
Antiquit.
Oxon. lib. i.
p. 258.
The original letter
is in
Cott. Libr.
Cleop. E. 4.
Feb. 15.

The Franciscan friars
refuse it.

they cited, it was showed them, that it was not written BOOK III. by St. Francis, but made since his time; and though 1535. 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.

But though I do not find such resistance made else-^{A general visitation of monasteries is} where, yet it appears that some secret practices of ^{designed.} 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 Cardinal's 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 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 Orig. Cott. Libr. E. 4.

BOOK further, that there had been no visitation in the north-
III. ern parts since the Cardinal ordered it; therefore he
 1535. advised one, and desired to be employed in Yorkshire. And by another letter, dated the fourth of June, he wrote to Cromwell, desiring that Doctor Lee and he might be employed in visiting all the monasteries, from the diocese 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.

Cranmer makes his metropolitical visitation.

Rot. Pat. Regn. 26. part. 1.

Regist. Stokes. Fol. 44.

The King's visitation begun.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was now making his metropolitical 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 metropolitical see, he might make his visitation, the King granted him licence to do it, and required all to assist and obey him: dated the twenty-eighth of April. Things were not yet ripe for doing great matters; so that which he now looked 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 public 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 empowered 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 incline 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 skilled 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 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 eighty-six 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 com-
 monly present, and who were frequently absent? ”

“ Whether the full number, according to the foundation, was in every house? Who were the 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? ”

BOOK III.

1533.

In MSS.
D. G.
Pierpoint.Cott. Libr.
Cleop. E. 4.See Collect.
Numb. 1.

BOOK
III.

1535.

“ Upon what suggestions, and for what causes, they
“ were exempted from their dioceses ?

“ Their local statutes were also to be seen and ex-
“ amined.

“ The election of their head was to be inquired
“ 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 obe-
“ dience ? Whether any of them kept any money
“ without the Master’s knowledge ? Whether they kept
“ company with women, within or without the mo-
“ nastery ? 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, fast-
“ ing, 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 remiss ?
“ 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 fabric 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? BOOK
III.
1535.
 “ 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 entered 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?

“ 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.”

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 inclosure; and if
 “ the doors and windows were kept shut, so that no
 “ man could enter at inconvenient hours?

“ Whether any man conversed with the sisters alone,
 “ without the Abbess’s 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 re-
 “ ligious 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, hos-
 pitals, and cathedrals; and the order of the Knights of
 Jerusalem. But, if this copy be complete, they were
 only to view their writings and papers, to see what

BOOK III. could be gathered out of them about the reformation of monastical orders. And as they were to visit according to these instructions, so they were to give some injunctions in the King's name.

1535.

Injunctions
for all
religious
houses.

See Collect.
Numb. 2.

“ 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 religious 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 policy, and by his ill canons and decretals, which had been long tolerated by the Prince, but was now justly taken away.

“ 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 subjection, were abrogated, and ordered to be razed out of their books.

“ That no monk should go out of the precinct, nor any woman enter 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 Abbot's 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 sickness. 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: BOOK
III.
 “ the brethren must all be well employed. 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 show 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.”

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 monastic 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

An account
of the pro-
gress of the
monastical
state in
England.

BOOK us, St. Martin set up monasteries ; must be left to con-
 III. jecture. But, from the little that remains of them, we
 1535. find they were very numerous, and were obedient to
 the Bishop of Caerleon, as all the monks of the primi-
 tive times were to their bishops, according to the ca-
 nons of the council of Chalcedon.

But, upon the confusions which the Gothic 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 successors' 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 critics to discuss.) The next exemption that I find, was granted in the year 680, to the abbey of Peterborough, by Pope Agatho, and was signed by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, called the Pope's Legate. (This I doubt was forged afterwards.) In the year 725, King Ina's charter to the abbey of Glassenbury relates to their ancient charters, and exempts them from the bishop's jurisdiction. King Offa founded and exempted the monastery of St. Alban's, in the year 793, which Pope Honorius the Third confirmed, anno 1218. Kenulph,

The ex-
 emptions
 of mo-
 nasteries.
 See Mo-
 nasticon.

King of Mercia, founded and exempted Abington, in the year 821. Knut founded and exempted St. Edmundsbury, in the year 1020. BOOK III.

1535.

About the end of the eighth century, the Danes 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 waste and ruin these houses, that they were generally abandoned 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 clergy 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 persuaded 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 increase 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 Ramsey, &c. He also founded and exempted Coventry

Monas-
teries ge-
nerally
wasted and
deserted;
Antiquit.
Britannia.

But are
again set
up by
King Ed-
gar.

BOOK and Westminster, and the exemption of the last was
 III. likewise confirmed by Pope Nicolas, in a bull to King
 1585. Edward. William the Conqueror founded and ex-
 empted the abbey of Battel from all episcopal juris-
 diction.

But after that time I do not find that our kings ex-
 empted abbeys 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.

Arts used
 by the
 monks for
 enriching
 their
 houses.

All the ancient foundations were subscribed by the
 King, the Queen, and Prince, with many bishops and
 abbots, and dukes and earls consenting. The abbeys,
 being exempted from all jurisdiction, both civil and
 spiritual, and from all impositions, and having ge-
 nerally 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 persuaded all people, that the souls departed
 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 relics 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 relics 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. Relics without number were every where discovered; and most wonderful relations of the martyrdom, and other miracles of the saints,

BOOK
III.
1595.

BOOK were made and read in all places to the people; and
 III. new improvements were daily made in a trade, that,
 1535. 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, espe-
 cially of Glassenbury, St. Alban's, and St. Edmunds-
 bury, vied one with another who could tell the most
 extravagant stories for the honour of their house, and
 of the relics in it.

They be-
 came ge-
 nerally
 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 reputa-
 tion 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 lewd and dis-
 solute, 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 Third,
 King Henry the Seventh, and this King's reign.

Upon
 which the
 begging
 friars grew
 much in
 credit.

But, from the twelfth century, the orders of begging
 friars were set up; and they, by the appearance of se-
 verity 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
Pebbles; 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 ministered to the King to justify the suppression of them.

There were also two other motives, that inclined the King to this counsel. 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 fortify 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 harbours. This was a matter

BOOK
III.

1535.

The King's
secret mo-
tives for
dissolving
these
houses.

BOOK of great charge ; and, as his own revenue could not de-
 III. fray it, so he had no mind to lay heavy taxes on his
 1535. subjects : therefore the suppression of monasteries was
 thought the easiest way of raising money.

He also intended to erect many more bishopricks, to
 which Cranmer advised him much ; that the vastness of
 some dioceses being reduced to a narrower compass,
 bishops might better discharge their duties, and over-
 see their flocks, according to the Scriptures and the
 primitive rules.

Cranmer's
 design in
 it.

But Cranmer did on another reason press the sup-
 pression of monasteries. He found that their founda-
 tions, and whole state, was inconsistent with a full and
 true reformation. For among the things to be re-
 formed were 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 re-
 formation, 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 diocese ; which he thought
 would be more suitable to the primitive use of mona-
 steries, 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 pro-
 jected, for reasons to be told in their proper place.

First mona-
 stery that
 was dis-
 solved.

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 Chancel-
 lor, Sir Thomas Audley ; (not to make him speak shril-
 ler 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 twenty-fourth of February, 23 Regni, and had left their house;" but no mention is made upon what reason they did it.

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 cried 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

BOOK
III.

1535.

Act. 10.
Rot. Parl.
Regn. 25.The pro-
ceedings
of the
visitors.Cott. Lib.
Cleop. E. 4.

BOOK III. being found almost all with child ; for the dissoluteness
 1335. of abbots, and the other monks and friars, not only
 with whores, but married women ; and for their un-
 natural 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
 one hundred and forty-four houses, that contains abo-
 minations in it equal to any that were in Sodom.

Cott Lib.
Cleop. E. 4.

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 thirteenth
 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.

Some
houses re-
signed up
to the
King.

Collect.
Numb. 3.
Sect. 1.

The origi-
nal of these
resignations
are in the
Augmenta-
tion-Office,
and en-
rolled.
Rot. Claus.
Part. 1.
Regn. 27.

This precedent was followed by the like surrender,
 with the same preamble, on the fifteenth of November,
 by the Prior of Folkeston, a Benedictine ; and on the
 sixteenth, 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 ninth of February; of Bilsingtoun in Kent, signed by the Prior and two monks, the twenty-first 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 twenty-third 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 accept of no service from any that did not use her as a Queen, and call her so. The King sent oft to her to persuade 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 cheerful 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: 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

BOOK
III.

1535.

1536.
The death
of Queen
Katharine.Originals,
Otho. C. 10.
Cott. Libr.

BOOK III. dignity; but all the women about her still called her
 1536. 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 daughter's title made her bear all the disgraces she lay under. The officious and practising clergy, that were for the court of Rome, looked 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 meddling.

When she sickened, 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 Emperor's 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 called 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 matches for her maids, who were but three; and that he would give her servants one year's 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 Emperor's care. On the eighth 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 expressed too much joy at it, both in her carriage and dress.

BOOK
III.

1536.

On the fourth of February the parliament sate, upon a prorogation of fourteen 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 fifteenth 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.

A new
session of
parliament.

The great business of this session of parliament was, the suppressing the lesser monasteries. How this

The lesser
monasteries
are sup-
pressed.

BOOK III.
1536.

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 church's 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 increasing daily: so that, except small houses were dissolved, and the religious put into greater monasteries, there could no reformation be expected in that matter. Whereupon the King, having received a full information 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 enacted, that all houses which might spend yearly 200l. 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 28th. This shows, that neither the one nor the other ever looked on the record: for there is a particular statute of dissolution, distinct from the 28th chapter; and the

preamble which Fuller sets down belongs not to the 28th chapter, as he says, but to the 18th chapter, BOOK III. which was never printed: and the 28th relates in the 1536. preamble to that other statute, which had given these monasteries to the King.

The reasons that were pretended for dissolving these houses, were; that whereas there was but a small number of persons in them, they entered 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, 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 plucked 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,

BOOK XVII. seventeen receivers, a clerk, an usher, and a messenger.
 III. This court was to bring in the revenues of such houses
 1536. 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 three hundred and seventy-six; and soon after, this parliament, which had done the King such eminent service, and had now sate six years, was dissolved on the fourteenth 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 Gothic tongues. It continued thus for several ages, till the state of monkery rose; and then, when they engrossed the riches, and the popes 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, with other devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their credit, and carrying on their ends.

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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

The oppo-
sition made
to it.

BOOK "on those that received them;" in which opinions
 III. fourteen of them remained obstinate, and were burnt
 1536. 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 great-
 est snare that could be. Therefore they proposed,
 that there should be a short exposition of the most use-
 ful 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 sub-
 jection to the King, and the church, in matters of
 faith.

The other party, though they liked well the publish-
 ing 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 ac-
 cording 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 Eng-
 lish; in which all people would clearly discern, there

was no foundation for those things. These arguments, BOOK III. 1586. joined 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, three years after this, it was printed at Paris; which shows they made all convenient haste in a thing that required so much deliberation.

But this was the last public good act of this unfortunate Queen; who, the nearer she drew to her end, The fall of Queen Anne. 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 public 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 heresy. 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 con- The whole popish party drove it on. ferences 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

BOOK III. Queen. Gardiner was then ambassador in France, and
 1536. 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.

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 Scimour, 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 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.

She was of a very cheerful 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 virtue, (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 all observed 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

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The King's
jealousy of
her.

BOOK III. Queen, together with his affection to Mistress Seymour, made him conclude her guilty. Yet somewhat
 1586. 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 dropped 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 sudden infirm some time before her death, did swear this matter to one of her* and here 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 first 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 Sme-
 ton, *as to any actual thing*, so Cromwel writ. Upon

The letters
 about this.
 Cott. Lib.
 Otho. C. 10.

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 defamed and destroyed at once. At first she smiled, and carried it cheerfully ; and said, 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 surprise 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 herself 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 there “ 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 pre-

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She is put
in the Tow-
er, and
pleads her
innocency.

BOOK sense: which was procured by the Queen's enemies,
 III. who took care, that one who had such credit with the
 1536. 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.

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 cried 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 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 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 men's shoes; for if aught 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 inferior person. No, no, madam, said he; a look sufficeth me." She seemed more apprehensive of Weston than of any body. For on Whitsun-Monday 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 kinswoman 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? Yourself, said he; upon which, she said, she defied him."

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But confessed some
indiscreet
words.

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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 downright justification of her would provoke him : therefore he wrote the following letter on the third 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.

Cranmer's
letter to the
King about
her.
Cott. Lib.
Otho. C. 10.

“ *Pleaseth it your most noble Grace* to be advertised,
“ that at your Grace's commandment, by Mr. Secre-
“ tary 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 forso-
“ much as without your Grace's commandment I dare
“ not, contrary to the contents of the said letters, pre-
“ sume to come unto your Grace's presence ; never-
“ theless, 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 la-
“ mentable 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 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
 “ constancy throughout, whether your Highness can
 “ be content to take of God’s hand, as well things
 “ displeasent, as pleasent. And if he find in your
 “ most noble heart such an obedience unto his will,
 “ that your Grace, without murmuration and over-
 “ much heaviness, do accept all adversities, 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 High-
 “ ness, as he did unto his most faithful servant 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 ho-
 “ nour 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 maketh 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 unto 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

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III.

1586.

BOOK III. 1536. “ kindness bindeth me unto ; that is, that I may with
 “ your Grace’s favour wish and pray for her, that she
 “ may declare herself 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 mere goodness 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 Gospel 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 pro-
 “ fessed 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, know-
 “ ledgeth, 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 :
 “ forso much as your Grace’s favour to the Gospel was
 “ not led by affection 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 third day of May.

“ After I had written this letter unto your Grace,

“ my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Oxford, my Lord BOOK
 “ of Sussex, and my Lord Chamberlain of your Grace’s III.
 “ house, sent for me to come unto the Star-Chamber ; 1536.
 “ 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 proved by the Queen, as I
 “ heard of their relation. But I am, and ever shall be,
 “ your faithful subject.

“ Your Grace’s most humble subject, and chaplain,
 “ T. Cantuariensis.”

But jealousy, 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 twelfth of May ; and then Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried 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 fifteenth 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 Wilt- She is brought to a trial.

BOOK shire,) were brought to be tried by their peers: the
 III. Duke of Norfolk being Lord High Steward for that
 1536. occasion. With him sate the Duke of Suffolk, the
 Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Arundel, and twenty-
 five more peers, of whom their father, the Earl of Wilt-
 shire, was one. Whether this unnatural compliance
 was imposed on him by the imperious King, or offi-
 ciously 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 un-
 heard-of precedent, was brought to the bar, and in-
 dicted 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 begot-
 ten between the King and her.* And this was treason,
 according to the statute made in the twenty-sixth 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, the
 known statute of the twenty-fifth year of the reign of
 Edward the Third had been sufficient. When the in-
 dictment 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

See Adden-
 da.

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 is like, might be some promise he made to marry her, *per verba de futuro*, which though it was no precontract in itself, yet it seems the poor Queen was either so ignorant, or so ill-advised, as to be persuaded afterwards it was one; though it is 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

BOOK try what could be made of it, and pressed the Earl of
 III. Northumberland to confess a contract between him
 1536. 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 sacra-
 ment 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 tried only as Marchioness of Pem-
 broke. But now, she lying under so terrible a sen-
 tence, 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 con-
 fessed a precontract, and on the seventeenth of May
 was brought to Lambeth: and in court, the afflicted
 Archbishop sitting judge, some persons of quality be-
 ing present, she confessed some just and lawful im-
 pediments ; by which it was evident, that her mar-
 riage with the King was not valid. Upon which con-
 fession, 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 se-
 cretly done, for Spelman writes of it thus ; It was said,
 there was a divorce made between the King and her,
 upon her confessing a precontract with another before
 her marriage with the King ; so that it was then only
 talked of, but not generally known.

Upon an
 extorted
 confession
 is divorced.

The two sentences that were passed upon the Queen, BOOK III. the one of attainder for adultery, the other of divorce, 1536. because of a precontract, 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 not 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 annulling 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 resolved 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 steadfast 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 played 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.

BOOK This ingenuity and tenderness of conscience about
III. lesser matters, is a great presumption, that if she had
 1536. 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 employed by the Lord Herbert has not writ it out faithfully; for I cannot think that any part of it was left out on design.

The Lieutenant of the Tower's letter.

“ Sir, These should be to advertise you, I have received your letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower; and so they be by the means of Richard Gressum and William Loke, and Wythspoll. But the number of strangers passed 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 herself 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 BOOK
III.
 “ sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this 1536.
 “ time, and past my pain. I told her, it should be
 “ no pain, it was so sottle. 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 mid-
 “ night. This is the effect of any thing that is here at
 “ this time, and thus fare you well.

“ Yours,

“ William Kingston.”

A little before noon, being the nineteenth of May, ^{Her execu-} she was brought to the scaffold, where she made a ^{tion.} 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 mer-
 “ ciful and gentle Prince, and that he had been al-
 “ ways 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 hang-

BOOK man of Calais, who was brought over as more expert at
 III. beheading than any in England: her eyes and lips
 1536. were observed to move after her head was cut off, as
 Spelman writes; but her body was thrown into a com-
 mon chest of elm-tree, that was made to put arrows in,
 and was buried in the chapel within the Tower, before
 twelve o'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 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."

The several censures that were then passed on those proceedings.

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 faint justifying herself 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 herself, so she said as much for the King's honour as BOOK III. could be expected. Yet, in a letter that she wrote to 1536. the King from the Tower, (which will be found in the Collect. Numb. 4. Collection,) she pleaded her innocence in a strain of so much wit, and moving passionate eloquence, as perhaps can scarce be paralleled: 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.

Her carriage seemed too free; and all people thought that some freedoms 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 person whose chastity he had reason to be assured of, since she had resisted his addresses near five years, till he legitimated them by marriage. But others excused him. It is certain her carriage had given just cause of some jealousy, 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 showed that his conscience was governed by the King's pleasure, as his supreme law. But what he did was

BOOK III. 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 being 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 appeared 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 images again in the east; whom the popes continued to court and magnify, after her barbarous murder of her son, with other acts of unsatiated 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 complete 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 go-

vernment will admit of a debate about the clearness 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 busy 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 outlive 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.

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 herself 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

BOOK
III.
1536.

The Lady
Mary en-
deavours a
reconcilia-
tion with
her father.

BOOK III. 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.

Her submission under her own hand. Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 10.

“ The confession of me, the Lady Mary, made upon certain points and articles under-written: in the which, as I do now plainly, and with all mine heart, confess and declare mine inward sentence, belief, and judgment, with a due conformity of obedience to the laws of the realm; so, minding for ever to persist and continue in this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do most humbly beseech the King's Highness, my father, whom I have obstinately and inobediently offended in the denial of the same heretofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his most gracious mercy.

“ First, I confess and knowledge the King's Majesty to be my sovereign Lord and King in the imperial crown of this realm of England; and do submit myself to his Highness, and to all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, as becometh a true and faithful subject to do; which I shall also obey, keep, observe, advance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the power, force, and qualities, that God hath endued me with, during my life.

“ *Item*, I do recognize, accept, take, repute, and knowledge, the King's Highness to be *supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church of England*; and do utterly refuse the Bishop of Rome's pretended

“ authority, power, and jurisdiction, within this realm
 “ heretofore usurped, according to the laws and statutes
 “ made in that behalf, and of all the King’s true sub-
 “ jects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and
 “ observed; and also do utterly renounce and forsake
 “ all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage which
 “ I may by any means claim by the Bishop of Rome’s
 “ laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence, at this present
 “ time, or in any wise hereafter, by any manner of
 “ title, colour, mean, or case, that is, shall, or can be
 “ devised for that purpose.

BOOK
 III.

1586.

“ Mary.

“ *Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of
 “ my duty towards God, the King’s Highness, and his
 “ laws, without other respect, recognize and know-
 “ ledge, 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 She is re-
 stored to
 his favour. circumstance I shall add, that shows the frugality of
 that time. In the establishment that was made for
 her family, there was only 40l. a quarter assigned for
 her privy-purse. I have seen a letter of her’s to Crom-
 well, at the Christmas-quarter, desiring him to let the
 King know, that she must be at some extraordinary
 expence that season, that so he might increase her
 allowance, since the 40l. would not defray the charge
 of that quarter.

For the Lady Elizabeth, though the King divested The Lady
 Elizabeth
 well used
 by the
 King and
 Queen. 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

BOOK from the sweetness of her disposition, and what out of
 III. compliance with the King, who loved her much, was
 1536. as kind to 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 kind-
 ness 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 Sep-
 tember 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 rejoice 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 country. Your Highness were
 “ like to be cumbered if I should not depart till I were
 “ weary being with you ; although it were in the
 “ worst soil in the world, your presence 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 busy 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 send
 “ you a most lucky deliverance. And my Mistress BOOK III.
 “ wisheth no less, giving your Highness most humble 1536.
 “ thanks for her commendations. Writ with very little
 “ leisure, this last day of July.

“ Your humble daughter,
 “ Elizabeth.”

But to proceed to more serious matters. A parlia-A new
 ment was summoned to meet the eighth of June. If parliament
 full forty days be necessary for a summons, then the called.
 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, Journal
 the Lord Chancellor Audley, in his speech, told them, Procetum.
 “ That when the former parliament was dissolved, the
 “ King had no thoughts of summoning a new one so
 “ soon. But for two reasons he had now called them.
 “ The one was, that he, finding himself 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 parliament, 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 unlawful marriage, and the
 “ dangers he was in by his second; which might 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 carnal concupis-
 “ cence, was pleased to marry again a Queen, by whom

BOOK III. 1536. “ 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 died 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.”

The act of succession.

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 men’s minds. For the bill about the succession to the crown was not brought into the House of Lords before the thirtieth 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 herself 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 parliament. 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 in-

“ heritance of the crown is established on the issue of
 “ Queen Jane, whether male or female, or the King’s BOOK
 “ issue by any other wife whom he might marry after- III.
 “ wards. 1536.

“ 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 ; therefore
 “ they, considering the King’s wise and excellent go-
 “ vernment, 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 traitors,
 “ 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 de-
 “ clared traitors.”

By this act it may appear how absolutely this King reigned in England. Many questioned much the validity of it; and (as shall afterwards appear) the Scots said, That the succession to the crown was not within the parliament’s 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

BOOK pleasure. This did also much pacify the Emperor,
 III. since his kinswoman was, though not restored in
 1536. blood, yet put in a capacity to succeed to the crown.

The Pope
 endeavour-
 ed a recon-
 ciliation
 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 died 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 conjuncture to try if a reconciliation could be effected. This he proposed 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 procured two acts to be passed 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 fourth of July; and was read the first time the fifth, and the second time on the sixth of July, and lay at the committee till the twelfth. And on the fourteenth, it was sent down to the Commons, who, if there be no mistake in the Journals, sent it up that same day: they certainly made

great haste, for the parliament was dissolved within four days. BOOK
III.

1536.

“ The preamble of this first act contains severe re-
 “ flections on the Bishop of Rome, (whom some called
 “ the Pope,) who had long darkened 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 persuad-
 “ ing people to acknowledge his pretended authority.
 “ Therefore every person so offending, after the last of
 “ July next to come, was to incur the pains of a *præ-*
 “ *munire* ; and all officers, both civil and ecclesiastical,
 “ were commanded to make inquiry about such of-
 “ fences, under several penalties.”

On the twelfth of July a bill was brought in concerning privileges obtained from the see of Rome, and was read the first time : and on the seventeenth it was agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who sent it up 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 consecra-
 “ tions 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

BOOK “ to such persons as the King should appoint for that
 III. “ end. And the Archbishop of Canterbury was law-
 1536. “ fully 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 completing of their studies. Now it was found, that many dissolute clergymen went and lived at the 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 public 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 performed 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 eighth of June to the eighteenth of July, acts of

this importance were passed without any protest or public opposition. BOOK
III.

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 sate at this time, and was very busy, as appears by the Journals of the House of Lords; in which this is given for a reason of many adjournments, because the spiritual lords were busy in the convocation. It sate down on the ninth 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 Vicegerent. For he sate next the Archbishop; but when he had that dignity, he sate above him. Nor do I find him styled in any writing Vicegerent for some time after this; though the Lord Herbert says, he was made Vicegerent the eighteenth of July this year, the same day in which the parliament was dissolved.

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 composures. On the twenty-first 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 Archbishop 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 died. Yet, with

BOOK this animadversion, I must give him my thanks for
 III. his pains in copying out of the Journals of Convocation
 1536. many remarkable things, which had been otherwise
 irrecoverably lost.

On the twenty-third 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 supreme head, and were resolved to obey his commands, renouncing the Pope’s usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and did addict 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 unsavoury 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 jests on the contrary opinions will take with the people, do give them too much encouragement. Many of these jests 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 rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not rest on 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 Alesse, a Scotchman, 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.

BOOK
III.

1586.

Antiq. Brit.
in vita
Cranm.

Stokesley, Bishop of London, answered him in a long discourse, in which he showed he was better acquainted with the learning of the schools, and the canon law, than with the Gospel: he was seconded by the Archbishop of York, and others of that party.

But Cranmer, in a long and learned speech, showed how useless these niceties of the schools were, and of how little authority they ought to be; and discoursed

BOOK largely of the authority of the Scriptures, of the use
 III. of the sacraments, of the uncertainty of tradition, and
 1536. 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 articles brought into the upper house of Convocation, devised by the King himself, about which there were great debates among them ; the two Archbishops heading two parties : Cranmer was for a reformation, and with him joined 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, Archbishop of York, was a known favourer of the Pope's interests : which as it first appeared in his scrupling so much, with the whole convocation of York, the acknowledging the King to be supreme 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 Duresm, 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 bishop-

rick, 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 *præmunire*: the King, considering his great age, had upon his humble submission discharged him out of prison, and pardoned him. But he died the former year, though Fuller, in his slight way, makes him sit in this convocation; for by the seventeenth act of the last parliament, it appears that the bishoprick of Norwich being vacant, the King had recommended William Abbot of St. Bennet's to it; but took into his own hands all the lands and manors of the bishoprick, and gave the Bishop several of the priories in Norfolk in exchange, which was confirmed in parliament.

BOOK
III.

1536.

Act. 17.
27 Regni.

I shall next give a short abstract of the articles about religion, which were, after much consultation and long debating, agreed to.

“ 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.

Articles agreed on about religion, printed by Fuller.

“ 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.

BOOK III. " That the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians
 1536. " were detestable heresies, and that those of ripe age,
 " who desired baptism, must with it join 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 joined 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, almsdeeds, 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 ; BOOK
III.
 “ and that, by doing these, they should both obtain 1536.
 “ 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 and substantially
 “ given the very same body of Christ that was born
 “ of the Virgin Mary ; and therefore it was to be re-
 “ ceived with all reverence, every one duly examining
 “ himself, according to the words of St. Paul.

“ Fifthly, the people were to be instructed, that jus-
 “ tification signifieth the remission of sins, and accep-
 “ tation into the favour of God ; that is to say, a per-
 “ fect renovation in Christ. To the attaining which,
 “ they were to have contrition, faith, charity, which
 “ were both to concur 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 virtues, 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 cens-

BOOK “ ing, kneeling, offering, or worshipping them, the
 III. “ people were to be instructed not to do it to the
 1536. “ 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 supersti-
 “ tious abuses in this matter, they were to keep the
 “ days appointed by the church for their memories, un-
 “ less 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; bear-
 “ ing 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 en-
 “ tered 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 hal-
 “ lowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedic-
 “ tions.

“ And lastly, as to purgatory, they were to declare it

“ good and charitable to pray for the souls departed, BOOK
 “ which was said to have continued in the church from III.
 “ the beginning ; and therefore the people were to be 1536.
 “ 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 Pope’s 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.”

These articles, being thus conceived, and in several places corrected and tempered by the King’s own hand, were signed by Cromwell and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and seventeen other bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons 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 tendered 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 arti-
 “ cles 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 deli-
 “ beration, had concluded on the most special points,

See Adden-
 da.
 Published
 by the
 King’s au-
 thority ;

BOOK “ which the King thought proceeded from a good,
 III. “ right, and true judgment, according to the laws of
 1536. “ God ; these would also be profitable for establishing
 “ unity in the church of England : therefore he had or-
 “ dered 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 fur-
 “ ther pains for the future, as should be most for the
 “ honour of God, and the profit and the quietness of
 “ his subjects.”

And vari-
 ously cen-
 sured.

This being published, occasioned 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 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 people's 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 apostolic see, he pretended he would maintain the catholic 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 daubing, in which, they said, there was more pains taken to gratify 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,

BOOK III. 1536. 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.

The convocation declares against the council called by the Pope.

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.

Collect. Numb. 5.

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, duly 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 assem-*
 “ *blies of bishops were to be eschewed ; for he never saw*
 “ *good come of any of them, and they had increased,*
 “ *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 pre-*
 “ *vent so great a mischief. And it was to be con-*
 “ *sidered, first, Who had authority to call one. Se-*
 “ *condly, 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 supreme*
 “ *government over all their subjects.” This was signed,*
 on the twentieth of July, by Cromwell, and the Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, with fourteen bishops, and forty
 abbots, priors, and clerks of the convocation of Canter-
 bury. 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 pub-
 lished a long and sharp protestation against the council
 now summoned to Mantua. In which he shows, 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 juris-
 “ diction in England, and so could summon none of

BOOK
III.

1536.

The King
publishes
his rea-
sons against
it.

Fox.

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1526.

“ 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 sate 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 dis-
 “ tractions of Christendom, and the wars between the
 “ Emperor and the French King, showed this was no
 “ proper time for one. The Pope, who had long refused
 “ or delayed to call one, did now choose this con-
 “ juncture 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 cozened as they had been. Then he shows
 “ how unsafe it was for any Englishman 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 shows 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 trou-
 “ ble. Therefore he declared, he would 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 council 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.”

BOOK
III.

1536.

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 himself) was present when the clergy made their submission, and acknowledged the King supreme-head : in which, since he was then Dean of Exeter, and kept his deanery several years after that, it is not to be doubted, but that, as he was by his place obliged to sit in the convocation, 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 themselves 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 preeminence ; and that justly too, for he

Cardinal
Pool op-
poses the
King’s pro-
ceedings ;

BOOK was accounted one of the most eloquent men of his
 III. time.

1536.

And writes
 his book
 against
 him.

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 apostolic see. To this the King answered, desiring his reasons why he disagreed 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 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 defaced 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 toils, 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 Tonsal 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.

BOOK
III.

1536.

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 twenty-eighth of April, after the session of parliament was over; and the report was to be made in the octaves of St. Michael the archangel. 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.

“ The auditors of the court of Augmentations were
 “ the persons that were employed. Four, or any three
 “ of them, were commissioned to execute the instruc-
 “ tions in every particular visitation. One auditor or
 “ receiver, and one of the clerks of the former visita-

Collect.
Numb. 6.
Instruc-
tions about
the dissolu-
tion of
monaste-
ries.

BOOK III.
 1536.

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 show them their commission. Then they were to put the governor, 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 many 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 fabric of the house, and the number of the 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 that, before the first 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 inventory 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 leases and deeds had been made for a whole year, before the fourth of February last. Such as would still live in monasteries were to be recommended to some of the great monasteries that lay next: and such as would live in the world must come to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Chancellor, to receive capacities." (From which it appears, that Cromwell was not at this time Lord Vicegerent, 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 Augmenta-
 “ tions, who were to assign him a yearly pension for
 “ his life.”

BOOK
 III.
 1536.

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 increase the King's revenue. The churches and cloisters 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 impoverished friends, by putting them into these sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they sustained

Great dis-
 contents
 among all
 sorts of
 people.

BOOK III. 1536. 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 abbey were their stages, and were houses of reception to travellers and strangers. The devouter sort of people of their persuasion 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.

Endeavours
are used to
quiet these.

But, to compose these discontents, first, many books were published, to show 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 easy rates, to the gentry in the several counties, obliging them, since they had them upon such terms, to keep up the wonted hospitality. This drew in the gentry apace 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 interwoven 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. BOOK
III.

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 seventeenth of August, he by his letters patents did of new give back, *in perpetuam eleemosynam*, for perpetual alms, five abbeys. 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 manors 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 outlive 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. 1586.

But great disorders followed upon the dissolution of the other houses. People were still generally discontented. The suppression of religious houses occasioned much outcrying, and the articles then lately published about religion increased the distaste they had conceived at the government. The old clergy Yet people
generally
inclined to
rebel.

BOOK III. 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, 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 uneasy 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.

Now, not only their own interests, mixed with their zeal for the ancient religion, but the Pope's authority,

gave them as good a warrant to incline 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 produced great earthquakes and commotions, was much abated: yet some storms were raised by this, though not so violent as had been in former times.

BOOK
III.
1586.

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 religion.

“The substance of them was, that, first, all ecclesiastical incumbents were for a quarter of a year

Collect.
Numb. 7.

BOOK
III.

1536.

“ 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 of God ; and therefore was on good rea-
“ sons abolished in this kingdom : and that the King’s
“ power was by the laws of God supreme over all per-
“ sons in his dominions. And they were to do their
“ uttermost endeavour to extirpate the Pope’s autho-
“ rity, 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 arti-
“ cles of faith, and which of them rules for the decent
“ and politic 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
“ relics, for superstition or gain ; nor to exhort peo-
“ ple 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 staid at home, and provided for their
“ families, than when they went pilgrimages ; and
“ that the monies 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 in-
“ cumbent 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 sacra-
 “ ments and sacramentals 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.

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III.

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“ Seventhly, They should not, except on urgent oc-
 “ casion, 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 completed his studies, was to be part-
 “ ner 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, All these injunctions were to be ob-
 “ served, under pain of suspension and sequestration
 “ of the mean profits till they were observed.”

BOOK
III.

1536.
Which
were much
censured.

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 Vicegerent. The matter of these injunctions was also very uneasy to them. The great profits they made by their images and relics, 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.

This was secretly fomented by the great abbots. For though they were not yet struck at, yet the way was prepared to it; and their houses were oppressed with crowds 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 churchman, disguised into a cobbler, and directed by a monk, drew a great body of men after him. About twenty thousand 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.

“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 counsellors: they also complained of some bishops, who had subverted 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 supreme head, and that the tenths and first-fruits of all livings belonged to him of right.”

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 counsellors, and said, it was never before heard of, that the rabble presumed to dictate to their Prince what counsellors he should choose: that

BOOK
III.

1536.

A rebellion
in Lincoln-
shire.

Their de-
mands.

The King's
answer.

BOOK III. 1536. “ 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 counsellors. 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.”

When this answer was brought to them, it raised their spirits higher. The practising clergymen 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 meat, 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 ef-

fects the King's rough answer had produced: that they had joined 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. 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 joined themselves to the rebels there; some of their other leaders were apprehended, in particular the cobbler, and were executed.

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

BOOK
III.

1536.

It is quieted
by the
Duke of
Suffolk.A new re-
bellion in
the north.

BOOK body ; so the whole contrivance of it was better laid.

III.

1536.

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 joined to them took an oath, “ that they entered 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 counsellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure 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 heretics, 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 forty thousand strong. They went over the country without any great opposition. The Archbishop of York 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 York 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

Which
grew very
formidable.

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.

This rising in Yorkshire 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 renowned 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, Marquis of Exeter, and the Earls of Huntington and Rutland, to join him. He also ordered the Duke of Suffolk, with the force that he had led into Lincolnshire, 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.

On the twentieth of October he sent the Duke of Norfolk with more forces to join 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

BOOK
III
1536.

The Duke
of Norfolk
and others
sent against
them.

BOOK that must be very hard for them to bring in : so he
 III. set forward a treaty. It was both honourable for the
 1536. 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 in-
 creasing. 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, order-
 ing them to lay down their arms, and submit to the
 King's mercy ; Ask received him sitting in state, with
 the Archbishop 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 them-
 selves, till all matters about religion were fully set-
 tled.

As they went forward, they every where repossessed
 the ejected monks of their houses ; and this encour-
 aged 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 im-
 positions 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 no-
 bility to meet him at Northampton the seventh 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 main-
 tain that pass.

They ad-
 vance to
 Doncaster.

The writers of that time say, that the day of battle 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 five thousand men about him, would agree to a pitched battle with those who were six times his number, being then thirty thousand. Therefore it is more likely, that the rebels only intended to pass the river the next day, which the rain that fell hindered: but the Duke of Norfolk continued to press a treaty, which was hearkened to by the other side, who were reduced to great straits; 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, joined 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.

BOOK
III.

1536.

The Duke
of Norfolk
breaks
them by
delays.

BOOK III. in this the King's counsels were generally censured; for every one was now in fear, and so the rebels re-
 1536. jected 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 uneasy 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 sixth of December they met to treat; and, it seems, had so laid their matter before, that they agreed upon these following demands.

Their 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-suit. 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 clergy's 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, BOOK
 “ that had visited the monasteries, might be impri- III.
 “ soned for bribery and extortion.” 1536.

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 encouraged 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 easy 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 of by the King's party as little less 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 supersti-

BOOK tious multitude; and both discouraged and disposed
 III. them to accept of the offer of pardon, and a parliament
 1536. to be soon called, for considering their other demands.
 The King signed the pardon at Richmond the ninth
 of December: by which all their treasons and rebel-
 lion 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 de-
 mands. "As to what they complained about the sub-
 "version of the faith: he protested his zeal for the
 "true Christian faith, and that he would live and die
 "in the defence and preservation of it; but the ig-
 "norant multitude were not to instruct him what the
 "true faith was, nor to presume 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 pro-
 "genitors had done upon lesser grounds. But that he
 "took it very ill of them, who had rather one 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 subjects in peace and justice, had
 "so defended them from their enemies, had so se-
 "cured his frontier, had granted so many general par-
 "dons, had been so unwilling to punish his subjects,

“ and so ready to receive them into mercy ; that they
 “ could show no parallel to his government among all BOOK
 “ their former kings. And whereas it was said, that III.
 “ he had many of the nobility of his council in the be- 1536.
 “ ginning of his reign, and few now ; he showed 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 Sur-
 “ rey and the Earl of Shrewsbury ; whereas now, the
 “ Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquis of Exe-
 “ ter, the Lord Steward, the Earls of Oxford and Sus-
 “ sex, and the Lord Sands, were of the privy council :
 “ and for the spirituality, the Archbishop of Canter-
 “ bury, the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and
 “ Chichester were also of it. And he and his whole
 “ council, judging it necessary to have some at the
 “ board who understood the law of England, and the
 “ treaties with foreign princes ; he had, by their una-
 “ nimous advice, brought in his Chancellor, 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 mat-
 “ ters. 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 com-
 “ plaints 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

BOOK “ those who spread such calumnies and ill reports :
 III. “ and he concluded all with a severe expostulation ;
 1536. “ 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 will-
 “ ing to pass it over more gently, as they would per-
 “ ceive by his proclamation.”

1537.
 The rebel-
 lion is
 quieted.

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, first, to revoke all oaths and promises made during the rebellion, for which they asked the King's pardon on their knees ; secondly, to swear to be true to the King, and his heirs and successors ; thirdly, to obey and maintain all the acts of parliament made during the King's reign ; fourthly, not to take arms again, but by the King's authority ; fifthly, to apprehend all seditious persons ; sixthly, 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 abbots had given

secret supplies of money to the rebels: for which many of them were afterwards tried 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 fourscore, 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 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 surprised 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 surprised 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

BOOK
III.

1537.

New ris-
ings, but
soon dis-
persed.

BOOK III. 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 public examples. He suffered at York; 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 trial, 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 trial by combat; and gave some presumptions to show, 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.

1537.

The chief
of the
rebels ex-
ecuted.

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 overawe 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 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 impostures there were, either in their images, relics, 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 Vicegerent. 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 Abbot of Furnese in Lancashire, valued at 960 *lib.* with thirty monks, resigning up that house to the King on the ninth of April, which was very near the end of the year of the King's reign; for it commenced on the twenty-second 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 Bushlisham, or Bishtam, in Berkshire, made by Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, that was Com-

BOOK
III.1537.
A new visitation of
monasteries.

BOOK
III.

1537.

mendator 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 abbot 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 stirs 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 increase 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.

Some of
the great
abbots sur-
render their
houses.

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 abbots 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 up his own house of Bushlisham, but prevailed on many others to do the like. Others were convicted of great disorders in their conversation; and these, not daring to stand a trial, 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 abbot 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 four hundred 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 embezzle, as the walls and windows, bells and lead. In other houses the abbot 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 abbots' pensions were proportioned to the value of their house, and to their innocence. The Abbots of St. Alban's and Tewksbury had four hundred marks a year a-piece. The Abbot 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 five hundred marks pension reserved to him. And for their inferior officers, some had thirty, some ten, or eight, and the lowest six *lib.* pension.

In other places, upon a vacancy either by death or

BOOK III. deprivation, they did put in an abbot only to resign up
 1598. the house. For, after the King's supremacy was esta-
 blished, all those abbots that had been formerly con-
 firmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner: the
 King granted a *congé d'élire* to the prior and con-
 vent, 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 Vicegerent; 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 abbots were now placed
 by the King, and were generally picked out to serve
 this turn. Others, in hope of advancement to bishop-
 ricks, 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 cheer-
 ful 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 sup-
 pression. 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 past lewd and dissolute lives. Of these there
 is only one now extant; which, it is like, escaped the
 general rasure 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 Northamp-
 ton, is to be seen in the Record of the court of Aug-
 mentations: in which, with the most aggravating ex-
 pressions that could be devised, they acknowledged

Confes-
 sions of
 horrid
 crimes
 made in
 several
 houses.

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, glut-
 “ tony, and sensuality ; with many other woeful ex-
 “ pressions to that purpose.”

Other houses, as the monastery of Betlesden, re-
 signed with this preamble ; “ That they did profoundly
 “ consider, that the manner and trade of living, which
 “ they, and others of their pretended religion, had for
 “ a long time followed, consisted in some dumb cere-
 “ monies, and other constitutions of the bishops of
 “ Rome, and other foreign potentates, as the Abbot of
 “ Cisteaux ; by which they were blindly led, having
 “ no true knowledge of God’s laws ; procuring exemp-
 “ tions 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
 “ twenty-fifth of September in the thirtieth year of his
 “ reign.” This writing was signed by the Abbot, the
 Sub-Prior, and nine monks. There are five other sur-
 renders to the same purpose ; by the Gray and White
 friars of Stamford, the Gray friars of Coventry, Bed-
 ford, and Ailesbury, yet to be seen. Some are re-
 signed 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 Abbot of Chertsey in Surrey,
 with fourteen monks, on the fourteenth of July, in
 the twenty-ninth year of this reign ; whose house was

BOOK
III.

1538.

Collect.
Numb. 3.
sect. 4.

BOOK III. 1538. valued at 744 *lib.* I have some reason to think that this Abbot 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 monkery, 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 five hundred marks to the King, and of two hundred 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.*

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 form
of most
surrenders.
Collect.
Numb. 3.
sect. 1.

The general form in which most of these resignations begins, is, "That the abbot and brethren, upon full deliberation, certain knowledge, 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 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 one hundred and fifty-nine resigna-

tions enrolled, of which the originals of one hundred and fifty-five do yet remain. And for the reader's 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 abbots would not comply with the King in this matter, and stood it out till after the following parliament, that was in the thirty-first year of his reign.

BOOK
III.
1538.
Collect.
Numb. 3.
sect. 3.

It was questioned by many, whether these surrenders could be good in law, since the abbots 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 abbot 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 surrendering, 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 abbots 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-counsellor, under his own hand, I find that the great

Divers opinions about these.

Some abbots attainted of treason.

BOOK III. 1538. 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 joined himself to the rebels, and was taken with them, together with the Abbot of Whaley, and two monks of his house; and the Abbot of Gervaux, with a monk of his house; and the Abbot 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 Abbots 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 Abbot of Reading I have not yet discovered. But there is an account given to Cromwell of the proceedings against the Abbot 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 trial, and was reputed a man of as great integrity and virtue 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 Abbot of Colchester was also attainted of high treason. What the particulars were, I cannot tell: for the record of their attainders is 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 abbots, had over and over again acknowledged the King's supremacy.

For clearing which, and discovering the impudence of Sanders'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 abbots, to the King's supremacy. First, in the convocation, in the twenty-second year of this reign, they all acknowledged the King supreme head of the church of England. They did all also swear to maintain the act of the succession of the crown, made in the twenty-fifth 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 entered 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 Abbots of Colchester and Reading sate in that parliament; and as there was no protestation made against any of the acts passed in that session, so

BOOK III. 1538. it is often entered, that the acts were agreed to by the unanimous consent of the lords. It appears alsō, 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 abbot would have been dispensed 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 supreme head of the church. The Abbots 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 abbeys.

In particular, the Abbot 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. 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 Abbot's desire. He also shewed, that, in some contests between him and his residentiaries, and between him and the Mayor 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 **BOOK** answer, that shows him to have been indeed a great III. man. The reader will find it in the Collection, and see from it how modestly and discreetly he carried his ^{1538.} greatness. _{Collect. Numb. 8.}

But how justly soever these abbots 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 twenty-sixth 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 traitor 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 tail were comprehended, so the lands that any traitor 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. It is true, the word *successor* favoured these seizures; 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

BOOK III. whole abbey was forfeited, these abbots could have
 1538. no successors. Yet, it seems, the seizures 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 in-
 heritance*: to which is added, *in their own right*; it
 seems, on design to cut off all pretence for such pro-
 ceeding for the future, as had been in this reign. But
 if there were any illegality in these seizures, the fol-
 lowing parliament did at least tacitly justify them:
 for they excepted out of the provisos made concern-
 ing the abbeys that were suppressed, such as had
 been *forfeited and seized on by any attainders of trea-
 son*.

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
 parts against his marriage, and other proceedings: di-
 vers 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 died. But the Prior was a worthy man, of whom
 Thomas Bedyll, 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 abbots 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 Cheapstow complained in particular of Doctor London, one of the visitors, that he had been corrupting her nuns; and generally it was cried out on, that underhand 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 public, as a discovery made of the Prior of the Crossed friars in London; who, on a Friday, at eleven o'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 promised them 30 *lib.* more: yet, failing in the payment, a suit 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 abbots 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

BOOK
III.

1538.

The superstition and cheats of these houses discovered.

BOOK more effectual, both for recovering the people out of
 III. the superstitious fondness they had for their images
 1538. and relics, 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
 relics and feigned images, to which pilgrimages were
 wont to be made. In this, Doctor London did great ser-
 vice. From Reading he writes, "That the chief re-
 " lies of idolatry in the nation were there: an angel
 " with one wing, that brought over the spear's head
 " that pierced our Saviour's side. To which he adds,
 " a long inventory of their other relics; 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 par-
 ings of St. Edmund's toes, St. Thomas Becket's pen-
 knife and boots, with as many pieces of the cross of
 our Saviour as would make a large whole cross. They
 had also relics against rain, and for hindering weeds to
 spring. But to pursue this further were endless; the
 relics 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.

Images
 publicly
 broken.

For their images, some of them were brought to
 London, and were there, at St. Paul's Cross, 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, com-
 monly called *the rood of grace*; to which many pil-
 grimages had been made, because it was observed
 sometimes to bow, and to lift itself up; to shake, and

to stir head, hands, and feet; to roll 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 publicly discovered to have been cheats: for the springs were showed, by which all these motions were made. Upon which John Hilsey, then Bishop of Rochester, 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 showed in a vial of crystal, 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 relic. This was now discovered to have been the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: and the one side of the vial 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 diocese of St. Asaph, gave this account, on the sixth 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 cattle, and some brought money; and it was generally believed, that, if any offered to that image,

BOOK
III.

1538.

Pelerine
Inglese.

BOOK III. " he had power to deliver his soul from hell." So it was ordered to be brought to London, where it served for fuel to burn Friar Forrest. There was an huge image of our Lady at Worcester, that was had in great reverence; which, when it was stript of some veils that covered it, was found to be the statue of a bishop.

1538.

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 diocese, 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. 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 Caermaerden; 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 Islington, with a great many more, were brought up to London, and burnt by Cromwell's orders.

Thomas Becket's shrine broken.

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 Second 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 Archbishop. 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 Archbishop 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 three hundred years, he was accounted one of the greatest saints in heaven, as may appear from the accounts in the ledger-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, 3l. 2s. 6d; to the Virgin's altar, 63l. 5s. 6d; but to St. Thomas's altar, 832l. 12s. 3d. 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 4l. 1s. 8d; but at St. Thomas's, 954l. 6s. 3d. By such offerings it came, that his shrine was of inestimable value. There was one stone offered there by Lewis the Seventh of France, who came over to visit it in a

BOOK

III.

1538.

BOOK pilgrimage, that was believed the richest in Europe.
 III. Nor did they think it enough to give him one day in
 1538. the kalendar, the twenty-ninth 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 seventh of July, was not only a holy-day, but every fiftieth year there was a jubilee for fifteen 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 o'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 unshrine and unsaint 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 distinguished them afterwards. The King also ordered his name to be struck out of the kalendar, and the office for his festivity to be dashed out of all breviaries. And thus was the superstition of England to images and relics extirpated.

Somner's
 Antiquities
 of Canter-
 bury.

New arti-
 cles about
 religion
 published.

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, signed by both the archbishops, and seventeen bishops, eight archdeacons, 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 satirical 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, Nebuchadonosor, Belshazzar, Nero, Domitian, and Dioclesian; but chiefly to Julian the Apostate. This last parallel liked them best; and his learning, his apostasy, 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

BOOK
III.
1538.

Invectives
against the
King print-
ed at Rome.

BOOK known in some of them. All which possessed the
 III. King with the deepest and most implacable hatred to
 1538. him that ever he bore to any person ; and did provoke
 him to all those severities that followed on his kindred
 and family.

Collect.
 Numb. 9.

But the malice of the court of Rome did not stop there. For now the Pope published all those thunders which he had threatened three years before. The bull of deposition is printed in Cherubin's *Bulla rerum Romanarum* ; which, since many have the confidence to deny matters of fact, though most publicly 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 supreme 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 Boleyn, and had made impious and hurtful “ laws, denying the Pope to be the supreme 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 rendered himself “ unworthy of his regal dignity ; and had hardened “ his heart (as Pharaoh did) against all the admonitions “ of Pope Clement the Seventh : therefore, since these “ his crimes were so notorious, he, in imitation of what “ the Apostle did to Elymas 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 errors, to annul

The Pope's
 bulls a-
 gainst the
 King.

“ the acts lately made, and to proceed no farther upon BOOK
 “ them : which he requires him and them to do, under III.
 “ the pains of excommunication and rebellion, and of 1538.
 “ the King’s losing his kingdom, whom he required
 “ within ninety days to appear at Rome, by himself or
 “ proxy, and his complices within sixty 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 de-
 “ clares 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 in-
 “ capacitates 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 obliga-
 “ tions 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 deal-
 “ ings 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 clergymen should, within five days after the expi-
 “ ration of the time prefixed, go out of the kingdom,
 “ (leaving only so many priests as would be necessary
 “ for baptizing infants, and giving the sacrament to
 “ such as died in penitence,) under the pains of excom-
 “ munication 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

BOOK III. 1538. “ arms for him, or any way assist him : and declares
 “ all other princes absolved from any confederacies
 “ made, or 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 force him
 “ to return to the obedience of the apostolic see ; and
 “ to seize on all goods or merchandizes belonging to
 “ the King or his complices, wherever 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
 “ elapsed, 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 public
 “ manner that might be. And all who hindered the
 “ publication of this sentence are put under the same
 “ pains. He ordained 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 al-
 “ mighty God, and the holy apostles St. Peter and
 “ Paul. Dated at Rome the thirtieth 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 abbeyes, 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 BOOK
III.
 " successors to imitate our Saviour in his clemency ; 1538.
 " and that therefore, though he, having heard of King
 " Henry's crimes, and 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 easy to be-
 " lieve what he so earnestly desired, 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. Thomas of Canterbury's
 " body, to arraign him of high treason, and to burn
 " his body, and sacrilegiously to rob the riches that
 " had been offered 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. Andrew's 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 seven-
 " teenth 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 otherwise, he lied to

BOOK the world when he pretended to it thus, and taught
 III. false doctrine, which cannot stand with infallibility :

1538. 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 authentic precedents for what he did, from the depositions of emperors or kings, that were made by former popes, for about five hundred 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.

Lesley,
 Hist. Scot.

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 heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, a public murderer, 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 Cardinal Pool made it more

meritorious in his book. Yet the thunders of the Va- BOOK
 tican had now lost their force ; so that these had no III.
 other effect but to enrage the King more against all 1538.
 such as were suspected to favour their interests, or to
 hold any correspondence with Cardinal Pool. There-
 fore 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 The clergy
 in England
 declared
 against
 these.
 " 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 men's rights, and a subverter of the kingdom
 " of Christ." This was subscribed by nineteen bishops,
 (all that were then in England,) and twenty-five 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 eighth 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, Crom-
 well 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
 bishops' hands to it.

There is another original paper extant, signed at this Collect.
 Numb. 10.
 time by eight bishops ; from which I conjecture, those
 were all that were then about London. It was to show,
 " That, by the commission which Christ gave to church-
 " men, they were only ministers of his Gospel, to in-
 " struct the people in the purity of the faith ; but that,

BOOK III. “ by other places of Scripture, the authority of Christian
 1538. “ princes over all their subjects, as well bishops and
 “ priests, as others, was also clear. And that the bi-
 “ shops 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 eccle-
 siastical 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 stopped the
 mouths of all opposers. But whether there was any
 public use made of this paper, I can by no means dis-
 cover.

See Adden-
da.

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 one thousand five
 hundred of them at his own charge. This Bible Crom-
 well 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 Arch-
 bishop wrote Cromwell a letter of most hearty thanks,
 dated the thirteenth of August : “ who did now rejoice
 “ that he saw this day of reformation, which he con-
 “ cluded 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 stopped, and most of the copies were seized on, and publicly 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 publicly 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 sense 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 every 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 men's works, or pilgrimages to images, or relics, 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

BOOK
III.
1538.

New in-
junctions
set out by
the King.
Collect.
Numb. 11.

BOOK III.
 1538. “ 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 sa-
 “ crament, 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 hindered 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, BOOK
III.
 “ which were most necessary and most effectual.” 1533.

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 threatened him by the Pope; but all their expectations from the Lady Mary were now clouded: for, on the twelfth of October, 1537, Queen Jane had borne him a Prince Edward born. who was christened Edward; the Archbishop of Canterbury being one of his godfathers. This very much encouraged all that were for reformation, and disheartened 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. 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.

Gardiner was as busy as any in declaiming against

BOOK the religious houses ; and took occasion, in many of his
 III. sermons, to commend the King for suppressing them.

1538. The Archbishop of York had recovered himself at court ;
 Great compliances by the popish party. 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 mischief.” This is all that I find of him.

There is a pardon granted to Stokesly, Bishop of London, on the third of July, in the thirtieth 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 legate’s servants discoursed of it at Ratisbone to one of Sir Henry Knevet’s retinue, (who was joined in the em-

bassy with Gardiner,) whom he took to be Gardiner's BOOK III. servant, and with whom he had an old acquaintance. 1538.
 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 counsellor, 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 the mischief the Pope was contriving, as to show great zeal against heretics, chiefly the Sacramentaries; (by that name 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 persuaded 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 itself 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 Tindal and Frith, he improved that knowledge of religion, which was first infused in him

Gardiner stirs up the King against those called Sacramentaries.

And Lambert in particular;

BOOK by Bilney : but Chancellor More ordered the merchants
 III. to dismiss him ; so he came over to England, and was
 1538. 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 follow-
 ed occasioned his liberty. So he kept a school at Lon-
 don, and hearing Doctor Taylor, afterwards Bishop of
 Lincoln, preach of the presence of Christ in the sacra-
 ment, 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 argu-
 ments. Taylor showed 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 pro-
 gress of the Reformation, than the venting that doctrine
 in England. Therefore Taylor and he carried the pa-
 per to Cranmer, who was at that time also of Luther's
 opinion, which he had drunk in from his friend Osi-
 ander. 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.

Who had
 appealed to
 the King ;

This Gardiner laid hold on, and persuaded the King
 to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The King was
 soon prevailed with ; and both interest and vanity con-
 curred to make him improve this opportunity for show-
 ing his zeal and learning. So letters were written to
 many of the nobility and bishops to come and see this
 trial ; 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 appear-
 ance 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 trial 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 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 bade 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 Archbishop to confute his opinion, who spoke only to that part of it, which was grounded on the impossibility of a body's being in two places at once. And that he confuted from Christ's appearing to St. Paul; showing, 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,

BOOK
III.

1538.

And was
publicly
tried at
Westmin-
ster.

Arguments
brought a-
gainst him.

BOOK that it was not to be limited by any appearances of
III. difficulties, which flowed from our want of a right un-
1538. derstanding of things; and our faculties being weak,
our notions of impossibilities were proportioned to
these. But Stokesly thought he had found out a de-
monstration that might put an end to the whole con-
troversy; for he showed, 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
Bishop's 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 sophis-
ter; 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, disordered 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 con- BOOK
 vinced by the arguments, and whether he would live or III.
 die? He answered, *That he committed his soul to God,* 1538.
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 heretics : and since he
 would not do that, the King ordered Cromwell to read
 the sentence, (which he, as the King's Vicegerent, He is con-
 did,) declaring him an incorrigible heretic, and demned ;
 condemning him to be burnt. Which was soon after exe-
 cuted in Smithfield, in a most barbarous manner ; for,
 when his legs and thighs 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
 halberds, 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 And burnt.
 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 show both
 great learning for those times, and a very good judg-
 ment.

This being done, the party that opposed the Refor-
 mation 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 for-
 get to set on him in his weak side, and magnify 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 supreme head of the church. And
 he had so good a conceit of what was done, that he in-
 tended to pursue these severities further ; and therefore,
 soon after, he resolved on summoning a parliament,
 partly for confirming what he had done, and complet-

BOOK
III.

1538.

The popish
party gain
ground at
court.

ing 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 Archbishop 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-counsellor, 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 100,000 crowns a year towards the defence of the league.

The King's
correspon-
dence
with the
German
princes.

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 politic 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 contrary practice, had 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 public, 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

BOOK
III.

1538.

See Addenda.

Bonner's
dissimulation.Collect.
Numb. 12.

BOOK and litigious humour drew hatred on him ; Barlow was
 III. not very discreet ; and many of the preachers whom
 1538. they cherished, whether out of an unbridled forward-
 ness of temper, or true zeal, that would not be managed
 and governed by politic 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 inconveniences,
 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 Crom-
 well's to the Bishop of Landaffe, bearing date the sixth
 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 an-
 other 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 pre-
 serve 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 Boleyn'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 Crom-
 well 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

Collect.
 Numb. 13.

See Adden-
 da.

heard much of the beauty of the Lady Anne of Cleves, BOOK III.
 the Duke of Cleves' sister, whose elder sister was mar-
 ried to the Duke of Saxony. 1539.

But, while he was setting this on foot, a parliament A new parliament.
 was summoned to meet the twenty-eighth of April:
 to which all the parliamentary abbots had their writs.
 The Abbots of Westminster, St. Alban's, St. Edmunds-
 bury, St. Mary York, Glastenbury, Gloucester, Ramsey,
 Evesham, Peterborough, Reading, Malmesbury, Croy-
 land, Selby, Thorny, Winchelcomb, Waltham, Ciren-
 cester, Teukesbury, Colchester, and Tavestoke, sate in it.
 On the fifth 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 ex-
 amining these different opinions, and drawing up arti-
 cles for an agreement, which might be reported and
 considered by the House. To this the Lords agreed;
 and named for a committee, Cromwell the Vicegerent,
 the two Archbishops, the Bishops of Duresme, Bath
 and Wells, Ely, Bangor, 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 Archbishop 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 eleven days passed in
 these debates.

On the sixteenth of May the Duke of Norfolk told The six Ar-
 ticles are
 proposed.
 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

BOOK Lords' consideration, that they might be examined by
 III. the whole House, and that there might be a perpetual
 1539. law made for the observation of them, after the Lords
 had freely delivered their minds about them. The ar-
 ticles were ;

“ First, Whether in the eucharist Christ's real body
 “ was present without any transubstantiation ?” (so it
 is in the Journal, *absque transubstantiatione*.) It seems,
 so the corporal presence had been established, 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 ei-
 “ ther 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 was neces-
 “ sary by the law of God ?”

Against these the Archbishop of Canterbury argued
 long. For the first, he was then in his opinion a Lu-
 theran, 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 twelve ages.

For the third, it seemed very hard to suppress so
 many monasteries, and set the religious persons at li-
 berty, 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 not reasonable to bind them up to some

Reasons
 against
 them.

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 celibate 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 men's 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 entered into orders, should put away their wives, it was rejected: and ever

BOOK since the Greek churches have allowed their priests to
 III. keep their wives. Nor was it ever commanded in the
 1539. 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.

See Addenda.

On the twenty-fourth of May the parliament was prorogued to the thirtieth; 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 thirtieth of May, being Friday, the Lord Chancellor 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 Archbishop 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 Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Duresme, 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 Archbishop of York, 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 seventh of June; and then the Lord Chancellor offered it, and it was read the first time. On the ninth of June it had the second reading, and on the tenth 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 fourteenth it was agreed to, and sent up again: and on the twenty-eighth 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, An act passed for them.
 “ considering the blessed effects of union, and the mis-
 “ chiefs 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 as-
 “ sent 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

BOOK III. 1539. “ 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 neces-
 “ sary, 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 twelfth of July, did speak, preach, or write
 “ against the first article, they were to be judged he-
 “ retics, 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 to forfeit his benefices,
 “ goods, and chattels, and to be imprisoned during
 “ the King’s pleasure ; and upon the second convic-
 “ tion, was to suffer as a felon. The women so of-
 “ fending were also to be punished in the same man-
 “ ner as the priests : and those who contemned, or ab-
 “ stained from confession, or the sacrament, at the ac-
 “ customed 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, BOOK
III.
 “ for the execution of this act, commissions were to be 1539.
 “ issued out to all archbishops 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 exe-
 “ cute their commission indifferently, without favour,
 “ affection, corruption, or malice. All ecclesiastical in-
 “ cumbents 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 twenty-one years ; or had not been
 “ compelled to take them.”

This act was received by all that secretly favoured popery with great joy ; for now they hoped to be re-
 venged 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
 heresy, 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 unchaste practices. This was put in by
 Cromwell, to make it cut with both edges. (Some of
 our inconsiderate writers, who never perused the sta-
 tutes, tell us, it was done by a different act of parlia-
 ment ; but greater faults must be forgiven them who
 write upon hearsay.) 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

Which is
variously
censured.

BOOK 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.

III.
1539.

The other chief business of this parliament was, the suppression of monasteries. It is said in the preamble of that act, “ that divers abbots, priors, and other heads of religious houses, had, since the fourth of February in the twenty-seventh 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, 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 annulling 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 or-

“ dinary, are declared to be within the jurisdiction
 “ of the bishop of the diocese, or of any other that
 “ should be appointed by the King.”

BOOK

III.

1539.

This act passed in the House of Peers without any protestation made by any of the abbots, though it appears by the Journal, that, at the first reading of it, there were eighteen abbots present; at the second reading, twenty; and seventeen at the third reading; and the Abbots 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 annulling 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 ex-

BOOK III. emptions that were confirmed or granted by the
 see of Rome, has not yet met with an effectual re-
 1539. medy.

Upon the whole matter, this suppression of abbeys 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 *revertir*, 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 Templars was dissolved, it was then judged in favour of the lord by escheat. For 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 public 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.

On the twenty-third 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 ministered, 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,

BOOK
III.

1539.

Another
about the
erecting
new bi-
shopricks.

BOOK III. 1539. But see Addenda.

“ 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 shows 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 abbeyes 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.

Essex,	Waltham.
Hartford,	St. Alban’s.
Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire,	} Dunstable, Newenham, Clowstown.
Oxford and Berk- shire,	} Osney and Tame.
Northampton and Huntington,	} Peterborough.
Middlesex,	Westminster.
Leicester and Rut- land,	} Leicester.
Gloestershire,	St. Peter’s.
Lancashire,	} Fountains, and the archdea- conry of Richmond.
Suffolk,	Edmundsbury.

Stafford and Salop,	Shrewsbury.	BOOK III. ----- 1539.
Nottingham and Derby,	Welbeck, Wersop, Thurgar- ton.	
Cornwall,	Lanceston, Bedmynne, Wardreth.	

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. Swithin's, 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 twenty-fourth 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

An act
about the
King's pro-
clamations.

BOOK other injunctions published by his authority, which
 III. were complained of as contrary to law ; since by these
 1539. 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 proclamations, by some who did not con-
 “ sider 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.) Con-
 “ sidering also, that many occasions might require
 “ speedy remedies, and that delaying these till a par-
 “ liament 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 : there-
 “ fore it is enacted, that the King for the time being,
 “ with advice of his council, might set forth procla-
 “ mations, 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 extended,
 “ that any of the King’s subjects should suffer in their
 “ estates, liberties, 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 procla-
 mations, and the way of prosecuting those who con-
 temned 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 counsellors
 “ 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 restrictions 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 nonage of Edward the Sixth grounded.

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 another; and that therefore he inserts it literally, as it 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 York; 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.

BOOK
III.
1539.

An act
about pre-
cedence.

BOOK III. These are all the public acts that relate to religion; which were passed in this parliament. With these there passed an act of attainder of the Marquis 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.

1539.
Some acts
of attain-
ders.

Some were to be attainted in absence; others they had no mind to bring to make their answer, but yet designed to attain them. Such were, the Marchioness of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum, mother to Cardinal Pool, whom, by a gross mistake, Speed fancies to have been condemned without arraignment or trial, 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 inferior 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 supreme 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 twenty-eighth 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 counsellors; 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 Wolsey; 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

BOOK
III.
1539.
The King's
care of
Cranmer.
Antiq. Brit.
in vita
Cranmer.

BOOK country. To which the Duke of Norfolk replied, with
 III. a deep oath, *that he lied*; with other reproachful lan-
 1539. guage. 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.

Cranmer
 writes his
 reasons
 against
 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 Archbishop was then, to Lambeth,
 found the key of his chamber was carried away by
 the Archbishop'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 unlooked-for en-
 counter. 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 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 bear-
 ward 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 Archbishop'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 Archbishop: 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-counsellor's book.

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 seventh 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'élire* 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 shown 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

BOOK
III.
1539.

Proceedings
upon that
act.

BOOK III. 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. So that, in a very little while, five hundred 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 show how far their compliance would go, Bonner took a strange commission from the King, on the twelfth 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 itself 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 became those, who exercised it only (*præcariè*) 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

Collect.
Numb. 14.

“ King had constituted the Lord Cromwell 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 commis-
 “ sioned : 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 in-
 “ tegrity, good life, and learning, he had very good
 “ assurance. For as the corruptions of the Christian
 “ doctrine, and of men’s manners, had chiefly pro-
 “ ceeded from ill pastors ; so it was not to be doubted,
 “ but good pastors, well chosen, would again reform
 “ the Christian doctrine, and the lives of Christians ”

After he had taken this commission, 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 outdo 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 abbeys : Dissolution of the great abbeys. there are fifty-seven surrenders upon record this year ; the originals of about thirty of these are yet to be seen. Thirty-seven of them were abbeys or priories, and twenty nunneries. The good house of Godstow now fell, surrendered with the rest, though among the last

BOOK of them. Now the great parliament abbots surrendered
 III. apace; as those of Westminster, St. Alban's, St. Ed-
 1539. mundsbury, Canterbury, St. Mary in York, Selby, St.
 Peter's in Gloucester, Cirencester, Waltham, Winch-
 combe, Malmesbury, and Battel. Three others were
 attainted; Glastenbury, Reading, and Colchester. The
 deeds of the rest are lost. Here it will not be unac-
 ceptable to the reader to know who were the parlia-
 mentary abbots. There were in all twenty-eight, as
 they were commonly given: Fuller has given a cata-
 logue of them in three places of his History of Abbeys;
 but as every one of these differs from the others, so
 none of them are according to the Journals of parlia-
 ment: the Lord Herbert is also mistaken in his ac-
 count. I shall not rise higher in my inquiry than
 this reign; for anciently many more abbots and priors
 sate in parliament, beside other clergy, that had like-
 wise 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 Jour-
 nals of parliament in this reign, these twenty-eight
 abbots had their writs; Abington, St. Alban's, St. Aus-
 tin's Canterbury, Battel, St. Bennet's in the Holm,
 Berdeny, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Croyland,
 St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glastenbury, Gloucester,
 Hide, Malmesbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough,
 Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavenstock,
 Teuksbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, and Win-
 chelcomb; to whom also the Prior of St. John's may
 be added. But, besides all these, I find that, in the
 twenty-eighth year of this King, the Abbot 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 complete 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 Abbot, 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 looked after. One of these was this year surrendered 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 show he could once be firm to somewhat.

BOOK
III.

1539.

Collect.
Numb. 3.
sect. 5.Some hos-
pitals sur-
rendered.

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 he would do, and what himself seemed once to have designed. The

BOOK III. clear yearly value of all the suppressed houses is cast up, in an account then stated to be, *viz.* 131,607l. 1539. 6s. 4d. as the rents were then rated; but was at least ten times so much in true value. Of which he designed to convert 18,000l. into a revenue for eighteen bishopricks and cathedrals: but of these he only erected six, as shall be afterwards shown. 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.

A project of a seminary for ministers of state.

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 outrun 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 shows 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 public trials at home: but, before any of them might write on these subjects,

In Biblioth. Nob. D. D. Guil. Pierpoint.

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 easy to gather what great and public 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 inquiry, delivered to us the transactions of that time so imperfectly, that there is still need of inquiring 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 abbots, 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.

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 Crom-

BOOK
III.
1539.

A procla-
mation a-
bout the
free use
of the
Scriptures.

Collect.
Numb. 15.

BOOK well, bearing date the thirteenth of November; the
 III. substance of which was, " That the King was desirous
 1539. " 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 show 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 experienced captain,
 and was not to be troubled by fresh-men and no-
 vices.

The King
 designs to
 marry Anne
 of Cleves;

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 Cleves, 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
 Duchess 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 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 Duchess of Milan failing, and those proposed by France not being acceptable, Cromwell moved the King about an alliance with the Duke of Cleves; who, as he was the Emperor's neighbour in Flanders, had also a pretension to the duchy of Gueldres, and his eldest daughter was married to

BOOK the Duke of Saxony. So that the King, having then
 III. some apprehensions of a war with the Emperor, this
 1539. 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 compliment 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 music, 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.

Who comes
 over to
 England; 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 surprised, 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 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

BOOK
III.

1539.

But is
much dis-
liked by
the King.

BOOK King of Scotland against him, who, with that foreign
 III. assistance, and the discontents at home, would have
 1539. made war upon great advantages; especially those in the
 north of England being ill-affected to him: and there-
 fore he judged it necessary for his affairs, not to lose
 the Princes of Germany. Only he resolved, first, to
 try if any nullities or precontracts could excuse him
 fairly at their hands. He returned to Greenwich very
 melancholy. He much blamed the Earl of Southamp-
 ton, 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 ex-
 pressed great trouble, both to the Lord Russel, Sir An-
 thony Brown, Sir Anthony Denny, and others about
 him. The last of those told him, "This was one advan-
 tage that mean persons had over princes: that great
 princes must take such wives as are brought them,
 whereas meaner persons go and choose 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
 staid 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 con-
 tract that had passed between her and the Marquis of
 Lorrain; 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 precontract; therefore he must not again run the like hazard. So Olisleger and Hogesden, the ambassadors from Cleves, did, by a formal instrument, protest before Cromwell, that, in a peace made between their late master, John Duke of Cleves, 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 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 registered in the chancery of Cleves, of which they promised to bring an authentical extract, within three months, to England. Some of the counsellors, 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 Duresme, said, if there was no more than that, it could be no just hinderance to the solemnization of the marriage. So the King, seeing there was no remedy, and being much pressed, both by the ministers of Cleves, and by the Lord Cromwell, married her on the

BOOK
III.

1539.

But yet
marries her,

BOOK sixth of January : but expressed so much aversion and
III. dislike of her, that every body about him took notice

1540.

And could
never love
her.

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 increased 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 displeased to be delivered from a marriage in which she had so little satisfaction. Yet one thing shows 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 Cleves, taken out of the chancery there, by which it appeared, that Henry de Groffe, ambassador from the Duke of Gueldres, had, on the fifteenth 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 Latin ; *Sponsalia illa progressum suum non habitura,* (I will not answer for the Latin,) *ex quo*

dictus Dux Carolus admodum doleret, et propterea quædam fecisset, et amplius facturus esset : and Pallandus, that was ambassador from the Duke of Cleves in the Duke of Gueldres' court, wrote to his master; *Illustrissimum Ducem Gueldriæ certo scire prima illa sponsalia inter Domicellam Annam fore inania et progressum suum non habitura.* When this was showed 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 twelfth of April a session of parliament was held. The Journal shows, that neither the Abbot of Westminster, nor any other abbot, was present. After the Lord Chancellor had opened the reasons for the King's meeting them at that time, as they related to the civil government; Cromwell, as Lord Vicegerent, 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 dissensions, to the sad regret of all good Christians. Some were called papists, others heretics; 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 sin-

BOOK
III.

1540.

A parliament called;

Where Cromwell speaks as Lord Vicegerent.

BOOK “ cere doctrine of the Christian faith only before his eyes :
 III. “ and therefore was now resolved to have this set forth
 1540. “ to his subjects, without any corrupt mixtures; and to
 “ have such decent ceremonies continued, and the true
 “ use of them taught, by which all abuses might be cut
 “ off, and disputes about the exposition of the Scrip-
 “ tures cease, and so all his subjects might be well in-
 “ structed in their faith, and directed in the reverent
 “ worship of God : and resolved to punish severely all
 “ transgressors, 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 ne-
 “ cessary for the institution of a Christian man ; who
 “ were, the two Archbishops, the Bishop of London,
 “ Duresme, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St.
 “ David’s; and Doctors Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day,
 “ Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds,
 “ Robins, and Tresham. He had also appointed others
 “ to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and
 “ what was the true use of them ; who were, the Bi-
 “ shops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester,
 “ Worcester, and Landaff. The King had also com-
 “ manded the judges, and other justices of the peace,
 “ and persons commissioned for the execution of the
 “ act formerly passed, to proceed against all transgres-
 “ sors, 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 approved of this nomination, and ordered
 that these committees should sit constantly on Mon-
 days, Wednesdays, and Fridays ; and on other days
 they were to sit in the afternoon. But their proceed-
 ings 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. BOOK
III.

On the fourteenth of April the King created Cromwell Earl of Essex; the male line of the Bouchiers, that had carried that title, being extinguished. This shows, 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. 1540.
He is made
Earl of Essex.

On the twenty-second 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 The suppression of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

BOOK III. 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 twenty-second of April was read the first time, and on the twenty-sixth the second time, and on the twenty-ninth the third time, by which both their house in England, and another they had in Kilmainnam in Ireland, were suppressed; great pensions being reserved by the act to the priors, a 1000l. to him of St. John's near London, and five hundred marks to the other, with very considerable allowances for the knights, which in all amounted to near 3000l. yearly. But on the fourteenth of May the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-fifth, and a vote passed, that their bills should remain in the state they were in.

Cromwell's
fall.

Upon their next meeting, as they were going on in their business, a great change of court broke out. For, on the thirteenth 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 blacksmith 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 Vicegerent, 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 abbeys 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 ruin 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 compliments: 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. There-

BOOK
III.

1540.

BOOK fore Cromwell's counsels were now disliked, for he had
III. always inclined the King to favour those princes against

1540. the Emperor. Another secret cause was, that, as the
King had an unconquerable aversion to his Queen, so

The King
in love
with Mis-
tress Ka-
therine
Howard.

he was taken with the beauty and behaviour of Mistress Katherine Howard, daughter to the Lord Edmund 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 counsellor 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 uneasy 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

Cranmer's
friendship
to Crom-
well.

“ fidelity and success ; that he thought no King of
 “ England had ever such a servant : upon that account BOOK
 “ he had loved him, as one that loved the King above III.
 “ all others. But if he was a traitor, he was glad it was 1540.
 “ 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 shows
 both the firmness of Cranmer’s friendship to him, and
 that he had a great soul, not turned by the changes of
 men’s fortunes 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 difficulties 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 attainder was brought into the
 House of Lords, Cranmer being absent that day, as ap-
 pears by the Journal, on the seventeenth of June, and
 read the first time, and on the nineteenth 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 some-
 what 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, con-

BOOK
III.

1540.

ceived 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 respect 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 margin, 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.

Cromwell's
attainder.
Collect.
Numb. 16.

The act 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 taken upon him to set at liberty divers persons put in prison for misprision 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, contrary to the King's proclamations. He had also given out many commissions without the King's knowledge; and, being but of a base birth, had said, *that he was sure of the King*. He had grant-

* Journal Procerum, parag. 58. Item billa attincturæ Thomæ Cromwell Comitiss Essex de crimine hæresis et læsæ majestatis, per Communes de novo concepta, et assensa, et simul cum provisione eidem annexa. Quæ quidem billa 1^o, 2^{io}, et 3^{io}, lecta est; et proviso ejusdem concernens Decanatum Wellensem perlecta est, et *communi omnium Procerum consensu nemine discrepante expedita*; et simul cum ea referabatur billa attincturæ quæ prius missa erat in Domum Communium,

“ ed many passports, both to the King’s subjects and
 “ foreigners, for passing the seas without search. He, BOOK
 “ being also an heretic, had dispersed many erroneous III.
 “ books among the King’s subjects, particularly some 1540.
 “ that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament.
 “ And when some had informed him of this, and had
 “ showed him these heresies in books printed in Eng-
 “ land, 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 Vicegerent for the spiritual affairs of the church ;
 “ he had, under the seal of that office, licensed many
 “ that were suspected of heresy 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
 “ heresy. And when many particular complaints were
 “ brought to him of detestable heresies, with the names
 “ of the offenders, he not only defended the heretics,
 “ but severely checked the informers ; and vexed some
 “ of them by imprisonment, and other ways, the parti-
 “ culars of all which were too tedious to be recited.
 “ And he, having entertained many of the King’s sub-
 “ jects about himself, whom he had infected with
 “ heresy, and imagining he was by force able to defend
 “ his treasons and heresies ; on the last of March, in
 “ the thirtieth 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*

BOOK “ sword in his hand, against him, and all others : and
 III. “ then he pulled out his dagger, and held it up, and
 1540. “ 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 let 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 thirty-first year of the
 “ King’s reign, in the parish of St. Martin’s 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 breakfast*
 “ *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 heresy 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 thirty-
 “ first 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
 passed
 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 heresy, it has appeared how far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation, so that what he did that 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 contrivance 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 restraint 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 employed and advanced 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 Cromwell, 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.

Cromwell's fall was the first step towards the King's divorce: for, on the twenty-fourth of June, he sent his Queen to Richmond, pretending the country air would agree better with her. But on the sixth of July

BOOK
III.

1540.

The King
designs a
divorce
from his
Queen.

BOOK a motion was made, and assented to in the House of
 III. Lords, that they should make an address to the King,
 1540. desiring him to suffer his marriage with the Queen to
 be tried: upon which the Lord Chancellor, the Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suf-
 folk, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of
 Duresme, 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 trial to be made of the validity of his marriage.
 To which the King consented; and made a deep pro-
 testation, as in the presence of God, that he should
 conceal nothing that related to it, and all its circum-
 stances; 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.

It is referred
 to the Con-
 vocation. On the seventh of July it was brought before the
 Convocation, of which the reader will see a fuller ac-
 count 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 Duresme,
 and Winchester, and Thirleby, and Richard Leighton,
 Dean of York, 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 de-
 positions of most of the privy-counsellors, of the Earl
 of Southampton, the Lord Russel, then Admiral, of Sir

Collect.
 Numb. 17.
 Collect.
 Numb. 18.

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 precontract with the Marquis of Lorrain should have been more fully cleared. That the King always disliked her, and married 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 Marquis of Lorrain 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 married her against his will, he had not given a pure, inward, and complete 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 agreed to it. Collect. Numb. 19. and the Lady were free from the bond of it.

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 precontract, so they laid down a most pernicious precedent for invalidating all public treaties and agreements: since, if one of the parties being unwilling to it, so that his

BOOK III.

1540.

Reasons pretended for it.

Convocation agreed to it.

Collect. Numb. 19.

It is censured.

BOOK consent were not inward, he was not bound by it, there
 III. was no safety among men more. For no man can
 1540. 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 en-
 gagements: 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 for-
 gotten what was pleaded on the King's behalf ten years
 before: that consent, without consummation, made a
 marriage complete; by which they concluded, that
 though Prince Arthur had not consummated his mar-
 riage with Queen Katherine, yet his consent did so
 complete 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 passed 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 were to be found for such divorces, they thought
 they might do it, as well as the popes had formerly
 done.

On the ninth of July sentence was given; which
 was signed by both houses of Convocation, and had the
 two Archbishops' seals put to it; of which whole trial
 the record does yet remain, having escaped the fate of
 the other books of Convocation. The original deposi-
 tions 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: "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' most heavy, and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below that, "*Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.*"

On the tenth of July, the Archbishop 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

BOOK III.

1540.

Collect. Numb. 17.

Report made to the parliament.

The Queen consents to it.

BOOK under that disgrace to her own country. She was also
 III. desired to write to her brother, and let him know,
 1540. 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 desired it; and the day follow-
 ing, being the twelfth of July, the bill was brought into
 the house for annulling the marriage, which went
 easily through both houses.

Collect.
 Numb. 20.

An act a-
 bout the
 inconti-
 nence of
 priests.

On the sixteenth 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 seventeenth it was agreed by the whole house, without a contradictory vote, and sent down to the Commons; who the twenty-first 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.

Another
 about re-
 ligion.

On the twentieth of July, a bill was brought in concerning a declaration of the Christian religion, and was then read the first, second, and third 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 ap-
 "pointed 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 archbishops, 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 trials 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 precontracts, or other degrees of kindred, than those that were

BOOK III. 1540. “ prohibited by the law of God : therefore, after a marriage was consummated, no pretence of any precontract, 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 precontract, 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 succeeding to the crown ; since that judgment, upon which she was illegitimated, was now indirectly censured : and that other branch of the act, for taking 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.

Subsidies granted by the clergy ;

The province of Canterbury offered a subsidy of four shillings in the pound of all ecclesiastical preferments, to be paid in two years ; and that in acknowledgment of the great liberty they enjoyed by being delivered from the usurpations 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 parlia-

ment. But that did not satisfy the King, who had BOOK III. husbanded the money that came in by the sale of III. abbey-lands so ill, that now he wanted money, and was 1540. forced to ask a subsidy for his marriage of the parliament. This was obtained with great difficulty: for it And laity. 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 public, 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 twenty-fourth of July the parliament was dissolved.

And now Cromwell, who had been six weeks a pri- Cromwell's death. soner, 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 twenty-eighth of July, at

BOOK Tower-Hill. When he was brought to the scaffold, his
 III. kindness to his son made him very cautious in what he
 1540. 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 ac-
 “ knowledged 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 catholic
 “ 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 catholic faith, and desired them to pray for the
 “ King, and for the Prince, and for himself : and then
 “ prayed very fervently 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 cha-
 racter.

Thus fell that great minister, that was raised merely
 upon the strength of his natural parts. For as his ex-
 traction was mean, so his education was low : all the
 learning he had was, that he had got the New Testa-
 ment in Latin by heart. His great wisdom, and dex-
 terity in business, raised him up through several steps,
 till he was become as great as a subject could be. He
 carried his greatness with wonderful temper and mode-
 ration ; 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
 fastened 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 died : but it
 is certain he was a Lutheran. The term *catholic 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 catholic faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded, that he died 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, showed he was none of theirs. With him the office of the King's Vicegerent 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 carried 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.

With his fall, the progress of the Reformation, which had been by his endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopped. 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 heresy that was in England ; so the popish party reckoned 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 con-

BOOK

III.

1540.

Designs
against
Cranmer.

BOOK demned doctrines. And it is very probable, that had
 III. not the incontinence of Katherine Howard (whom the
 1540. King declared Queen on the eighth 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 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 seventh session was the tenth of March. Now in this year the convocation did not sit down till the thirteenth of April; but that year it sate all March. So likewise he tells us of the Bishops of Westminster, Gloucester, 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 shown in the process about Anne of Cleves' marriage. So that their attempt against the New Testament belongs to the year 1542,

A com-
 mission
 sits about
 religion.

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.

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 implicit believing whatever the church proposed, without any explicit 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 explicit 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

BOOK
III.
1540.

An expla-
nation of
faith.

BOOK followers would needs defend it, but really made it
 III. worse by their explanations. The church of Rome
 1540. 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. 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
 an 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 relics,
 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 splendour in
 the worship of God, and good provision to be made
 for the encouragement of those who dedicated them-
 selves to his service in the church ; and that what was
 beyond these was the effect of ignorance and super-
 stition. The other main difference was about the me-
 rit 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 bless-
 ings. 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 inter-

cession of Jesus Christ. With these material differences, they joined 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 persuade 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 persuasion 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 joined 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 Hebrews. 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 virtue from hope and cha-

BOOK
III.

1540.

BOOK “ rity, fear of God, and repentance ; but by it is meant
 III. “ faith, neither only, nor alone, but with the foresaid
 1540. “ virtues coupled together ; containing (as is afore-
 “ said) the obedience to the whole doctrine and reli-
 “ gion 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, ei-
 “ ther 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 pro-
 “ mises to God, and so did forfeit their right to the
 “ promises, which are all made upon conditions that
 “ depend on us.”

Cranmer's
 opinion a-
 bout it.

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 Œcumenius ; 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 BOOK
 “faith; yet neither faith nor charity be the worthiness III,
 “nor merits of our justification: but that is to be as- 1540.
 “cribed 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 nice-
 ties, which have been so much inquired into since
 that time, about the instrumentality of faith in justi-
 fication; all that he then considered being, that the
 glory of it might be ascribed only to the death and in-
 tercession of Jesus Christ.

After this was thus laid down, there followed an ex-
 planation of the Apostles' Creed, full of excellent mat-
 ters; 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 no-
 thing in this that is controverted between the papists
 and the reformers; except the definition of *the holy
 catholic church*, which they give us thus: *That it com-
 prehends 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 catholic church.*
 Upon which a long excursion is made, to show the
 injustice and unreasonableness of the plea of the church
 of Rome, who place the unity of the catholic church
 in a submission to the bishop of their city, with-
 out any ground from Scripture, or the ancient writ-
 ters.

From that they proceeded to examine the seven sa-
 craments; and here fell in stiff debates, which remain
 in some authentic writings, that give a great light to
 The seven sacraments.

BOOK III. their proceedings. The method which they 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 Archbishops, the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Carlisle, (though the last was not in the commission,) and to the Bishops of Duresme, 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 that 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 Archbishop of Canterbury, took no notice of his opinions in the extract they made. And of these, the original answers of the two Archbishops, 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 Duresme, 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

With great maturity.

1540.

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 showed 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 Sixth; 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

BOOK
III.
1540.
Collect.
Numb. 21.

BOOK was rejected, though they were declared necessary ;
 III. and sinners were taught to depend wholly on the suf-
 1540. ferings of Christ ; with other good directions about
 repentance.

Thirdly, In the explanation of the eucharist, tran-
 substantiation was fully asserted : as also the conco-
 mitancy of the blood with the flesh ; so that commu-
 nion 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 Mo-
 saical 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 churchmen 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 ex-
 press 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 con-
 demned. 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 bi-
 shops of Rome ; with an explanation of the King's
 authority in ecclesiastical matters ; which was before-

hand set down in another place, to show what they understood by the King's being *supreme head of the church*. BOOK
III.
1540.

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, Extreme 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 second 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 virtues 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 The Ten
Commandments.

BOOK another, as if they had any special virtue in them, or
 III. the adorning them richly, and making vows and pil-
 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 itself, but to God and his
 honour. To the third Commandment, they reduced
 the invocation of God's name for his gifts: and they con-
 demned 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 accord-
 ing to the doctrine of the catholic 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 public and pri-
 vate: 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 su-
 perstitiously to think that it is a sin to work on that
 day, but to do their work without scruple. Then fol-
 low very profitable expositions of the other Command-
 ments, with many grave and weighty admonitions con-
 cerning the duties by them enjoined, 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 angel's salutation of the blessed Virgin : BOOK III.
 in which the whole history of the incarnation of Christ 1540.
 was opened, and the Ave Maria explained ; which The Ave Maria.
 hymn was chiefly to be used in commemoration of Christ's incarnation, and likewise to set forth the praises of the blessed Virgin. The next article is about free-will, which they say must be in man ; otherwise Free-will.
 all precepts and exhortations are to no purpose. They defined it, *a power of the will, joined 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 itself.* This was perfect in the state of innocence, but is much impaired by Adam's fall ; and now, by an especial grace, (offred 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 show that free-will is still in man, so there be many others which show 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 steadfast 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 away free-will ; nor so extol free-will, as injury might be done to the grace of God.

BOOK III. 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 show 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 steadfast faith, true repentance, real purposes of amendment; committing sin no more, but serving God all our lives; which if we fall 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 virtuous 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 joined together in our jus-

1540.
Justifica-
tion,

tification : and though these be imperfect, yet God accepteth of them freely through 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 darkness, by setting forth the Scriptures to his people, which had produced very good effects ; yet, as hypocrisy and superstition were purged away, so a spirit of presumption, dissension, 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 men's

BOOK

III.

.1540.

Good
works.All this set
forth in a
book ;And pub-
lished by
the King's
authority.

BOOK III. 1540. 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 joined the account of this preface to the extract here made of the Bishops' Book, yet it was not prefixed to it till above two years after the other was set out.

It is variously censured,

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 errors 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 opi-

nions. 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 complete body within itself, with power to reform heresies, correct abuses, and do every thing else that was necessary for keeping itself 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 persuasions and consciences, were brought into many snares; and the popish party was confident that their absolute compliance, which was joined 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 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 lady's account, they made no public noise of it; yet there was little more intercourse be-

BOOK tween the King and them, especially Cromwell falling,
 III. that had always carried on the correspondence with
 1540. them. And, as this intercourse went off, so a secret
 treaty was set on foot between the King and the Em-
 peror; yet it came not to a conclusion till two years
 after.

Corrections
 of the mass-
 book, and
 other
 offices.
 Ex MSS.
 D. D. Stil-
 lingfleet.

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 MS. 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 razures of those 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 public 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 persuaded 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 complete books of the offices; so the dashed books were 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 wor-

ship God, were all struck out; because they were now condemned, as appears from the extract of the other book, set out by the bishops.

BOOK
III.
1540.

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 ruin of those whom they called heretics: 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: 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

A persecu-
tion of Pro-
testants.

Of Barnes
and others;

BOOK by Cromwell, and well used by the King. And by
 III. his means the correspondence with the Germans was
 1540. 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 Ger-
 rard, and Jerome, turns in the course 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 re-
 flections on Gardiner's person: and he played on his
 name, alluding to a gardener'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-counsellor. 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 show 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 BOOK III.
 whether he was truly convinced, or overcome rather 1540.
 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 will be
 found in the Collection) in which he acknowledged, Collect. Numb. 22.
 "That, having been brought before the King for
 " things preached by him, his Highness, being as-
 " sisted by some of the clergy, had so disputed with
 " him, that he was convinced of his rashness and over-
 " sight; and promised to abstain from such indiscre-
 " tions 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 re-
 " deemed only by the death of Christ, in which we
 " participate by faith and baptism; yet, by not fol-
 " lowing the commandments of Christ, we lose the
 " benefits of it, which we cannot recover but by pe-
 " nance.

" Secondly, That God is not the author of sin, or
 " evil, which he only permits.

" Thirdly, That we ought to reconcile ourselves to
 " our neighbours, and forgive, before we can be for-
 " given.

" Fourthly, That good works, done sincerely accord-
 " ing to the Scriptures, are profitable and helpful to
 " salvation.

" 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 com-
 " mandments."

It is not likely that Barnes could say any thing di-
 rectly contrary to these articles; though, having brought
 much of Luther's heat over with him, he might have
 said some things that sounded ill upon these heads.
 There were other points in difference between Gardiner

BOOK III. and him about justification: but it seems the King
 1540. 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 com-
 manded 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 parlia-
 ment met; and then they were attainted of heresy,
 without ever being brought to make their answer.
 And it seems, for the extraordinariness of the thing,
 they resolved to mix attainders for things that were
 very different from one another. For four others were
 by the same act attainted of treason; who were, Gre-
 gory Buttolph, Adam Damply, Edmund Brindholme,
 and Clement Philpot, for assisting Reginald Pool, ad-
 hering to the Bishop of Rome, denying the King to be
 the supreme head on earth of the church of England,
 and designing to surprise the town of Callice. One
 Derby Gunnings was also attainted of treason, for as-
 sisting one Fitz-Gerald, a traitor in Ireland. And,
 after all these, Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome are at-
 tainted of heresy; being, as the act says, "detestable
 heretics, who had conspired together to set forth
 many heresies; and, taking themselves to be men of

Who were
 condemned
 in parlia-
 ment.

“ learning, had expounded the Scriptures, perverting BOOK
 “ them to their heresies, the number of which was too III.
 “ long to be repeated: that, having formerly abjured, 1540.
 “ they were now incorrigible heretics; and so were
 “ condemned to be burnt, or suffer any other death,
 “ as should please the King.” And two days after
 Cromwell’s death, being the thirtieth of July, they
 were brought to Smithfield, where in their execution
 there was as odd a mixture as had been in their at-
 tainders. For Abel, Fetherstom, 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 show of
 impartial justice.

When they were brought to the stake, Barnes spake Their
 thus to the people: “ Since he was to be burnt as an speeches at
 “ heretic, he would declare what opinions he held. the stake.
 “ So he enlarged on all the articles of the Creed, to
 “ show he believed them all. He expressed a particular
 “ abhorrence of an opinion which some Anabaptists
 “ held, that the blessed Virgin was as a saffron bag;
 “ (by which indecent simile they meant, that our Sa-
 “ viour 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 show 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 as-
 “ cribed 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

BOOK III. 1540. “ 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 errors by his preaching ; but none made answer. Then he said, he heard he was condemned to die by an act of parliament ; and it seemed it was for heresy, 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 murderers. 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 complete 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 un-
 “ married might not be suffered to live in whoredom. BOOK III.
1540.

“ Thirdly, That abominable swearers might be pu-
 “ nished.

“ Fourthly, That, since the King had begun to set
 “ forth Christian religion, 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 all
 that was in the holy Scriptures. He also prayed for
 the King, and the Prince : and concluded with a very
 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
 tied them to the stake, and set fire to them.

Their death did rather encourage than dishearten

BOOK III. their followers; who, seeing such an extraordinary
 1540. 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 itself,) 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 at-
 tainder.

Bonner's
 cruelty.

Now Bonner began to show 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 showed 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 dispatched 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 picked out an instance, which, if the deeper stains of his following life had not dashed all particular spots, had been sufficient to have blemished him for ever. There was one Richard Meksins, a boy not 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 foreman 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 died 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 indict-

BOOK ment. Then sate the jury upon life and death, who
 III. found him guilty; and he was adjudged to be burnt.

1540. But when he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speak much good of Bonner, and to condemn all heretics, and Barnes in particular, saying, he had learned heresy of him. Thus the boy was made to die with a lie in his mouth. For Barnes held not that opinion of the sacrament's 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 burnt at Salisbury upon the same statute, one of whom was a priest. Two also were burnt 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.

New bishopricks
 founded.

In the end of this year were the new bishopricks 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 choir. And in the year following, on the fourth of August, the King erected, out of the monastery of St. Werburgh at Chester, a bishoprick, a deanery, and six prebends. In September, out of the monastery at St. Peter's at Gloucester, the King endowed a bishoprick, a deanery, and six prebendaries. And in the same month, the abbey of Peterborough was converted to a bishop's seat, a deanery, 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 deanery, 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 sacraments purely administered, good order kept up, the youth well instructed, and old people relieved, with other public alms-deeds: and therefore the King erected and endowed these sees." The day after these several grants, there followed a writ to the Archbishop, 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 priories at most cathedrals, such as Canterbury, Winchester, Durresme, 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 diocese. And thus every bishop should

BOOK III.

1540.

Collect. Numb. 23.

Cranmer's design mis-carries.

BOOK have had a college of clergymen under his eye, to be
 III. preferred according to their merit. He saw great dis-
 1540. orders among some prebendaries, and, in a long letter,
 the original of which I have seen, he expressed his re-
 gret 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 ca-
 thedralis 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 ef-
 fects 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 advan-
 tages such nurseries would have given to the Refor-
 mation, borne down this proposition, and turned all the
 King's bounty and foundations another way.

These
 foundations
 censured.

These new foundations gave some credit to the King's
 proceedings, and made the suppression of chantries
 and chapels 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 dismembering dioceses,
 and removing churches from one jurisdiction to an-
 other. To this it was answered, that the necessities
 which their practices put on the King, both to fortify
 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 easy grants of these lands,

made him that he could not do all that he intended. And for the division of dioceses, many things were brought from the Roman law, to show, that the division of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whether of patriarchs, primates, 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 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 noosed 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 tacit 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 Bishops' 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 in the execution of the statute of the six Articles, that they should not proceed capitally.

BOOK
III.

1540.

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 thread, 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 Wolsey's fall, none besides himself ever had. They knew how to manage the King's uneasy 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 statesman: and the King esteemed him more for his virtues, than for his dexterity and cunning in business. So that now the King was left wholly to himself; and, being extreme 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 May, the thirty-third 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 Allhallowtide, 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 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

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1540.

in all
churches.
Collect.
Numb. 24.Collect.
Numb. 25.

BOOK hear them read the Scriptures. Nor could the people
 III. be hindered from entering into disputes about some
 1540. places : for who could hear the words of the institution
 of the sacrament, *Drink ye all of it*, or St. Paul's dis-
 course against worship in an unknown tongue, and not
 from thence be led to consider, that the people were de-
 prived of the cup, which, by Christ's express com-
 mand, 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, ei-
 ther 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 hav-
 ing obtained the King's leave) set up a new advertise-
 ment, in which he complained of these abuses in the
 reading the Bible ; for which he threatened 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 an-
 other 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 reve-
 nues, 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 hinderances to churchmen's charity in
 more necessary and profitable instances. He therefore
 set out an order for regulating that expence ; by which
 an archbishop's table was not to exceed six dishes of

1541.
 Antiq.
 Brit. in
 Reg. Polo.
 A rule
 about
 church
 men's
 house-
 keeping.

meat, and four of * banquet ; a bishop's, five dishes of BOOK
 meat, and three of banquet ; a dean's or archdeacon's III.
 table was not to exceed four dishes, and two of ban- 1541.
 quet ; and other clergymen might be served only with * Bellaria.
 two dishes. But he that gives us the account of this,
 laments that this regulation took no effect : and com-
 plains, that the people, expecting generally such splen-
 did housekeeping 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 hospi-
 tality, as our Saviour ordered it, not for the rich, but
 the poor ; not to mention the other ill effects that fol-
 low too sumptuous a table.

In the end of this year, the tragical fall of the Queen ^{The King}
 put a stop to all other proceedings. The King had ^{goes to}
 invited his nephew, the King of Scotland, to meet him ^{York.}
 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 extraordi-
 nary 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 jus-
 tice : 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

BOOK III. 1541. 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 reader's 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, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, 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 of true religion also followed it: and, in that same Archbishop's time, one John Resby, an Englishman, a follower of Wickliff's opinions, was charged with heresy.

And of the Reformation.

Archbishop Spotswood.

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 BOOK III. esteemed a Pope, if he was a man of wicked life. For 1541. maintaining these, he was burnt anno 1407. Twenty-Lesley. 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. Andrew's; which being discovered, he was judged an obstinate heretic, and burnt there anno 1432. And, to encourage people to prosecute such persons, Fogo, who had discovered him, was rewarded with the abbey of Melross 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 Spotswood. 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 The clergy were both ignorant and cruel. 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 abbots 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

BOOK predecessors had acquired by fraud and impostures.

III. And, as Lesley himself confesses, there was no pains

1541. 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 preached for a reformation. The first that

Patrick Hamilton's sufferings. 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 through Germany, he contracted a friendship with Luther, Melanthon, 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 enlightened. And, little considering either the hinderance 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 show the errors that had crept into the Christian religion. He was a man both of great learning, and of a sweet and charming conversation, and came to be followed and esteemed by all sorts of people.

The clergy, being enraged at this, invited him to St. Andrew's, 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 Abbot looked for no such thing, he was in the night-time made prisoner, and carried to the Archbishop'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, Archbishop of St. Andrew's ; with whom sate the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Brichen and Dunblain, five abbots, and many of the inferior clergy. They also made the whole university, old and young, sign it. He was declared an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular power,

The King had at that time gone a pilgrimage to Ross ; 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. Salvator'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 man's 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 fuel was heaped about him ; which he seemed not to fear,

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III.
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BOOK III. 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 Abbot 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 heretic, 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 darkness oppress this realm? How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of 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 Campbel's falling into great despair soon after, who from that turned frantic, and died within a year.

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 itself 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 com-

The King's
Confessor
favours the
Reforma-
tion.

“ mitted when God’s law was violated ; that no man
 “ could satisfy for sin ; and that pardon was to be ob-
 “ tained 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 re-
 turned, 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 Archbishop ; 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 Archbishop 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 reproved 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 de-
 fence, 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 entertained by the
 Duke of Suffolk as his chaplain. Not long after this,
 one Forrest, a simple Benedictine 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 Ha-

BOOK
 III.
 1541.

Forrest's
 sufferings.

BOOK III. milton 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 heretic. As he was led out to his execution, he said, *Fy on falsehood, fy 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 Archbishop, advised to burn him in some low cellar; for, said he, *the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected all those on whom it blew.*

A further persecution in Scotland.

Soon after this, Abbot Hamilton's brother and sister were brought into the bishops' courts; but the King, who favoured this brother, persuaded him to absent himself. His sister and six others being brought before the Bishop of Ross, who was deputed by the Archbishop 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 alleged, that he had denied that tithes were due to churchmen; and that, when the Vicar came to take the tithe out of some fish-boats that belonged to him, he alleged, the tithe was to be taken where the stock grew, and therefore ordered the tenth fish to be cast into the sea, and bade the Vicar to seek them there. They were both judged obstinate heretics, and burnt at one stake the twenty-seventh 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, BOOK III. page 389. But, after Cromwell's death, he took Fife 1541. 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.

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 awakened others to make further inquiries into matters of religion. Pope Clement the Seventh, 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 catholic 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 apostolic see. The parliament also concurred with him in it ; and made acts against heretics, 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

The progress of the Reformation.

Lesley.

Buchanan.

BOOK III. proceeding; and 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 heresy.

1541.

The secret business they came for was, to persuade 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, 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 counsels 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 twenty-eighth 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 Beaton 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.

* Regni Anglici Vicarius.

The King wholly guided by the clergy.

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 abbots 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 heretics, 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 abbots 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 heresy. 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

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1541.

BOOK III. 1541. 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 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 years, 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.* Forrest 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 eighteen years of age, were brought before the Archbishop 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 threatenings 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 heavenly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly

“ fear that before oppressed my mind. Now I defy BOOK
 “ death; do what you please; I thank God I am ready.” III.

There followed a long dispute between the friar and the
 divines that sate with the Archbishop; but when he
 perceived they would hear nothing, and answered him
 only with revilings and jeers, he gave it over, and con-
 cluded 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 show 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
 Archbishop 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 church’s friend. This, with other
 threatening 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 straight 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 those that were at this time in hazard, George

BOOK Buchanan was one. The clergy were resolved to be
 III. revenged on him for the sharpness of the poems he had
 1541. 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 oppressed
 with that mean employment. In his writings there ap-
 pears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin
 tongue, but a vigour of mind, and quickness of thought,
 far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that
 time affected to revive the purity of the Roman style.
 It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them ; but his
 style is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on
 things are so solid, (besides his immortal poems, in
 which he shows how well he could imitate all the Ro-
 man 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 reckoned 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 staid 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 pro-
 clamation, “ 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 Crom-
 well, 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 join with him in the same thanksgiving to God. But this joy lasted not long ; for the next day the Archbishop 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 Archbishop communicated it to the Lord Chancellor, and the other privy-counsellors that were at London. They agreed, that the Archbishop 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 seemed much perplexed ; but loved the Queen so tenderly, that he looked on it as a forgery. And now the Archbishop was in extreme danger ; for if full evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turned on him to his ruin. The King imparted it to some other counsellors, 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 informed. Then he sent the same lord into Sussex, where Lassels' sister lived, to try if she would justify what her brother had reported in her name. And she owning it, he ordered Deirham and Mannock to be arrested upon some other pretences ; but they, being examined, not only confessed what was informed, but revealed some other circumstances, that showed 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.

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III.

1541.

The
Queen's
ill life is
discovered ;

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1541.

And confessed by herself and others.

The report of that struck the King into a most profound pensiveness, and he burst out into tears, and lamented his misfortune. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other counsellors, 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 bedchamber. 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 o'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 sixteenth of January the parliament met; to which the Bishops of Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, and Gloucester, 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 twenty-eighth 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 Archbishop 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,

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III.

1542.

“ First, Not to be troubled at the matter, since that might be a means to shorten his life. The act about the Queen.

“ 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, 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 misprision of treason.”

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 treason. And that, if the King or his suc-

BOOK III. 1542. “cessors 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-treason ; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of misprision of treason. 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 solicit them ; they, their counsellors and abettors, are to be adjudged high traitors.”

Censures
passed up-
on it.

This act being assented to by the King’s letters-patents, the Queen and the Lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-Hill the twelfth 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 defiling 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 bedchamber to the last four queens : but now it was found how unworthy she was of that trust.

It was thought extreme 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 grandmother, 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.

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III.
1542.

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 defame themselves, by publishing so disgraceful a secret, or run the hazard of being afterwards attainted of treason. Upon this, those that took an indiscreet liberty to rally that sex unjustly and severely, said, the 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 Sixth.

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 style 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

Act about
hospitals,
&c.

BOOK III. 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 Papists design to suppress the English Bible.

In the convocation that sate at that time, which, as was formerly observed, Fuller mistakes for the convocation in the thirty-first 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 easy 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 land was chiefly gathered together. But the Archbishop 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.

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 is more probable they were drawn by another pen, and imposed on Bonner by an order from the King. They were set out in the thirty-fourth year of the King's reign; but the time of the year is not expressed. The reader will find them in the Collection at their full length: the substance of them is;

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III.
1542.

Bonner's
Injunctions.

Collect.
Numb. 26.

“ First, That all should observe the King's Injunctions.

“ Secondly, That every clergyman 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

BOOK III. “ in their memories, and be ready to give an account
 of it to him, or any whom he should appoint.

1542. “ 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 showing 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. ”

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III.
1542.

“ 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 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 virtue, 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.”

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

The man-
ner of
preaching
at that
time.

BOOK then set forward: concerning which the reader will
 III. not be ill pleased to receive some information. In the
 1542. time of popery there had been few sermons but in
 Lent; for their discourses on the holy-days were rather panegyrics on the saints, or the vain magnifying of some of their relics, 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 indulgences, pilgrimages, or the enriching the shrines and relics 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 intermixed 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: BOOK
III.
but if any have applied themselves much to observe 1542.
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 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 licence up and down to many places. Many of these licences are enrolled, and it is likely that many were granted that were not so carefully preserved. But provision was also made for people's 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 licence for it from the King, or his diocesan. But, to qualify this, a book of Homilies was printed, in which the Gospels and Epistles of all the Sundays and holy-days 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 show 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, christenings, and funerals; and these were to be read to the people by such as were not licensed to preach. But those who

BOOK were licensed to preach, being oft accused for their ser-
 III. mons, and complaints being made to the King by hot
 1542. men on both sides, they came generally to write and
 read their sermons. From thence the reading of ser-
 mons grew into a practice in this church; in which, if
 there was not that heat and fire which the friars had
 showed 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 seem-
 ing flatness to vulgar ears, that is in the delivery of
 them.

Plays and
 interludes
 then acted.

The Injunctions take notice of another thing, which
 the sincerity of an historian obliges me to give an ac-
 count of, though it was indeed the greatest blemish of
 that time: these were, the stage-plays and inter-
 ludes, that were then generally acted, and often in
 churches. They were representations of the corrup-
 tions of the monks, and some other feats of the popish
 clergy. The poems were ill-contrived, and worse ex-
 pressed; if there lies not some hidden wit in these bal-
 lads, (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 public 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, BOOK III. contempt being the most operative and lasting affection 1542. 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.

In the end of this year a war broke out between Eng- War between Eng- land and Scotland. land 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 show 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 con-

BOOK III. 1542. quest, 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 depredations 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.

Duke of Norfolk's inroad into Scotland.

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 twenty thousand 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 Kelso, 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 disagree as to the reason of their speedy return. But any, that knows the country they spoiled, and where they stopt, 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 Lanmer-Moor, which they were to pass if they had gone farther: and there were about ten thousand 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 fifteen thousand men, together with a train of artillery of twenty-four 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 five hundred horse, appeared:

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1542.

The Scot-
tish army
defeated.

BOOK III. 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 two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred soldiers; 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.

Many prisoners taken.

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, Archbishop 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 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 fifty thousand 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.

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1542.

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 conjuncture 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-year's-day they took their journey towards Scotland; but the sequel of this will appear afterwards.

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III.

1543.

A new par-
liament.

A parliament was summoned to meet the two and twentieth of January, which sate till the twelfth of May. So the session begun in the thirty-fourth, and ended in the thirty-fifth year of the King's reign; from whence it is called in the Records, the parliament of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year. 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 the Archbishop's 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 ear-

Cranmer
promotes
a reforma-
tion.

nestly, that at length the bill passed, though clogged with many provisos, and very much short of what he had designed.

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1543.

The preamble set forth, "That, there being many dissensions 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, rhymes, 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 interludes they might make any explications of Scripture; but only reproach vice, and set forth virtue 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, recorders, or any others, who were wont in public occasions to make speeches, and commonly took a place of Scripture for their text,

BOOK III. 1543. “ 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, journeymen, 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 herself; 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, Primer, Paternoster, 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 fagot; 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 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 thirty-first 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 counsellors 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 public bill through this King's whole reign.

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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.

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

A league
between
the King
and the
Emperor.

BOOK III. 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 pressed 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 negociation 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 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 BOOK Governor, kept the Cardinal under restraint till this III. treaty was concluded ; but he, corrupting his keepers, 1543. made his escape, and, joining with the Queen-Mother, they made a strong faction against the Governor : all the clergy joined with the Cardinal to oppose the match with England, since they looked for ruin 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 The different interests there. they were united to France, they might expect an easy government ; for the French, being at such a 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 The French party prevails. 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

BOOK III. brother to the Governor, who was afterwards Archbishop
 1548. of St. Andrew's. 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 go-
 vernment, 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 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 precontract 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 father's 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 Go-
 vernor 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 neg-
 lected 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 Dowglass, whom
 the Queen of Scotland had borne to the Earl of Angus,

her second husband. From which marriage issued the Lord Darnly, father to King James. BOOK
III.

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 virtue 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.

The King of England made war next upon France. A war with
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

BOOK III. “ as the seizing our ships ; the detaining the yearly
 1543. “ pension due to the King ; the fortifying Ardres, 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 sis-
 “ ter, 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.”

A new per-
 secution of
 Protestants.

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 relics 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 show how dexterously 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

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Marbeck's
great inge-
niousness.

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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 day's 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 twenty-fourth of July, that the King gave orders to try them at Windsor.

Three burnt
at Windsor.

There was a court held there on the twenty-seventh 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 chapel. 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 trial, 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, Oakam 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 handwriting 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.

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 heresy 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 ; for till that time the King would let nothing be said against Cranmer. So they concluded

BOOK III. 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 Archbishop's servants, they acquainted him with it, who hasted 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 heresy, 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 Archbishop's opinion about it : who answered him, that it was a good resolution ; but entreated the King to consider well what heresy was, and not to condemn those as heretics, who stood for the word of God against human inventions. But, after some discourse, the King told him he was the man, who, as he was informed, was the chief encourager of heresy ; 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 trial. 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 candour 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 trial about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his accusers. But he

1543.

Antiq. Brit.

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 York, 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 Archbishop to prosecute it further; who was so noted for his 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 show

BOOK
III.

1543.

His Chris-
tian temper
of mind.

BOOK III. 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 expressed 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.

Act about the succession.

Soon after this, the parliament met, that was summoned to meet the fourteenth of January, in the thirty-fifth year of the King's reign; in which the act 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 BOOK
 “ daughter : and in default of heirs of her body, or if III.
1544.
 “ 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 suc-
 “ cession in all points according to this act : which
 “ whosoever refused to take, was to be adjudged a trai-
 “ tor ; and whosoever should, either in words or by
 “ writing, say any thing contrary to this act, or to the
 “ peril and slander of the King’s heirs, limited in the
 “ act, was to be adjudged a traitor.” This was done,
 no doubt, upon a secret article of the treaty with the
 Emperor ; and did put new life into 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 this
 affecting an unusual extent of his own power, though
 with the diminution of the rights of his successors.

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 fourth, when it was read the second time : on
 the fifth 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 sixth, the Commons sent it up
 with some alterations : and on the eighth, the Lords

BOOK
III.

1544.

Act against
conspi-
racies.

sent it down again to the Commons ; where it lay till the seventeenth, and then it was sent up with their agreement. And the King's assent was given, by his letters-patents, on the twenty-ninth 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, to 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 Archbishop, and some of the King's servants.

Collect.
Numb. 27.

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 show 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 show 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 great-

ness 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.

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1544.

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 heresy is one, the parliament was prorogued, on the twenty-ninth of March, to the fourth of November.

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 embased it ; for which, he that writes his vindication gives this for the reason ; That the coin being generally embased all over Europe, he was forced to do it, lest otherwise all the money should have gone out of the kingdom. He resolved 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 every where, 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 fortify Leith, nor leave a garrison in it, which was such an inexcusable omission, that it seems their

The wars
against
Scotland
successful.

BOOK III
 1544. 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 stopped, 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 Lenox 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 joined the Archbishop 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 needed 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 Archbishop of Canterbury on the eleventh 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 BOOK the thing itself; but it gave them hope, that the King III. was again opening his ears to motions for reformation, 1544. 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.

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 fourteenth of July. The Emperor pressed his marching straight to Paris: but he thought it of more importance to take Bulloign; and after two months siege it was surrendered to him; into Bulloign taken. which he made his entry with great triumph on the eighteenth 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 nineteenth of September; which is set down at large by the Lord Herbert. On the thirtieth 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 1545. 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 hun-

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1545.

dred 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 Sussex, 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 Ger-
man
Princes
mediate a
peace.

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 join with France against him, if he made any further innovation in religion. 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.

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 archbishoprick 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 Archbishop of York set about the reforming of things in his province, which had lain in great confusion all his predecessor's time: so on the third of March he took out a licence from the King for making a metropolitical 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

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1545.

Church
prefer-
ments
given to
reformers.

BOOK III. religion in England this year, there were very remarkable things done in Scotland, though of a different nature ; which were, the burning of Wishart, and, some months after that, the killing of Cardinal Beaton : the account of both which will not, I hope, be ingrateful to the reader.

Wishart's sufferings in Scotland.

Mr. George Wishart 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 staid 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 Wishart 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 Archbishop of Glasgow giving order that he should not be admitted to preach in churches, he preached often in the fields ; and when in some places his followers would have forced the churches, he checked 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 staid 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 threatened them, *that strangers should chase them from their dwellings, and possess them.* He was lodged in a gentleman of quality's house, Cockburn of Ormeston, when, in the night, the house was beset by some horsemen, who were sent by the Cardinal's 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

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BOOK he said, he feared less to die openly, than to be mur-
 III. dered in secret. The Earl promised, upon his honour,
 1545. 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. Andrew's, where it was agreed to make a sacri-
 fice of him. Upon this the Cardinal called a meeting
 of the bishops to St. Andrew's, against the twenty-se-
 venth of February, to destroy him with the more cere-
 mony; but the Archbishop of Glasgow moved, that
 there should be a warrant procured from the Lord Go-
 vernor for their proceedings. To this the Cardinal con-
 sented, thinking the Governor was then so linked to
 their interests, that he would deny them nothing; but
 the Governor, bearing in his heart a secret love to re-
 ligion, and being plainly dealt with by a noble gentle-
 man 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 mur-
 dered 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 ap-
 prehended, if he delayed it, there might be either a le-
 gal or a violent rescue made; so he ordered a mock-ci-
 tation 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 heresy was to be tried.
 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 tried by the word of God, and before my Lord Governor, whose prisoner he was: but the indictment being read, he, confessing and offering to justify most of the articles objected against him, was judged an obstinate heretic, 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

BOOK
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1545.

BOOK on this sad spectacle. When Wishart was tied to the
 III. stake, he cried aloud, *O Saviour of the world, have mer-*
 1545. *cy 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
 live, 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) be-
 "holdeth 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, stopped his
 breath so, that he could speak no more; and his body
 was soon consumed by the fire. Thus died this emi-
 nent 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
 Governor'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, be-
 sides 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 trial, 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 twenty-ninth 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 went 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 sent 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

BOOK many of his friends came to rescue him ; but the cou-
 III. spirators carried the dead body, and exposed it to their
 1545. 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 churchman, to delight in such a spectacle. But
 those who condemned this action, yet acknowledged
 God's justice in so exemplary a punishment; and, re-
 flecting on Wishart's last words, were the more con-
 firmed 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 inhuman. 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 did generally
 extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them justi-
 fied 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 one
 hundred and forty 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 messen-
 ger for his assistance, and declared for him. So a siege
 following, they were so well supplied from England,
 that, after five months, the Governor 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 Governor also more at their mercy ; for as the Car-
 dinal 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 Governor's son, should remain in their hands till the absolution was brought over. Some of the preachers, 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 rased. This was not completed this year, and not till two years after ; only I thought it

BOOK
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1545.

BOOK III. best to join the whole matter together, and set it down all at once.

1545.
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 paid in two years. But for the temporality, a subsidy was demanded from them of another kind ; there were in the kingdom several colleges, chapels, 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 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 governors of them, had made agreements for them, and given leases 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.

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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 chantries ; 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 fidelity 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 heretic, 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 without charity or discretion ; some being too “ stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, others too busy 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 preaching, 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 temporalty, who railed at their bishops and “ priests ; whereas, if they had any thing to lay to

The King’s
speech to
the Houses.

BOOK III. 1545. “ 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 families ; 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 rhymes and songs 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 Westminster, 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 highways : to Canterbury 100l. for the poor, and 40l. for the highways : to Rochester 20l. for the poor, and 20l. for the highways : to Westminster 100l. for the poor, and 40l. for the highways : to Winchester one hundred marks for the poor, and fifty for the highways : to Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, Burton upon Trent, Thornton, Peterborough, and Ely, 20l. apiece for the poor, and as much for the highways : to Worcester 40l. for the poor, and 40l. for the high-

“ ways: to Duresm one hundred marks for the poor, BOOK
 “ and 40l. for the highways: and to Carlisle 15l. for III.
 “ the poor, and as much for the highways. In all about 1545.
 “ 550l. a year to the poor, and about 400l. a year for
 “ the highways. They were to inquire 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 Re-
 cords.

After the parliament was dissolved, the universities The King confirms the rights of the universities. made their applications to the King, that they might not be included within the general words in the act of dissolution of colleges and fraternities. And Dr. Cox, tutor to the Prince, wrote to Secretary Paget, “ to re-
 “ present to the King the great want of schools,
 “ preachers, and houses for orphans; that beggary
 “ would drive the clergy to flattery, 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. Pos-
 “ terity would wonder at such things: therefore he de-
 “ sired 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. 1546.
 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 disdaining the Earl of Hertford, who
 was now preferred before him, let fall some words of
 high resentment and bitter contempt, which not long
 after wrought his ruin. The King was now alone in

BOOK III. the war, which was very chargeable to him; and observing the progress that the council of Trent was making, where, Cardinal Pool being one of the legates, he had reason to look for some severe decree to be made against himself, since none of the heretics of Germany were so much hated by the court of Rome as he was: therefore he listened to the counsels of peace. And though 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 1,300,000l.

Peace with France.

A new design for reformation.

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 Francis's part, that he never was seen glad at any thing, after he had the news of the King's death.

Shaxton's apostasy.

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 ninth of July, he did, acknowledging, "that that year he had fallen, in his old age, in the heresy 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 thirteenth 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 Sixth'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,

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Collect.
Numb. 28.

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

The troubles of
Anne Askew.

BOOK hand to a recantation, by which she acknowledged,
 III. "that the natural body of Christ was present in the
 1546. "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 subscrip-
 tion, that she believed all things according to the catho-
 lic faith, and not otherwise. With this the Bishop was
 not satisfied ; but, after much ado, and many importu-
 nate addresses, she was bailed in the end of March
 this year. But, not long after that, she was again ap-
 prehended, and examined before the King's council,
 then at Greenwich, where she seemed very indifferent
 what they did with her. She answered them in gene-
 ral words, upon which they could fix nothing, and
 made some sharp repartees upon the Bishop of Win-
 chester. Some liked the wit and freedom of her dis-
 course, but others thought she was too forward. From
 thence she was sent to Newgate, where she wrote some
 devotions and letters, that show her to have been a wo-
 man 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 catholic
 "church from him did teach." Upon Shaxton's recanta-
 tion, 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 showed kindness to her. So
 the Lord Chancellor examined her of what favour or
 encouragement she had from any in the court, particu-
 larly from the Duchess 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 con-

fessions from her. And therefore carrying 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 racked 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 pressed, told him plainly he would not do it. The other threatened 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 shows the strange influence of that religion, and that it corrupts the noblest natures. Yet the poor gentlewoman's being racked 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 tailor; 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 party, to be sure, bore him no good will.) They were all convicted, upon the statute of the six Articles, for deny-

BOOK
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She en-
dures the
rack;

And is
burnt, with
some
others.

BOOK III. ing the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament.
 1546. When they were brought thither, Shaxton, to complete his apostasy, 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.

A new design against Cranmer.

But that party at court, having incensed the King much against those heretics, resolved to drive it further, and to work the ruin both of the Archbishop 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 Archbishop 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 heretic. 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 Archbishop 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. BOOK
III.
 Cranmer thanked him, that he had not left him in the 1546.
 dark, to be surprised in a matter that concerned him so
 nearly. He acknowledged the equity of the King's pro-
 ceedings; 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 as-
 signed who understood those matters. The King heard
 this with astonishment, wondering to see a man so lit-
 tle concerned in his own preservation: "but plea-
 "santly told him, he was a fool that looked to his own The King's
great care
of him.
 "safety so little. For did he think, that, if he were once
 "put in prison, abundance of false witnesses would not
 "be suborned to ruin 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 coun-
 cil, upon their summons; and, when things were ob-
 jected to him, to say, that, since he was a privy-coun-
 sellor, 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 show them
 the King's seal-ring, which he wore on his finger, and
 was well known to them all. So the King, giving him
 his ring, sent him privately home again. Next morn-
 ing a messenger of the council came early, and sum-
 moned him to appear that day before the council. So he
 went over, but was long kept waiting in the lobby, be-
 fore he was called in. At this unusual sight many were
 astonished. But Doctor Butts, 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 Eng-

BOOK III. "land waiting at the council-door, among the footmen
 1546. "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 showed it. This put them in a wonderful confu-
 sion; but they all rose up and went to the King, who
 checked them "severely for using the Archbishop so
 "unhandsomely. 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 sub-
 "ject, he was by the Archbishop; 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 Archbishop, but only to vindicate his
 innocency by such a trial, 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 ex-
 tinguish 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

Antiq. Brit.
 in vita
 Cran.

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.

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1546.

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 herself, 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 increasing, and his peevishness growing with them, he became more uneasy; and whereas she had frequently used to talk to him of religion, 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 sometimes, in the heat of discourse, gone very far. So one night, after she had left him, the King, being displeased, 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 favoured Anne Askew, and had heretical books amongst them; and he persuaded the King that

Another
design a-
gainst the
Queen.

BOOK they were traitors as well as heretics. The matter
 III. went so far, that articles were drawn against her, which
 1546. 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 dropped from him;
 and being taken up by one of the Queen's party, was
 carried to her. Whether the King had really designed
 her ruin 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 herself
 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 in-
 struct 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 seemed he had much mis-
 taken 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 as-
 surances 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 stepped 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 preserved 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 Surrey, fell under a deeper misfortune. The Duke 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 savoured of revenge, and a dislike of the King, and a hatred of the counsellors. 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

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The causes
of the Duke
of Norfolk's
disgrace.

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1546. Surrey advised his sister to the marriage projected for her, yet he would not consent 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 itself, but was raised so high by the dependence 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 persuaded the King, that, if the Earl of Surrey should marry the Lady Mary, it might embroil his son's government, and perhaps ruin 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 complete the Duke of Norfolk's ruin, 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 counsellors, 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, ac-

ording 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 trial 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 nineteenth 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.

But the King, who never hated nor ruined any body by halves, resolved to complete 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

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The Earl
of Surrey
executed.The Duke's
submission
to the
King.

BOOK III. 1547. “ 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 twelfth of January under his hand, ten privy-counsellors 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, borne, in the first quarter of his arms, the arms of England; with the 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 parliament meets.

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 trial 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 fit, who should assist at the coronation. And upon this slight pretence, since a better could not be found, the bill of attainder was read the first time on the eighteenth of January : and on the nineteenth and twentieth 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 twenty-fourth, sent it up also passed. On the twenty-seventh 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 thirty-fourth 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 itself 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 borne, both within and without " the kingdom ; both in the King's presence, and in " the sight of his progenitors, 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

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1547.

The Duke
of Norfolk
attained.

BOOK III.
 1547. “ 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 death prevented by the King’s.

As soon as the act was passed, a warrant was sent to the Lieutenant 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 advisable 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 differently. The conscientious Papists said, it was God’s just judgment on him, who had in all things followed the King’s pleasure, oftentimes 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 heresy. But Cranmer’s carriage 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 parliament 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 withdraw at such a time. But the Duke of Norfolk had been his constant enemy; therefore he would not so much as be near the public councils 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 was forbid to come to council, yet always,

Fox.

when the counsellors went into the King's bed-chamber, he went with them to the door, to make the world believe he was still 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 heresy; 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 itself this matter was so little understood, it was easy to abuse strangers by giving them a wrong account of it.

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 inexcusable severity to the Duke of Norfolk and his son may be in a great measure imputed. His

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1547.

The Em-
peror's de-
signs a-
gainst the
Protestants.The King's
sickness.

BOOK III.
 1547. 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 apace, 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 counsellor 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 thirtieth 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 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 appealed to the deposition of the Lord Paget, and desired the Marquis 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 entered 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,

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1547.

Collect.
Numb. 30.
His latter
will a for-
gery.

BOOK which some managed very seditiously during the reign
 III. of Queen Elizabeth, for excluding that line.

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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 five hundred 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 third of January. Another was of Trinity College in Cambridge, one of the noblest foundations in Christendom. He continued in a decay till the twenty-seventh 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 Archbishop Cranmer ; and after he had rested a little, finding his spirits decay apace, he ordered him to be sent for to Croyden, 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 House of Lords show, that they continued reading bills, and going on in business, till the thirty-first ; 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 thirty-first shows 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 Seimours 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 attainders that passed the last thirteen years of his life; which are comprehended within this book, of which I have cast over the relation to the conclusion of it.

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 persuade 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

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1547.

An account of the King's severities against the popish party.

BOOK sore put to it. A superstition that was so blind and
 III. headstrong, and enemies that were both so powerful, so
 1547. spiteful, and so industrious, made rigour necessary; nor
 is any general of an army more concerned to deal se-
 verely 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 extremities, and forced to un-
 usual 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 dependence and obedience to him was so implicit; 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 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 falsehood; 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 twenty-eighth year of the King's reign, when the unsufferable bull of Pope Paul the Third 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 supreme head of the church of England ; BOOK III.
 but that was not mentioned in the former oath, that was 1547.
 made in the twenty-fifth, and enacted in the twenty-sixth 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 supreme head of the church.

The first instance of these capital proceedings was in 1535.
 Easter-term, in the beginning of the twenty-seventh Some Carthusians
 year of his reign. Three priors and a monk of the executed
 Carthusian order were then indicted of treason, for for denying
 saying, *That the King was not supreme head under the King's*
Christ of the church of England. These were, John supremacy ;
 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 traitors. The re-
 cord 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 trial 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 shows 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

BOOK on the same account ; but the record of his attainder
 III. gives a very different relation of it.

1535.

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 heretic, a robber, and an adulterer ; that they hoped he should die such a death as King John and Richard the Third 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 tenth of March that year. When they were brought to the bar, they at first pleaded *not guilty* ; but full proof 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.

Three other
 monks exe-
 cuted.

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 twenty-fifth 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 died ; 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 refused 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.

These trials 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 clothes 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

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1535.

Fisher's
trial and
death.

BOOK III. 1535. 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 ruin. 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 trial on the seventeenth of June. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and some other lords, together with the judges, sate upon him by a commission of Oyer and Terminer. He pleaded *not guilty*; but, being found guilty, judgment was passed on him to die as a traitor; but he was, by a warrant from the King, beheaded. Upon the twenty-second 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 stopped in the way by the crowd, 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 eightieth 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 grandmother, the

Countess of Richmond ; and it was believed that he persuaded 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 Seventh 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 supreme 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 us, 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.

On the first of July, Sir Thomas More was brought to his trial. The special matter in his indictment is, that, on the seventh of May preceding, before Cromwell, Bedyll, 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

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1535.

More's trial
and death.

BOOK to serve God, and think upon his passion, and his own
 III. passage out of this world. He had also sent divers
 1535. 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 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 hear-
 ing of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and
 others ; and that he would not be the occasion of the
 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 ex-
 amine him ; they discoursed the matter fully : Rich
 pressed him, “ that, since the parliament had enacted
 “ that the King was supreme 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 indict-
 “ ment) *rex per parlamentum fieri potest, et per par-*
 “ *liamentum 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 supreme head, since it was enacted by parlia-
 “ ment ?” To that More answered, “ that the parlia-
 “ ment 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 assent-
 “ ed 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 Spel-
 man writ, that More, being on his trial, pleaded strongly

against the statute that made it treason to deny the supremacy; and argued, that the King could not be supreme 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 traitor. He received it with that equal temper of mind, which he had showed 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 showed 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 Stoic than the Christian in it. After some time spent in secret devotions, he was beheaded on the sixth of July.

Thus did Sir Thomas More end his days, in the fifty-third year of his age. He was a man of rare virtues 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 writings, that he knew nothing of antiquity, beyond the quotations he found in the canon-law, and

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1535.

His character.

BOOK III. 1535. in the master of the sentences ; (only he had read some of St. Austin's treatises ;) for upon all points of controversy, 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-easy 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 dexterous 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 Englishman : 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 showed 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 after-

“wards made use of against himself; and advised him, BOOK
 “either to leave out that point, or to touch it very ten- III.
 “derly.” But the King would not follow his counsel, 1535.
 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 shows 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 dis-
 cover 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 dexterously conceal
 their opinions, that, till the rebellions of Lincolnshire
 and the North broke out, none suffered after this upon
 a public account. But when these were quieted, then
 the King resolved to make the chief authors and
 leaders of those commotions public examples to the
 rest. The Duke of Norfolk proceeded against many
 of them by martial-law; there were also trials at com-
 mon-law of a great many more that were taken pri-
 soners, and sent up to London. The Lords Darcy and
 Hussie were tried by their peers, the Marquis of
 Exeter sitting Steward. And a commission of Oyer Attainders
 after the re-
 bellion was
 quieted.
 and Terminer being issued out for the trial 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 Abbots of Walley, Jerveux, Bridlington, Len-
 ton, Woburn, and Kingstead, and Mackrall the monk,
 that first raised the Lincolnshire rebellion, with sixteen
 more, were indicted of high-treason for the late rebel-
 lions. And, after all the steps of the rebellion were
 reckoned up, it is added in the indictment, that they
 had met together on the seventeenth of January, and
 consulted how to renew it, and prosecute it further, be- 1537.

BOOK III. ing encouraged by the new risings that were then in
 1537. 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 Lin-
 colnshire and Yorkshire, and executed in the places
 where their treasons were committed; but most of
 them suffered at London, and, among others, the Lady
 Hall. Bulmer (whom others call Sir John Bulmer's harlot)
 was burnt for it in Smithfield.

Censures passed up-
 on it. The only censure that passed on this was, that ad-
 vantages 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 abbots, and other clergy-
 men, who had been so active in that commotion, were
 severely handled. It was by their means that the dis-
 contents 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 Chris-
 tian 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.

1538. 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 infused 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 himself 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 heretic. 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 indecent and scandalous things of the holy Scriptures.

BOOK III.

1538.

Forrest's equivocation and heresy.

Hall.

BOOK III. 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 showed 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 barefaced in his treasonable designs against the King. His brother Sir Geoffrey Pool discovered the whole plot: for which the Marquis of Exeter, (that was the King's cousin-german by his mother, who was Edward the Fourth's daughter,) the Lord Montacute, the Cardinal's brother, Sir Geoffrey 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 itself.

The special matter brought against the Lord Montacute and the Marquis of Exeter, who were tried by their peers on the second and third of December, in the thirtieth 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 twenty-fourth of July, in the twenty-eighth 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 BOOK
 “ to see a change of this world ; I trust to have a fair III.
 “ day upon those knaves that rule about the King ; and 1538.
 “ I trust to see a merry world one day.” Words to the
 same purpose were also charged on the Marquis : 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 Cardi-
 “ nal Wolsey 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, hav-
 “ ing some apprehensions he might shortly die ; that
 “ 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 enough. 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
 “ Marquis of Exeter was strong : and had also said,
 “ upon the breaking of the northern rebellion, 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 beshrew 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 in-
 tended to have kept it off to a fitter opportunity : they
 were also accused of correspondence with Cardinal
 Pool, that was the King’s declared enemy. Upon these

BOOK points the lords pleaded *not guilty*, but were found
 III. guilty by their peers, and so judgment was given.

1538.

On the fourth of December were indicted, Sir Geoffrey 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 Nevill, brother to the Lord Abergavenny, for saying, the King was a beast, and worse than a beast; George Crofts, Chancellor of the cathedral of Chichester, for saying, *the King was not, but the Pope was, supreme 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 Geoffrey 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 Bishop of Rome, Pool being made Cardinal by him; and for writing treasonable letters, and sending them into England. On the fourth of February following, Sir Nicholas Carew, that was both Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, was arraigned for being an adherent to the Marquis of Exeter; and, having spoke of his attainder as unjust and cruel, he was also attainted and executed upon the third of March. When he was brought to the scaffold, he openly acknowledged 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 Philips, who followed the reformation, and had formerly 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 unalterable 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 trial: 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 attainer stands of force in law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding; *Auferat 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 example of justice to inferior courts." The chief of these were, the Marchioness of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum. The special matter charged on the former is, her confederating herself to Sir Nicholas Carew in his treasons: to which is added, "that she had committed divers other abominable treasons. The latter is said to have confederated herself with her son the Cardinal, with other aggravating words." It does not appear by the Journal that any witnesses were examined; only that day, that the bills were read the third time in the House of Lords, Cromwell showed them a coat of white silk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Countess of Sarum's clothes, 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 approved of the rebellion. Three Irish priests were also attainted for carrying letters out of Ireland to the Pope, and Cardinal

BOOK
III.

1539.

Some attainders without hearing the parties.

4 Instit. 37,
38.

BOOK Pool; as also Sir Adrian Fortescue, for endeavouring
 III. to raise rebellion; Thomas Dingley, a knight of St.

1539. 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 Hussie in the rebellion they had raised. Two gentlemen, a Dominican friar and a yeoman, were by the same act attainted for saying, that *that venomous serpent, the Bishop of Rome, was supreme head of the church of England.* Another gentleman, two priests, and a yeoman, are attainted for treason in general, no particular crime being specified. Thus sixteen persons were in this manner attainted; and if there was any examination 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 tenth of May, was read that day for the first and second time, and the eleventh 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 tenth 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 forbade 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 showed, 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, upon a fresh provocation, by a new rebellion in the north, she was beheaded; 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, Glasenbury, and Colchester attainted of treason; of which mention was made formerly.

BOOK
III.
1539.

In the parliament that sate in the year 1540. they went on to follow that strange precedent, which they had made the former year. By the fifty-sixth act, Giles Heron was attainted of treason; no special matter being mentioned.

1540.

By the fifty-seventh 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 fifty-eighth act, Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damply, 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 surprise the town of Calais. By the same act, Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome were attainted; of whose sufferings an account has been already given.

By the fifty-ninth 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; seest 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

BOOK III.
 1540. “ 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 one’s saying, O good Lord, I
 “ wcen all the world will be heretics in a little time ;
 “ Bird said, Doest thou marvel at that ? I tell thee, it
 “ is no marvel, for the great master of all is an he-
 “ retic ; 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 frenetic, 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 shown.

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 Yorkshire ; 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.

BOOK
III.

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 tried 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.

1543.

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 justify 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.

The con-
clusion.

To conclude; we have now gone through the reign of King Henry the Eighth, who is rather to be reckoned among the *great* than the *good* princes. He exercised so much severity on men of both 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*.

The end of the third Book, and of the first Part.

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 pag. 368. lin. 6.

THERE 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 trial; 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 tried were, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter,

the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex, 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 tried. This might have been only casual; but since he was once in love with the Queen, and had designed to marry her, (see page 80.) 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 myself, 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, 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 pag. 395. lin. 23.

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.

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 priestly 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 clergymen's being exempted from the secular judge was ill-grounded ; that bishops did ordain without due care and trial ; that the dignified clergy misapplied their revenues, did not follow their first institution, and did not reside upon their benefices.

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 Archbishop 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 524.) 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 Archbishop went on this ground ; that all things were to be tried 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.

The third paper was offered to the King by Cranmer,

Collect.
Addenda,
Numb. 4.

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 to be invoked ; whether tradition ought to be believed ; whether there be any satisfaction besides the satisfaction of Christ ; whether free-will may dispose itself 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 public 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 pag. 452. lin. 24.

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-Collect.
bishops, and eleven bishops, and twenty divines and Addenda,
Numb. 5.
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 inferior orders, janitors, lectors, &c. were
brought into the church to beautify 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 mention-
ed 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 Ro-
chester, and Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford; for the
one was consecrated in 1537, and the other died in May
1538.

On this paper I will add two remarks; the one is,
that after this I do never find the inferior 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 begin-
ning 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 inquire, 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, were 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 ex-

tol 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 dioceses: 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 apostolic 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 schoolmen 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 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 topics when they can serve their turn, not considering how much further these arguments will run, if they ever admit them.

Ad pag. 463. lin. 22.

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 Melanthon, 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

Collect.
Addenda,
Numb. 6.

when the King declared his resolution to have the six Articles established, all that favoured the Reformation were much alarmed 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 precedent 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, as it 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 passed, notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, they, in an audience before the King, represented the great concern their masters would have, when the King, on whom they had relied so much as the defender of the faith, should proceed with the severity expressed in that act against those that agreed with them in doc-

Collect.
Addenda,
Numb. 7.
Collect.
Addenda,
Numb. 8.

trine; 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 proposed 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 projected, 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 warned 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 advised the King to beware of such counsels. They also proposed, 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, Hamburgh, 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 Cleves, and Cromwell's fall; after which I find little correspondence between the King and them.

Ad pag. 464. lin. 20.

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 subscribed 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 itself, that I have put into the Collection.

Ad pag. 468. lin. 9.

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 Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Winchester and Duresm, had pleaded much for it, as necessary by a divine institution ; and that both the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury had maintained, that, though it was good and profitable, yet it was not necessary by any precept of the Gospel : and that, though the bishops brought several texts out of Scripture and ancient doctors, yet these were so clearly answered by the King and the Archbishop, 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 re-
Collect.
Addenda,
Numb. 10.
lections which the King wrote on the margin with

Collect.
Addenda,
Numb. 11.

his own 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 commanded by Christ, as a part of the sacrament of penance, yet the King overruled 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.

Ad pag. 476. lin. 3.

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 Tonstall, of arguments for purgatory, with copious animadversions on it, likewise written by the King ; which show 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 524. with large annotations written with his hand on the margin ; likewise an ex-tract, 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 catholic church, which has large emendations added with the King's hand ; those I have set by themselves on the margin of the paper.

Collect.
Addenda,
Numb. 12.

