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ABRIDGMENT

OF

1476

BISHOP BURNET'S

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

.....
A NEW EDITION.

1399

.....
IN TWO VOLUMES,

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CONTENTS.

VOL. II.

BOOK III.

The Life and Reign of Queen Mary.

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
QUEEN MARY succeeds . . .	1	The Duke of Norfolk's attainder repealed	19
But Lady Jane Gray is proclaimed	2	A treaty for reconciling England to the Pope . . .	20
Censures passed upon that	3	And for a match with the Prince of Spain	21
Many turn to Queen Mary Northumberland marches against her	4	Pole's advices to the Queen	22
The Council declares for her	5	The Parliament opposes the match, and is dissolved	23
She comes to London . . .	6	A convocation meets, and disputes about the Sacrament	24
Her former life	7	1554 The treaty of marriage begun	25
The counsels then laid down	8	Which provokes some to rebel	26
Northumberland's trial . .	9	Wyat's rebellion	ibid
And execution	10	Lady Jane Grey's execution	30
King Edward's funeral . .	ibid.	Several others suffered . .	31
A tumult at St. Paul's . .	11	The imposture of the spirit in the wall	32
Severe proceedings against the men of Suffolk and others	12	Injunctions sent to the Bishops	ibid
Particularly against Judge Hales	13	Many Bishops turned out	ibid
Cranmer's imprisonment	14	A new Parliament	33
The strangers driven out of England	15	A proposition to make the Queen absolute	34
The popular arts used by Gardiner	16	New disputations at Oxford with Cranmer . . .	35
A Parliament meets, and repeals several laws . .	ibid.	The Prince of Spain lands, and marries the Queen	36
The Queen's mother's marriage confirmed	17		
King Edward's laws about religion repealed	18		

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
The Bishops visit their dioceses	41	Charles the Fifth's resignation	66
Another Parliament	42	1556 Cranmer's sufferings	67
The nation is reconciled to the see of Rome	43	He recants	68
Gardiner's policy in the steps of this change ..	46	He repents, and is burnt..	69
Consultations about the way of proceedings against heretics.....	47	His character	70
1555 A persecution is set on foot	48	More burnings.....	ibid.
Rogers and Hooper condemned and burnt ..	49	The Reformed increase upon this	72
The burnings much condemned	50	The troubles at Francfort	ibid.
Arguments against them and for them	51	Pole made Archbishop of Canterbury	ibid.
The Queen restores the church-lands	53	More religious houses....	73
Marcellus chosen Pope. Paul the Fourth succeeds	54	The Pope sets on a war between France and Spain	74
The English ambassadors come to Rome.....	ibid.	1557 A visitation of the Universities.....	75
The English grow backward to persecution ..	55	A severe inquisition of heretics	76
The Queen's delivery in vain looked for.....	ibid.	More burnings.....	77
More heretics burnt	56	Lord Stourton hanged....	78
Religious houses set up ..	57	The Queen joins in the war against France.....	79
Sir Thomas More's works published	58	The battle at St. Quintin	80
Ridley and Latimer burnt	ibid.	The Pope recalls Pole ..	ibid.
Gardiner's death.....	60	Affairs in Germany.....	82
The Parliament ill pleased with the Queen's conduct	61	1558 Calais and other places taken by the French ..	83
Pole's decrees for the reformation of the Clergy	63	Great discounts in England	84
He refuses to bring the Jesuits into England	65	The Parliament meets ..	85
More of the Reformed are burnt	ibid.	The carriage and usage of the Lady Elizabeth all this reign	ibid.
Affairs in Germany	ibid.	More burnings	87
		Ill success, and strange accidents	88
		The Dauphin and Queen of Scotland married ..	89
		A Parliament in England	90
		The Queen's death	ibid.
		Pole's death and character	91
		The Queen's character ..	ibid.

BOOK IV.

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
	QUEEN ELIZABETH pro-		Parker is very unwillingly
	claimed 93		made Archbishop of
	The Queen came to London 94		Canterbury 111
	Philip proposes marriage		The other Bishops conse-
	to the Queen, but in vain <i>ibid.</i>		crated 112
	The counsels about chang-		The fable of the Nag's
	ing religion 95		Head confuted 113
	A scheme proposed 96		The Articles of the Church
	The impatience of some.. <i>ibid.</i>		published <i>ibid.</i>
	Parker refuses the see of		A translation of the Bible 114
	Canterbury long 97		The want of church disci-
1559	Bacon made Lord Keeper 98		pline 115
	The Queen is crowned .. <i>ibid.</i>		The Reformation in Scot-
	A Parliament is called .. <i>ibid.</i>		land <i>ibid.</i>
	The peace at Cambray .. 99		It is first set up in St. John's
	Acts passed in Parliament 100		Town 117
	The Commons pray the		The Queen Regent is de-
	Queen to marry <i>ibid.</i>		posed 119
	Her title to the crown ac-		The Queen of England as-
	knowledged 101		sists the Scots <i>ibid.</i>
	Acts concerning religion <i>ibid.</i>		The Queen Regent dies .. 120
	Preaching without license		A Parliament meets, and
	forbidden 102		settles the Reforma-
	A public conference about		tion <i>ibid.</i>
	religion 103		The Queen of England the
	Arguments for and against		head of all the Protest-
	the worship in an un-		ants 121
	known tongue <i>ibid.</i>		Both in France <i>ibid.</i>
	The English service is		And in the Netherlands .. 123
	again set up 105		The excellent administra-
	Speeches made against it		tion of affairs in England <i>ibid.</i>
	by some Bishops 106		Severities against the Pa-
	Many Bishops turned out 107		pists were necessary .. 124
	The Queen inclined to keep		Sir Francis Walsingham's
	images in churches.... 108		account of the steps in
	A general visitation 109		which she proceeded .. <i>ibid.</i>
	The high commission,		The conclusion 126
	courts 110		



SUPPLEMENT.

BOOK I.

Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended in the first Book of the Abridgment of the History of the Reformation.

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
	THE progress of the Papal usurpation		Upon the King's being a prisoner, the Concordate was more condemned . .
	131		141
	The schism in the Papacy 132		These matters removed from the Parliament to the Great Council . . .
	ibid.		ibid.
	The Pope and Council quarrel		ibid.
	ibid.		ibid.
	The Pragmatic Sanction made in France	1521	The progress of Wolsey's rise and ministry
	133		142
1458	The Pope condemns it in a Council at Mantua . . .		Wolsey gained by Charles the Fifth
	ibid.		ibid.
	Lewis the Eleventh abrogates it		ibid.
	ibid.		His practiees to be chosen Pope
	The Parliament of Paris oppose it		ibid.
	134		Lord Burleigh's character of Wolsey
	The Pragmatic Sanction re-established		144
	135		Wolsey's proceedings as Legate
1459	Condemned by the Council at the Lateran . . .		ibid.
	ibid.		Colet's sermon before the Convocation
1516	The Concordate put instead of it		146
	ibid.		Sir Thomas More's thoughts of religion in his Utopia .
	King Francis carried to the Parliament of Paris . .		ibid.
	136		Wolsey desires a deputation of the Pope's authority
1517	They resolve not to publish it		148
	ibid.	1528	A bull sent to Wolsey to judge the marriage . . .
	The King is offended at this		ibid.
	137		The Emperor's answer to the King
1518	The Parliament publishes it, but with a protestation		149
	138		King Henry's letters to Anne Bullen
	The University and Clergy oppose it		150
	ibid.		Apprehensions of disorders on the Queen's account .
	The exceptions to the Concordate by the Parliament		151
	139	1529	Wolsey's credit shaken . .
	The Chancellor's answer . .		ibid.
	140		The Proceedings of the Legates
	The Parliament still judged by the Pragmatic Sanction		ibid.
	ibid.		The Cardinal's fall
			152
			Proceedings in Convocation .
			153
		1530	The proceedings in the Universities
			154

CONTENTS.

VI

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
	Proceedings in the Universities abroad 154		The Archbishop of York clears himself.. 176
	Proceedings of the Sorbonne ibid.		All preaching for some time prohibited 177
	The Pope's proceedings.. 155		A treaty with the Lutheran Princes ibid
	King Henry opposes the interview with the Pope in vain 158	1536	A treaty with the Princes of Germany 178
	The interview at Marseilles ibid.		The Smalcaldick league.. 180
1532	The proceedings of the Convocation 159		The demands of the German Princes ibid
	The Convocation judges against the marriage .. 161		The King's answers to them 181
1533	Archbishop Cranmer gives sentence against it 162		They write to the King .. 182
	Bellay sent over by the King to Francis 164		Ambassadors sent to the King..... 183
	A representation to the Emperor 165		Queen Anne's fall 184
	The Bishop of Paris prevailed on the King to submit to the Pope.... ibid.		The Emperor desired to be reconciled to the King .. 187
	The final sentence given 167		The King answered coldly 188
1534	All in England concur to renounce the Pope's authority ibid.		And refuses any treaty with the Pope..... ibid
	An order for bidding prayers and preaching 168		Proceedings in Convocation 189
	Paget sent to some northern Courts 169		Cardinal Pole writes against the divorce 190
1535	A letter of the King's to the Justices, to observe the behaviour of the Clergy..... 171		Tonstall writes to him .. 192
	An expostulation with the Court of France 172	1537	Pole's vindication of himself 193
	The King of France engages himself to adhere to and defend the King in his second marriage ibid.		The King reconciled to the Emperor 196
	King Henry pleased with his title of Supreme Head 173		Dr. London's violence in suppressing monasteries ibid
	Cranmer and Gardiner oppose one another ibid.		Cheats in images discovered 197
	The Bishops proceed against those who desire a Reformation..... 174		Orders about holidays .. ibid
	The Archbishop of York suspected..... 175		Injunctions given by Lee, Sampson, and Shaxton 198
	Complaints of the Monks and Friars 176		Gresham's letter to the King for putting the great hospitals into the hands of the city..... 200
			The King grows severe against the Reformers 201
			An account of Thomas Becket by the King .. ibid
			A circular letter to the Justices of Peace 202
		1539	New signification put upon the old rites..... 203

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
	Many executions in Eng- land 203	1543	The Duke of Orleans pro- mised to declare himself a Protestant 216
	The project of endowing the church of Canter- bury 204		Proceedings in Convocation 217
	Disapproved by Cranmer <i>ibid.</i>		Bell, Bishop of Worcester, resigned his bishopric 218
	The design of the six Arti- cles 205	1544	Audley, Lord Chancellor, died <i>ibid.</i>
	The King marries Anne of Cleves <i>ibid.</i>		Practices of the Scotch Lords 219
1540	The King in love with Ca- tharine Howard 206		Mount sent to Germany .. <i>ibid.</i>
	Cromwell's fall <i>ibid.</i>		A war with France 220
	The matters first charged on him, from which he clears himself <i>ibid.</i>		Boulogne taken <i>ibid.</i>
	What passed in the Con- vocation 208		The King is forsaken by the Emperor <i>ibid.</i>
	Exceptions in the Act of Grace <i>ibid.</i>		Prayers set out in English 221
	Prosecutions upon the six Articles 210	1546	The King neglects the Ger- man Princes 222
1542	A conspiracy against Cranmer 211		Ferdinand discontented with the Emperor 223
	Some steps made in setting out true religion 212		The Duke of Norfolk's im- prisonment <i>ibid.</i>
	Catharine Howard's dis- grace <i>ibid.</i>		His letter to the Council <i>ibid.</i>
	A negotiation with the Ger- man Princes <i>ibid.</i>	1547	A recapitulation of King Henry's reign 225
	Negotiations with France 213		Wolsey's ministry <i>ibid.</i>
			More's character <i>ibid.</i>
			Cromwell's ministry 226
			The King's inconstancy in religion <i>ibid.</i>

BOOK II.

*Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended in the second
Book of the Abridgment of the History of the Reformation.*

1547	VARGAS's letters concern- ing the Council of Trent 228		The decree concerning the Pope's authority pro- posed, but not passed .. 231
	The fraud and insolence of the Legate 229		Malvenda and others make the like complaints ... 234
	The Bishops knew not what they did <i>ibid.</i>		Thirlby writes in the in- terim 235
	The pride and impudence of the Legate 230		Hobby sent to the Em- peror <i>ibid.</i>
	No good to be expected from Councils <i>ibid.</i>		

CONTENTS.

ix

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
	The perfidy of the French King		Gardiner deprived 242
	236		An account of Bishop Hooper 243
	The progress of the Reformation	1552	The Duke of Somerset's fall 249
	ibid.		Hooper's impartial zeal
	Proceedings in Convocation	1553	The Articles of Religion prepared 250
	237		Published by the King's authority
1549	The Lady Mary denies that she was concerned in the risings		ibid.
	238		King Edward's scheme of succession 252
	The Popish party deceived in their hopes on the Protector's fall		Opposed by Cranmer 253
	239		The Primate of Ireland poisoned
1550	Proceedings against Gardiner		ibid.
	240		A character of King Edward's Court
	Preaching forbidden but by licensed persons		ibid.
	241		
	Heath and Day in trouble		
	ibid.		
	Scandals given by many		
	242		

BOOK III.

Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended in the third Book of the Abridgment of the History of the Reformation.

	THE Queen's words soft, but her proceedings severe		The reconciliation with Rome designed
	255		263
	The Duke of Northumberland begs his life, but in vain		Pole sent Legate for that end
	257		ibid.
	A Convocation meets		Writes to the Queen
	258		ibid.
1554	A treaty of marriage with the Prince of Spain		The Queen's answer
	ibid.		264
	Wyat's rising and principles		His first powers
	259		ibid.
	Severities against the married Clergy		The Cardinal stops in Flanders
	260		265
	The Queen writes first to King Philip		Fuller powers sent to Pole
	ibid.		266
	Proceedings against heretics		All laid before the Emperor
	261		267
	A Convocation		The Cardinal yet put off by delays
	ibid.		ibid.
	Cranmer's treason pardoned, that he might be burnt		The reason of those delays
	ibid.		268
	The Council order severe proceedings		The Queen sent to bring him over
	262		270
			The Queen believed herself with child
			ibid.
			Pole carries his powers beyond the limits set him
			171
			Some preach for restoring the abbey-lands
			ibid.

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
1555	The Archbishop of York set at liberty 272		Proceedings against he- retics 286
	Hooper, the first Bishop that suffered, barbar- ously used 273		The Pope dispenses with the French King's oath 287
	Orders for torture at dis- cretion 275		Pole's national synod.... ibid.
	The Queen still looked to be delivered of a child ibid.		Prosecution of heretics .. 288
	Plots pretended 276		Calais in danger of falling into the hands of the French..... 289
	The Pope's bull for restor- ing all church-lands .. 277		An account of the Lord Stourton's execution .. 290
	Steps towards an inquisi- tion 278	1567	A severe prosecution 291
	Cranmer proceeded against 279		The nation disliked this cruelty..... 292
	Proceedings in Convoca- tion 281		Bonner called on by the Council to be severe .. 293
1556	Charles the Fifth's resig- nation of Spain 282		Proceedings in Convoca- tion 294
	Reasons to think he died a Protestant 283	1558	A general treaty of peace opened..... 295
	The method in which the Queen put her affairs ... 284		A relation of the occasion of the Queen's death .. 298

BOOK IV.

Of the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

	MOUNT sent to Germany, and a match with Charles of Austria devised 301	1560	The Emperor proposes to the Queen a match with his son Charles 315
	The Reformers return to England 302		A conference about the Queen's crucifix..... ibid.
1559	They were well received by the Queen ibid.		A peace made in Scotland 317
	Proceedings in Convoca- tion 303		The French grow weary of the war in Scotland.... 319
	The beginnings of the Re- formation in the Parlia- ment of Scotland..... 306		A proposal of marriage to the Queen of England ibid.
	The progress of supersti- tion in Queen Mary's time..... 313		The death of Francis the Second..... 320
	Jewel's opinion of the dis- putes concerning the vestments..... 314	1562	Proceedings in Convoca- tion 322
			Great debates concerning some alterations in the Book of Common Prayer 323

CONTENTS.

xi

A. D.	PAGE	A. D.	PAGE
1564	A controversy about the use of things indifferent 324	1566	Grindal and Horn's letter, shewing their uneasiness in many things 332
	Great diversity in practice ibid.		Jewel's sense of those matters 333
	The Queen wrote to the Archbishop to bring all to an uniformity 325		Reflections on this matter 334
	Orders set out by the Bishops ibid.		Other letters written to Zurich by some Bishops ibid.
	Horn writes to Zurich upon these divisions 326		The Queen of Scots marries the Lord Darnley.. 336
	Bullinger justifies those who obey the laws 327		She shews more zeal in her religion ibid.
1565	He writes to those who would not obey them .. 328		The demands of the Reformed 337
	The letter printed in England 329		The Queen's answer 338
	Sampson and Humphreys' answer ibid.		The reply of the Kirk .. ibid.
	Bullinger and Gualter's answer to them 330	1567	Papists joined with Protestants 344
	They wrote to the Earl of Bedford 331	1569	The reasons that moved Queen Elizabeth to be jealous of the King of Scotland 345
			The conclusion 346



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ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

The Life and Reign of Queen Mary.

By King Edward's death, the crown devolved, according to law, on his eldest sister Mary, who was within half a day's journey to the Court, when she had notice given her by the Earl of Arundel of her brother's death, and of the patent for Lady Jane's succession; and this prevented her falling into the trap that was laid for her. Upon that she retired to Framlingham in Suffolk, both to be near the sea, that she might escape to Flanders, in case of a misfortune; and because the slaughter that was made of Ket's people by Northumberland, begat him the hatred of the people in that neighbourhood. Before she got thither, she wrote on the 9th of July to the Council, and let them know she understood that her brother was dead, by which she succeeded to the crown, but wondered that she heard not from them: she knew well what consultations they had engaged in; but she would pardon all that was done, to such as would return to their duty, and proclaim her title to the crown. By this it was found, that the King's death could

BOOK
III.

1553.

Queen
Mary
succeeds.

BOOK
III.

1553.

be no longer kept secret; so some of the Privy Council went to Lady Jane, and acknowledged her their Queen. The news of the King's death afflicted her much; and her being raised to the throne rather increased than lessened her trouble. She was a very extraordinary person, both for body and mind. She had learned both the Greek and Latin tongues to great perfection, and delighted much in study. She read Plato in Greek, and drunk in the precepts of true philosophy so early, that as she was not tainted with the levities, not to say vices, of those of her age and condition; so she seemed to have attained to the practice of the highest notions of philosophy: for in those sudden turns of her condition, as she was not exalted with the prospect of a crown, so she was as little cast down, when her palace was made her prison. The only passion she shewed was that of the noblest kind, in the concern she expressed for her father and husband, who fell with her, and seemingly on her account, though really Northumberland's ambition and her father's weakness ruined her. She rejected the offer of the crown when it was first made her; she said, she knew that of right it belonged to the late King's sisters, and so she could not with a good conscience assume it: but it was told her that both the Judges and Privy Counsellors had declared, that it fell to her according to law. This joined with the importunities of her husband, who had more of his father's temper than of her philosophy in him, made her submit to it. Upon this, twenty-one Privy Counsellors set their hands to a letter to Queen Mary, letting her know that Queen Jane was now their Sovereign, and that the marriage between her father and mother was null, so she could not succeed to the crown; and therefore they required her to lay down her pretensions, and to submit to the settlement now made: and if she gave a ready obedience to these commands, they promised her much favour.

But Lady
Jane Grey

The day after this they proclaimed Jane. In it they set forth, "That the late King had by patent

“excluded his sisters; that both were illegitimated
“by sentences passed in the ecclesiastical courts,
“and confirmed in Parliament; and at best they
“were only his sisters by the half blood, and so
“not inheritable by the law of England. There
“was also cause to fear, that they might marry
“strangers, and change the laws, and subject
“the nation to the tyranny of the see of Rome.
“Next to them the crown fell to the Duchess of
“Suffolk; and it was provided, that if she should
“have no sons when the King died, the crown
“should devolve on her daughter, who was born
“and married in the kingdom. Upon which they
“asserted her right, and she promised to maintain
“the true religion, and the laws of the land.”
This was not received with the shouts ordinary on
such occasions: a vintner’s boy expressed some
scorn when he heard it; for which he was next day
set on a pillory, and his ears were nailed to it, to
strike terror in the rest.

Many descanted variously on this proclamation. Censures
Those who thought that the King had his power passed up-
immediately from God, said, that then it must on that.
descend in the way of inheritance; and since the
King’s two sisters were both under sentences of
illegitimation, they said the next heir in blood must
succeed, and that was the young Queen of Scot-
land; but she being of the Church of Rome,
claimed nothing upon the sentence against Queen
Mary, esteeming it unlawful and null; yet after-
wards she made her claim against Queen Elizabeth.
Others said, that though a Prince were named im-
mediately by God, yet upon great reasons he might
alter the succession from its natural course; for so
David preferred Solomon to Adonijah. In Eng-
land, the Kings claimed the crown by a long pre-
scription, confirmed by many laws, and not from a
divine designation; and therefore they inferred,
that the act of Parliament for the succession ought
to take place, and that by virtue of it the two
sisters ought to succeed: and it was said, that as
the King could limit the prerogative, so he could

BOOK
III.

1558.

likewise limit the succession. It was also said, that Charles Brandon's issue by the French Queen was unlawful, because he was then married to one Mortimer; yet this was not declared in any court, and so could not take place. Others said, if the right of blood could not be cut off, why was the Scotch Queen cut off? and her being born out of the kingdom could not exclude her as an alien; for though that held in other cases, yet it was only a provision of law, which could not take away a divine right, and by special law the King's children were excepted. It was also urged, that the Duchess of Suffolk ought to be preferred to her daughter, who could only claim by her right: and though Maud the Empress, and Margaret Countess of Richmond, had not claimed the crown, but were satisfied that their sons, two Henries, the Second and Seventh, should reign in their right, yet it was never heard that a mother should quit her right to a daughter: that of the half blood was said to be only a rule in law for private families, and that it did not extend to the crown. The power of limiting the succession by patent or testament was said to be only a personal trust lodged in King Henry the Eighth, and that it did not descend to his heirs; so that King Edward's patents were thought to be of no force.

Many turn
to Queen
Mary.

The severity against the vintner's boy, in the beginning of a reign founded on so doubtful a title, was thought a great error in policy; and it seemed to be a well-grounded maxim, that all governments ought to begin with acts of clemency, and affect the love rather than the fear of the people. Northumberland's proceedings against the Duke of Somerset, upon so foul a conspiracy, and the suspicions that lay on him, as the author of the late King's untimely death, begat a great aversion in the people to him; and that disposed them to set up Queen Mary. She gathered all in the neighbouring counties about her. The men of Suffolk were generally for the Reformation; yet a great body of them came to her, and asked her, if she would promise not to alter the religion set up in King

Edward's days: she assured them she would make no changes, but should be content with the private exercise of her own religion. Upon that, they all vowed that they would live and die with her. The Earl of Sussex, and several others, raised forces for her, and proclaimed her Queen. When the Council heard this, they sent the Earl of Huntington's brother to raise men in Buckinghamshire, and meet the forces that should be sent from London at New-market.

BOOK
III.

1553.

The Duke of Northumberland was ordered to command the army. He was now much distracted in his thoughts. It was of equal importance to keep London and the Privy Counsellors steady, and to conduct the army well: a misfortune in either of these was like to be fatal to him. So he could not resolve what to do: there was not a man of spirit that was firm to him, to be left behind; and yet it was most necessary at once to dissipate the force that was daily growing about Queen Mary. The Lady Jane and the Council were removed to the Tower, not only for state, but for security; for here the Council were upon the matter prisoners. He could do no more, but lay a strict charge on the Council, to be firm to Lady Jane's interests; and so he marched out of London, with two thousand horse and six thousand foot, on the 14th of July: but no acclamations or wishes of success were to be heard as he passed through the streets. The Council gave the Emperor notice of the Lady Jane's succession, and complained of the disturbance that was raised by Queen Mary, and that his ambassador had officiously meddled in their affairs. But the Emperor would not receive their letters. Ridley was appointed to preach up Queen Jane's title, and to animate the people against Queen Mary, which he too rashly obeyed. But Queen Mary's party increased every day. Hastings went over to her with four thousand men of Buckinghamshire, and she was proclaimed Queen in many places. And now did the Privy Council begin to see their danger, and to think how to get

Northum-
berland
marches
against her.

BOOK
III.

1553.

The Council declares
for her.

out of it. The Earl of Arundel hated Northumberland. The Marquis of Winchester was dexterous in shifting sides for his advantage. The Earl of Pembroke's son had married the Lady Jane's sister, which made him think it necessary to redeem the danger he was in by a speedy turn. To these many others were joined. They pretended it was necessary to give an audience to the foreign ambassadors, who would not have it in the Tower : and the Earl of Pembroke's house was pitched upon, he being the least suspected. They also said it was necessary to treat with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for sending more forces to Northumberland, concerning which he had writ very earnestly.

When they got out, they resolved to declare for Queen Mary, and rid themselves of Northumberland's uneasy yoke, which they knew they must bear if he were victorious. They sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and easily persuaded them to concur with them ; and so they went immediately to Cheapside, and proclaimed the Queen on the 19th of July : and from thence they went to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was sung. They sent next to the Tower, requiring the Duke of Suffolk to quit the government of that place, and the Lady Jane to lay down the title of Queen. She submitted with as much greatness of mind, as her father shewed of abjectness. They sent also orders to Northumberland to dismiss his forces, and to obey the Queen : and the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget were sent to carry these welcome tidings to her. When Northumberland heard of the turn that was in London, without staying for orders, he discharged his forces, and went to the market-place at Cambridge, where he was at that time, and proclaimed the Queen. The Earl of Arundel was sent to apprehend him ; and when he was brought to him, he fell at his feet to beg his favour : for a mind that has no balance in itself turns insolent or abject, out of measure, with the various changes of fortune. He, and three of his sons, and Sir Thomas Palmer, (that was his wicked instrument against

the Duke of Somerset,) were all sent to the Tower. Now all people went to implore the Queen's favour, and Ridley among the rest; but he was sent to the Tower; for she was both offended with him for his sermon, and resolved to put Bonner again in the see of London. Some of the Judges, and several noblemen, were also sent thither; among the rest the Duke of Suffolk; but three days after he was set at liberty. He was a weak man, and could do little harm; so he was pitched on as in the first instance, towards whom the Queen should express her clemency.

BOOK
III.

1553.

She came to London on the 3d of August; and on the way was met by her sister, Lady Elizabeth, with a thousand horse, whom she had raised to come to the Queen's assistance. When she came to the Tower, she discharged the Duke of Norfolk, the Duchess of Somerset, and Gardiner, of whose commitment mention has been formerly made; as also the Lord Courtney, son to the Marquis of Exeter, who had been kept there ever since his father's attainder, whom she made Earl of Devonshire. And thus was she now peaceably settled on the throne, notwithstanding that great combination against her; which had not been so easily broken, if the head of it had not been a man so universally distasteful.

She comes
to London.

She was a lady of great virtues: she was strict in her religion to superstition: her temper was much corrupted by melancholy; and the many cross accidents of her life increased this to a great degree. She adhered so resolutely to her mother's interests, that it was believed her father once intended to have taken her life. Upon which her mother wrote a very devout letter to her, charging her to trust in God, and keep herself pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in matters of religion. She sent her two Latin books for her entertainment: St. Jerome's Epistles, and a book of the life of Christ, which was perhaps the famous book of Thomas à Kempis. The King's displeasure at her was such, that neither the Duke of Norfolk, nor Gar-

Her former
life.

BOOK
III.

1553.

diner, durst venture to intercede for her. Cranmer was the only man that hazarded on it, and did it so effectually, that he prevailed with him about it. But after her mother's death, she hearkened to other counsels; so that, upon Anne Boleyn's fall, she made a full submission to him, as was mentioned before. She did also in many letters, which she wrote both to her father and to Cromwell, " protest great sorrow for her stubbornness, and declared that she put her soul in his hand, and that her conscience should be always directed by him;" and being asked what her opinion was concerning pilgrimages, purgatory, and relics; she answered, " that she had no opinion, but such as she received from the King, who had her whole heart in his keeping; and might imprint upon it, in these and in all other matters, whatever his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning, should think convenient for her." So perfectly had she learned the style that she knew was most acceptable to her father. After that, she was in all points obedient to him, and during her brother's reign she set up on that pretence, that she would adhere to that way of religion that was settled by her father.

The counsels then laid down.

Two different schemes were now set before her; Gardiner, and all that had complied in the former times, moved, that at first she should bring things back to the state in which they were when her father died: and afterwards by easy and slow steps she might again return to the obedience to the see of Rome. But she herself was more inclined to return to that immediately; she thought she could not be legitimated any other way, and so was like to proceed too quick. Gardiner, finding that political maxims made no great impression on her, and that he was looked on by her as a crafty temporizing man, addressed himself to the Emperor, who understood government and mankind better: and undertook, that, if he might have the seals, he would manage matters so, that in a little time he should bring all things about to her mind; and that

there was no danger, but in her precipitating things, and being so much governed by Italian counsels: for he understood that she had sent for Cardinal Pole. The people had a great aversion to the Papal authority, and the nobility and gentry were apprehensive of losing the abbey lands; therefore it was necessary to remove these prejudices by degrees. He also assured the Emperor, that he would serve all his interests zealously, and shewed him how necessary it was to stop Cardinal Pole, who stood attainted by law: in this he was the more earnest, because he knew Pole hated him. The Emperor upon this writ so effectually to the Queen, to depend on Gardiner's counsels, that on the 13th of August he was made Lord Chancellor, and the conduct of affairs was put in his hands. The Duke of Norfolk being now at liberty, pretended that he was never truly attainted; and that it was no legal act that had passed against him; and by this he recovered his estate, all the grants that had been made out of it being declared void at common law.

He was made Lord Steward for the trial of the Northumberland Duke of Northumberland, and his son the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Northampton. All that they pleaded in their own defence lay in two points; the one was, whether any thing that was acted by order of Council, and the authority of the Great Seal, could be treason? The other was, whether those that were as guilty as they were could sit and judge them? The Judges answered, that the Great Seal, or Privy Council of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no authority or indemnity: and that other Peers, if they were not convicted by record, might judge them. These points being determined against them, they pleaded guilty, and submitted to the Queen's mercy: so sentence was passed upon them. And the day after that, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, and some others, were tried and condemned; but of all these, it was resolved, that only Northumberland, Gates, and Palmer should suffer.

BOOK
III.1553.
And execution.

Heath was appointed to attend on Northumberland, and to prepare him for death. He then professed he had been always of the old religion in his heart, and had complied against his conscience in the former times: but whether that was true, or whether it was done in hopes of life, as it cannot be certainly known, so it shews he had little regard to religion, either in his life, or at his death. But he was a man of such a temper, that it was resolved to put him out of a capacity of revenging himself on his enemies. On the 22d of August, he and the other two were beheaded. There passed some expostulation between Gates and him, each of them accusing the other as the author of their ruin. But they were seemingly reconciled, and professed they forgave one another. He made a long speech, confessing his former ill life, and the justice of the sentence against him: "He exhorted the people to stand to the religion of their ancestors, to reject all novelties, and to drive the preachers of them out of the nation; and declared he had tempered against his conscience, and that he was always of the religion of his forefathers." He was an extraordinary man till he was raised very high; but that transported him out of measure. And he was so strangely changed in the last passages of his life, that it increased the jealousies that were raised of his having hastened King Edward's death: and that the horrors of that guilt did so haunt him, that both the judgment and courage he had expressed in the former parts of his life seemed now to have left him. Palmer was little pitied; for he was believed the betrayer of his former master, the Duke of Somerset, and was upon that service taken into Northumberland's confidence.

King Edward's
funeral.

There was no strict enquiry made into King Edward's death: all the honour done his memory was, that they allowed him funeral rites. On the 8th of August he was buried at Westminster; and the Queen had an exequie and masses for him at the Tower. Day was appointed to preach the

sermon: in it he praised the King, but inveighed severely against the administration of affairs under him. It had been resolved to bury him according to the old forms; but Cranmer opposed that, and prevailed that he should be buried according to the form then settled by law: and he himself did officiate, and ended the solemnity with a communion; all which, it may be supposed, he did with a very lively sorrow, having both loved the King beyond expression, and looking on his funeral as the burial of the Reformation, and as a step to his own.

On the 22d of August the Queen declared in Council, "That though she was fixed in her own religion, yet she would not compel others to it; "but would leave that to the motions of God's "Spirit, and the labours of good preachers." The day after that, Bonner went to St. Paul's; and Bourn, that was his chaplain, preached: he extolled Bonner much, and inveighed against the sufferings he was put to. Upon this a tumult was raised, for the people could not hear reflections made on King Edward. Some flung stones at him, and one threw a dagger at the pulpit with such force, that it stuck fast in the wood. Rogers and Bradford were present, who were in great esteem with the people: so they stood up and quieted them, and conveyed Bourn safe home. This was a very welcome accident to the Papists, and gave them a colour to prohibit preaching, by a public inhibition in the Queen's name: in which she declared, "That her religion was the same that it had "been from her infancy; but that she would compel none of her subjects in matters of religion, "till public order should be taken in by common "assent. She required her people to live quietly, "not to use the terms of Papist, or Heretic, or "other reproachful speeches, and that none should "preach without license: she also charged them "not to punish any on the account of the late "rebellion, but as they should be authorized by her. "She would be sorry to be driven to execute the "severity of the law; but was resolved not to suffer

A tumult
at St.
Paul's.

BOOK
III.

1553.

"rebellious doings to go unpunished." This gave great occasion to censure, and was thought a declaration, not for her father's religion, but for popery: since it was that which she professed from her infancy. It was also observed, that she limited her promise of not compelling others, till public orders should be taken in it: the meaning of which was, till a Parliament could be brought to concur with her. The restraint upon preaching without license was justified from what had been done in King Edward's time; though then, at first, all might preach in their own churches without it; it was only necessary, if they preached any where else. Bishops had also the power of licensing in their dioceses: and the total restraint that followed afterwards lasted but a short while. But now all the pulpits were put under an interdict, till the preachers should obtain a license from Gardiner: and that he resolved to grant to none, but those that would preach as he should direct them. The Queen's threatening to proceed against such as were guilty of the late rebellion struck a general terror in the city of London; for the greatest part had been in some measure concerned in it.

Severe proceedings
against the
men of
Suffolk and
others.

In Suffolk the people thought their services and the Queen's promises gave them a title to own their religion more avowedly: but orders were sent to the Bishop of Norwich to execute the Queen's injunctions, and to see that none should preach that had not obtained a license. Upon this, some of those that had merited most came and put the Queen in mind of her promise: but she sent them home with a cold answer; and told them, they must learn to obey her, and not pretend to govern her: and one that had spoken more confidently than the rest was set in the pillory for it three days, as having said words that tended to defame the Queen. This was a sad omen of a severe government, in which the claiming of promises went for a crime. Bradford and Rogers were also seized on; and it was pretended, that the authority they shewed in quieting the tumult was a sign that they

had raised it. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstall, Heath, and Day, were restored to their bishoprics; they had all appealed to the King before sentence had passed against them; so commissions were given to some civilians to examine the grounds of these appeals, and they made report that they were good, and so that the sentences against them were null. Gardiner had authority given him to grant priests licences to preach in any church, as he should appoint. By this the reformed were not only silenced, but their churches and pulpits were cast open to such as Gardiner pleased to send among them. They differed in their opinions how far they were bound to obey this prohibition. Some thought they might forbear public preaching, when they were so required: but they made that up by private conferences and instructions. Others thought that if this had been only a particular hardship upon a few, the regard to peace and order should have obliged them to submit to it: but since it was general, and done on design to extinguish the light of the Gospel, that they ought to go on, and preach at their peril; of this last sort several were put in prison for their disobedience, and among others, Hooper and Coverdale.

BOOK
III.

1553.

The people that loved the old superstition began now to set up images and the old rites again in many places: and though this was plainly against law, yet the government encouraged it all they could. Judge Hales thought his refusing to concur with the rest in excluding the Queen, gave him a more than ordinary privilege. So when he went the circuit, he gave the charge in Kent, requiring the justices to see to the execution of King Edward's laws, that continued still in force. But upon his return he was committed for this, and removed from prison to prison; which, with the threatenings that were made him, terrified him so much, that he cut his throat, but not mortally. As he recovered, he made his submission, and obtained his liberty. Yet the disorder he was in never left him till he drowned himself. This shewed that

Particularly
against
Judge
Hales.

BOOK
III.

1553.

former merit was not so much considered, as a readiness to comply in matters of religion. Judge Bromley, though he made no difficulty in declaring his opinion for the Queen's exclusion, yet, since he professed himself a Papist, was made Lord Chief Justice: and Montague, who had proceeded in it with great aversion, yet, because he was for the Reformation, was put in prison, and severely fined; though he had this merit to pretend, that he had sent his son and twenty men with him to declare for the Queen; and had this also to recommend him to pity, that he had six sons and ten daughters. Peter Martyr was forced to retire from Oxford: he came to Lambeth, but was not like to find long shelter there.

Cranmer's
imprison-
ment.

Cranmer kept himself quiet for some time, which gave the other party occasion to publish that he was resolved to turn with the tide. Bonner writ upon that to a friend of his, that Mr. Canterbury (so he called him in derision) was become very humble; but that would not serve his turn, for he would be sent to the Tower within a very little while. Some advised him to fly beyond sea. He answered, that though he could not dissuade others to fly from the persecution they saw coming on, yet that was unbecoming a man in his station, that had such a hand in the changes formerly made. He prepared a writing, which he intended to have published: the substance of it was, "That he found
" the Devil was more than ordinary busy in defam-
" ing the servants of God; and that whereas the
" corruptions in the mass had been cast out, and
" that the Lord's Supper was again set up, ac-
" cording to its first institution; the Devil now, to
" promote the mass, which was his invention, set
" his instruments on work, who gave it out, that it
" was now said in Canterbury by his order: there-
" fore he protested that was false, and that a dis-
" sembling monk (this was Thornton, Bishop Suf-
" fragan of Dover) had done it without his know-
" ledge. He also offered that he and Peter Mar-
" tyr, with such other four or five as he should

“ name, would be ready to prove the errors of the
“ mass, and to defend the whole doctrine and ser-
“ vice set forth by the late King, as most conform
“ to the Word of God, and to the practice of the
“ ancient Church for many ages.” Before he had
finished this, Scory, that had been Bishop of Chi-
chester, coming to him, he shewed it him, and de-
sired his opinion in it. He being a hot man liked
it so well, that he gave copies of it: and one of
these was read publicly in Cheapside. So three
days after that he was cited to the Star-Chamber to
answer for it: he confessed it was his, and that he
had intended to have enlarged it in some things,
and to have affixed it with his hand and seal to it at
St. Paul’s, and many other churches. He was at
this time dismissed: Gardiner saw the Queen in-
tended to put Cardinal Pole in his room, and that
made him endeavour to preserve him. Some moved
that a small person might be assigned him, and that
he should be suffered to live private; for the sweet-
ness of his temper had procured him so universal a
love from all people, that it was thought too hardy
a step to proceed to extremities with him. Others
said, he had been the chief author of all the heresy
that was in the nation, and that it was not decent
for the Queen to shew any favour to him, that had
pronounced the sentence of her mother’s divorce.
Within a week after this, both Latimer and he, and
several other preachers, were put in prison.

Peter Martyr, that had come over upon the pub-
lic faith, had leave given him to go beyond sea; so
had also Alasco, and the Germans: and about two
hundred of them went away in December: but
both in Denmark, where they first landed, and in
Lubeck, Wismar, and Hamburgh, to which they
removed, they were denied admittance, because
they were of the Helvetian Confession, and in all
these places the fierce Lutherans prevailed; who
did so far put off all bowels, that they would not so
much as suffer these refugees to stay among them
till the rigours of the winter were over: but at last
they found shelter in Friesland. Many of the Eng-
The
strangers
driven out
of England.

BOOK
III.

1553.

lish, foreseeing the storm, resolved to withdraw in time: so the strangers being required to be gone, they went under that cover in great numbers. But the Council, understanding that about a thousand had so conveyed themselves away, gave order that none should be suffered to go as strangers, but those that had a certificate from the ambassador of the Princes to whom they belonged. With those that fled beyond sea, divers eminent preachers went; among whom were Cox, Sandys, Grindal, and Horn; all afterwards highly advanced by Queen Elizabeth.

Popular
arts used by
Gardiner.

These things began to alienate the people from the government, therefore on the other hand great care was taken to sweeten them. The Queen bestowed the chief offices of the household on those that had assisted her in her extremity; there being no way more effectual to engage all to adhere to the crown, than the grateful acknowledgment of past services. An unusual honour was done to Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex; he had a licence granted him under the Great Seal, to cover his head in her presence. On the 10th of October the Queen was crowned, Gardiner with ten other Bishops performing that ceremony with the ordinary solemnity. Day being esteemed the best preacher among them, preached the sermon. There was a general pardon proclaimed, and with that, "the Queen discharged
" the subjects of the two tenths, two fifteenths,
" and a subsidy that had been granted by the last
" Parliament: and she also declared that she would
" pay both her father's debts and her brother's;
" and though her treasure was much exhausted,
" yet she esteemed the love of her people her best
" treasure, forgave those taxes; in lieu of which
" she desired only the hearts of her subjects, and
" that they would serve God sincerely, and pray
" earnestly for her."

A parliament meets,
and repeals
several
laws.

On the 20th of October a Parliament met. There had been great violences used in many elections, and many false returns were made: some that were known to be zealous for the Reformation were for-

cibly turned out of the House of Commons ; which was afterwards offered as a ground upon which that Parliament, and all acts made in it, might have been annulled. There came only two of the reformed Bishops to the House of Lords: the two Archbishops and three Bishops were in prison: two others were turned out; the rest stayed at home: so only Taylor and Harley, the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, came. When mass began to be said, they went out, as some report it, but were never suffered to come to their places again. Others say, they refused to join in that worship, and so were violently thrust out. In the House of Commons, some of the more forward moved, that King Edward's laws might be reviewed; but things were not ripe enough for that. Nowel, a prebendary of Westminster, was returned burgess for a town: but the House voted, that the Clergy being represented in the Lower House of Convocation, could not be admitted to sit among the Laity. The Commons sent up a bill of tonnage and poundage, which the Lords sent down amended in two provisos; and the Commons did not then insist on their privilege, that the Lords could not alter a bill of money. The only public bill that was finished this session was a repeal of all late statutes, making any crime treason, that was not so by the 25th of Edward III. or felony, that was not so before King Henry VIII. excepting from the benefit of this act all that were put in prison before the end of September last, who were also excepted out of the general pardon. The Marchioness of Exeter, and the Earl of Devonshire her son, were restored in blood by two private acts; and then the Parliament was prorogued for three days, that it might be said, the first session under the Queen was merely for acts of mercy.

At their next meeting, after the bill of tonnage and poundage was passed, a bill passed through both Houses in four days, repealing the divorce of the Queen's mother: "in which they declared the marriage to have been lawful; and that malicious persons had possessed the King with scruples

The
Queen's
mother's
marriage
confirmed.

BOOK
III.

1553.

“ concerning it; and had by corruption procured
 “ the seals of foreign universities condemning it;
 “ and had by threatenings and sinistrous arts
 “ obtained the like in England: upon which Cran-
 “ mer had pronounced the sentence of divorce,
 “ which had been confirmed in Parliament: they
 “ therefore, looking on the miseries that had fallen
 “ on the nation since that time as judgments from
 “ God for that sentence, condemn it, and repeal
 “ the acts confirming it.” Gardiner, in this, per-
 formed his promise to the Queen, of getting her to
 be declared legitimate, without taking notice of
 the Pope’s authority: but he shewed that he was
 past shame, when he procured such a repeal of a
 sentence, which he had so servilely promoted: and
 he particularly knew the falsehood of this pretence,
 that the foreign universities were corrupted. He
 had also set it on long before Cranmer engaged in
 it, and sat in court with him when it was pro-
 nounced. By this act the Lady Elizabeth was upon
 the matter again illegitimated, since the ground
 upon which her mother’s marriage subsisted, was
 the divorce of the first marriage: and it was either
 upon this pretence, or on old scores, that the
 Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a sister,
 began now to use her more severely. Others sug-
 gest that a secret rivalry was the true spring of it.
 It was thought the Earl of Devonshire was much
 in the Queen’s favour; but he either not presuming
 so high, or liking Lady Elizabeth better, who was
 both more beautiful, and was nineteen years younger
 than the Queen, made his addresses to her; which
 provoked the Queen so much, that it drew a great
 deal of trouble on them both.

King Ed-
 ward’s laws
 about reli-
 gion re-
 pealed.

The next bill was a repeal of all the laws made
 in King Edward’s reign concerning religion: it
 was argued six days in the House of Commons, and
 carried without a division. By this, religion was
 again put back into the state in which King Henry
 had left it: and this was to take place after the
 20th of December next; but till then it was left
 free to all, either to use the old or the new service,

as they pleased. Another act passed against all that should disquiet any preacher for his sermons, or interrupt divine offices, either such as had been in the last year of King Henry, or such as the Queen should set out: by which she was empowered to restore the service in all things, as it had been before her father made the breach with Rome; offenders were either to be punished by ecclesiastical censures, or by an imprisonment for three months. And the House of Commons was now so forward, that they sent up a bill for the punishing of all such as would not come to Church or Sacraments, after the old service should be again set up: yet the Lords fearing this might alarm the nation too much, let it fall. Another law was made, that if any, to the number of twelve, should meet to alter any thing in religion, or for any riot, or should by any public notice, such as bells or beacons, gather the people together, and, upon proclamation made, should not disperse themselves; they, and all that assisted them, were declared guilty of felony. And if any more than two met for these ends, they should lie a year in prison. And all people were required, under severe penalties, to assist the Justices, for repressing such assemblies. So the favour of the former act of repeal appeared to be a mockery, when so soon after it so severe a law was made; by which, disorders, that might arise upon sudden heats, were declared to be felonies. The Marquis of Northampton's second marriage was also annulled; but no declaration was made against divorces in general, grounded on the indissolubleness of the marriage bond; only that particular sentence was condemned, as pronounced upon false surmises.

BOOK
III.

1553.

An act also passed, annulling the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk. Those who had purchased some parts of his estate from the crown, opposed it much in the House of Commons: but the Duke came down to the House, and desired them earnestly to pass it, and assured them, that he would

The Duke
of Norfolk's
attainder
repealed.

BOOK
III.

1553.

refer all differences between him and the patentees, either to arbiters, or to the Queen: and so it was agreed to. "It set forth the pretences that were made use of to attain him; as, that he used coats of arms, which he and his ancestors had lawfully used. There was a commission given to some to declare the royal assent to it; but that was not signed, but only stamped by the King's mark; and that not at the upper end, as was usual, but beneath: nor did it appear that the royal assent was ever given to it; and they declared that in all time coming, the royal assent should be given either by the King in person, or by a commission under the Great Seal, signed by the King's hand, and publicly declared to both Houses." Cranmer, Guildford Dudley, and his wife the Lady Jane, and two of his brothers, were tried for treason: they all confessed their indictments; only Cranmer appealed to the Judges, who knew how unwillingly he had consented to the exclusion of the Queen; and that he did it not till they, whose profession it was to know the law, had signed it. They were all attainted of treason for levying war against the Queen: and their attainders were confirmed in Parliament; so was Cranmer legally divested of his archbishopric; but since he was put in it by the Pope's authority, it was resolved to degrade him by the forms of the canon law, and the Queen was unwilling to pardon his treason, that it might appear she did not act upon revenge, but zeal: she was often prevailed with to pardon injuries against herself, but was always inexorable in matters of religion.

A treaty for
reconciling
England to
the Pope.

But now her treaty with the Pope began to take vent, which put the Parliament in some disorder. When she came first to the crown, the Pope's legate at Brussels sent over Commendone, to see if he could speak with her, and to persuade her to reconcile her kingdom to the Apostolic see. The management of the matter was left to his discretion, for the legate would not trust this secret to Gardiner, nor any of the other Bishops. Commendone

came over in the disguise of a merchant, and by accident met with one of the Queen's servants, who had lived some years beyond sea, and was known to him, and by his means he procured access to the Queen. She assured him of her firm resolution to return to the obedience of that see, but charged him to manage the matter with great prudence; for if it were too early discovered, it might disturb her affairs, and obstruct the design. By him she wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal Pole; and instructed Commendone, in order to the sending over Pole with a legatine power: she also asked him, whether the Pope might not dispense with Pole to marry, since he was only in Deacon's orders? This was a welcome message to the Court of Rome, and proved the foundation of Commendone's advancement. There was a public rejoicing for three days, and the Pope said mass himself upon it; and gave a largess of indulgences, in which he might be the more liberal, because they were like to come into credit again, and to go off at the old rates. Yet all that Commendone said in the Consistory was, that he understood from good hands that the Queen was well disposed to a reunion. Some of the stiffer Cardinals thought it was below the Pope's dignity to send a legate, till an embassy should come first from the Queen, desiring it: yet the secret was so whispered among them, that it was generally known. It was said, they ought to imitate the shepherd in the parable, who went to seek the stray sheep: and therefore Pole was appointed to go legate, with ample powers. Gardiner was in fear of him, and so advised the Emperor to stop him in his journey; and, to touch the Emperor in a tender part, it is said, that he let him know that the Queen had some inclinations for the Cardinal. The Emperor had now proposed a match with her for his son, though he was nine years younger than she was; yet she being but thirty-seven, there was reason enough to hope for children; and the uniting England to the Spanish monarchy seemed to be all that was wanting to strengthen it

And for a
match with
the Prince
of Spain.

BOOK
III.

1553.

on all hands, so as to ruin the French kingdom. The Queen saw reasons enough to determine her to entertain it: she found it would be hard to bring the nation about in matters of religion, without the assistance of a foreign power: yet it is more reasonable to think that Gardiner, who was always governed by his interests, would have rather promoted the match with Pole, for then he had been infallibly made Archbishop of Canterbury, and had got Pole's hat; and the government would have been much easier if the Queen had married a subject, than it could be under a stranger, especially one whose greatness made all people very apprehensive of him.

Pole's ad-
vices to the
Queen.

The restoring the Papal power, and the match with the Prince of Spain, were things of such uneasy digestion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperor pressed the Queen to begin with her marriage, and by that she would be powerfully assisted to carry on her other designs: and at last the Queen herself was persuaded to send to Pole, to advise him to stop his journey for some time. She sent over the acts of this Parliament, to let him see what progress she was making, and to assure him she would make all convenient haste in the reunion: but the Parliament had expressed so great an aversion to the restoring the Pope's power, and were so apprehensive of losing the abbey-lands, that it would prejudice her affairs much, if he should come over before the people's minds were better prepared. She also desired him to send her a list of those that were fit to be made Bishops, in the room of those that were turned out. To this he writ a long and tedious answer: he rejoiced at the acts that were passed; but observed great defects in them. In that concerning her mother's marriage, there was no mention made of the Pope's bull of dispensation, by which only it could be a lawful marriage. The other for setting up the worship, as it was in the end of her father's reign, he censured more; for they were then in a state of schism, and so this established schism by a

23 to 24 page missing in book

larly the articles against transubstantiation: to this all agreed except those six. It was pretended, that the Catechism was not set out by authority of Convocation: to which Philpot answered, that the Convocation had deputed some to compose it, and so it was on the matter their work. A disputation was proposed concerning the Sacrament, though all the rest of the Convocation subscribed the conclusion first: which was complained of as a preposterous method. The six desired that Ridley and Rogers, with some others, might be suffered to come and join with them; but that was refused, since they were no members, and were then in prison.

On the twenty-third of October the dispute began, many of the nobility and others being present: Weston was prolocutor; he opened it with a protestation, that they went not to dispute, as calling the truth in question, but only to satisfy the objections of a few. Haddon, Ailmer, and Young, foresaw that it was resolved to run them down with numbers and noise, so at first they resolved to dispute, and the last of them went away. Cheyney argued from St. Paul's calling the Sacrament *bread*, Origen's saying that *it nourished the body*, and Theodoret's saying that *the elements did not depart from their former substance, form, and shape*. Moreman answered, that Theodoret's words were to be understood of an accidental substance: it was replied, that *form and shape* belonged to the accidents, but *substance* belonged to the nature of the elements. Philpot shewed that the occasion of his using these words was to prove against the Eutychians, that there was a true human nature in Christ, notwithstanding its union with the Godhead; which he proved by this simile, that the elements in the Eucharist remained in their nature; so this must be understood of the substance of the bread and wine: but to this no answer was made; and when he seemed to press it too far, he was commanded to be silent. Haddon cited many passages out of the Fathers, to shew that they believed

BOOK
III.

1553.

Christ was still in heaven, and that the Sacrament was a memorial of him till his second coming: he also asked, whether they thought that Christ did eat his own natural body; and when that was confessed, he said it was needless to dispute with men who could swallow down such an absurdity. The disputation continued several days: Philpot made a long speech against the corporal presence, but was oft interrupted; for they told him that he might propose an argument, but they would not hear him make harangues. He undertook to prove before the Queen and her Council, that the mass, as they had it, was no sacrament at all, and that the body of Christ was not present in it; and if he failed in it, he would be content to be burnt at the court-gate. After some short time spent in citing passages out of the Fathers, Philpot was commanded to hold his peace, otherwise they would send him to prison. He claimed the privilege of the House for freedom of speech; but being much cried down, he said they were a company of men who had dissembled with God and the world in the late reign, and were now met together to set forth false devices, which they were not able to maintain. Theodoret's words were much and often insisted on; so Weston answered, if Theodoret should be yielded to them, they had an hundred Fathers on the other side. Cheyney shewed out of Hesychius, that the custom of Jerusalem was to burn so much of the elements as was not consumed: and he asked, what it was that was burnt? One answered, it was either the body of Christ, or the substance of bread put there by miracle: at which he smiled, and said a reply was needless. When much discourse had passed, Weston asked if the House were not fully satisfied? To which the Clergy answered, Yes; but the spectators cried out, No, no; for the doors were opened: then Weston asked the five disputants, if they would answer the arguments that should be put to them? Ailmer said, they would not enter into such a disputation, where matters were so indecently carried: they proposed only the reasons

why they could not join with the vote that had been put concerning the Sacrament; but unless they had fairer judges, they would go no further. Weston broke up all by saying, *You have the word, but we have the sword*; rightly pointing out that wherein the strength of both sides consisted. It is not to be doubted, but that the Popish party pretended they had the victory, for that always the strongest side does upon such occasions: yet it was visible that this dispute was not so fairly carried, as those were in King Edward's days; in which for near a year before any change was made, there were public disputes in the universities, which were more proper places for them, than a town full of noise and business. The question was also here determined first, and then disputed: and the presence and favour of the Privy Council did as much raise the one party, as it depressed the other. In the end of this year, Vesey was again repossessed of the see of Exeter, Coverdale being now a prisoner in the Tower.

BOOK
III.

1553.

In the beginning of the next year a great embassy came from the Emperor, to agree the conditions of the marriage between his son and the Queen. Gardiner took care to have extraordinary ones granted, both to induce the Parliament more easily to consent to it, and to keep the Spaniards from being admitted to any share in the government, that so he might keep it in his own hands. But the Emperor was resolved to grant every thing that should be asked. It was agreed that the government should be entirely in the Queen, and that though Prince Philip was to be named in all writs, and his image was to be on the coin and seals, yet the Queen's hand alone was to give authority to every thing, without his. No Spaniard was to be capable of any office. No change was to be made in the law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of England against her will; nor might their issue go out of England but by consent of the nobility. The Queen was to have of jointure forty thousand pounds out of Spain, and twenty thou-

1554.

The treaty
of marriage
began.

BOOK
III.

1554.

Which
provokes
some to
rebel.

sand pounds out of the Netherlands: if the Queen had a son, he was to inherit Burgundy and the Netherlands, as well as England: if daughters only, they were to succeed to her crowns, and to have such portions from Spain, as was ordinary to be given to King's daughters: the Prince was to have no share in the government after her death: and the Queen might keep up her league with France, notwithstanding this match.

But this did not satisfy the nation, which looked on those offers only as baits to hook them into slavery. The severities of the Spanish government in all the provinces that were united to that crown, and the monstrous cruelties exercised in the West Indies, were much talked of; and it was said England must now preserve itself, or be for ever enslaved. Carew and Wyatt undertook to raise the country, the one in Cornwall, and the other in Kent; and the Duke of Suffolk promised to raise the midland counties: for the disposition to rise was general, and might have been fatal to the Queen, if there had been good heads to have led the people. But before it grew ripe the design was discovered, and upon that Sir Peter Carew fled to France.

Wyat's
rebellion.

Wyat gathered some men about him, and on the 25th of January he made proclamation at Maidstone, that he intended nothing but to preserve the nation from the yoke of strangers; and assured the people that all England would rise. The Sheriff of Kent required him, under pain of treason, to disperse his company; but he did not obey his summons. One Knevet raised a body of men about Tunbridge, and marched towards him, but was intercepted, and routed by a force commanded by the Duke of Norfolk, who was sent with two hundred horse, and six hundred Londoners to dissipate this insurrection; but some, that came over from Wyatt as deserters, persuaded the Londoners that it was a common cause, in which they were engaged, to maintain the liberty of the nation: so they all went over to Wyatt. Upon this, the Duke of Norfolk

retired back to London ; and Wyatt, who had kept himself under the defence of Rochester-bridge, advanced towards it. The Duke of Suffolk made a faint attempt to raise the country, but it did not succeed, and he was taken and brought to the Tower. The Queen sent the offer of a pardon to Wyatt and his men ; but that not being received by them, she sent some of her Council to treat with him. He was blown up with his small success, and moved that the Queen would come to the Tower of London, and put the command of it into his hands, till a new Council were settled about her ; so it appeared there was no treaty to be thought on. The Queen went into London, and made great protestations of her love to her people, and that she would not dispose of herself in marriage, but for the good of the nation. Wyatt was now four thousand strong, and came to Southwark, but could not force the bridge of London : he was informed the city would all rise, if he should come to their aid ; but he could not find boats for passing over to Essex, so he was forced to go to the bridge of Kingston. On the fourth of February he came thither, but found it cut ; yet his men mended it, and he got to Hyde Park next morning. His men were weary and disheartened, and now not above five hundred ; so that though the Queen's forces could easily have dispersed them, yet they let them go forward, that they might cast themselves into their hands. He marched through the Strand, and got to Ludgate, where he hoped to have found the gate opened ; but being disappointed, he turned back, and was forsaken by his men, so that a herald, without using any force, apprehended him at Temple Bar. It was on Ash-Wednesday, and the Queen had shewed such courage, that she would not stir from Whitehall, nor would she omit the devotions of that day ; and this success was looked on as a reward from heaven on her piety. This raw and ill-formed rebellion was as lucky for the ends of the Court, as if Gardiner had projected it ; for in a weak government an ill-digested insurrection raises

BOOK
III.

1554.

Lady Jane
Grey's exe-
cution.

the power of the Prince, and adds as much spirit to his friends as it depresses the faction against him; and it also gives a handle to do some things, for which it were not easy otherwise to find either colours or instruments. The Popish authors studied to cast the blame of this on the reformed preachers; but did not name any one of them that was in it: so it appears, that what some later writers have said of Poinet's having been in it is false; otherwise his name had certainly been put in the number of those that were attainted for it.

Upon this, it was resolved to proceed against Lady Jane Grey and her husband: she had lived six months in the daily meditations of death, so she was not much surprised at it. Fecknam, who was sent to prepare her for death, acknowledged that he was astonished at her calm behaviour, her great knowledge, and the extraordinary sense she had of religion. She wrote to her father to moderate his grief for her death, since it was great matter of joy to her that she was so near an end of her miseries, and the enjoyment of eternal glory. One Harding, that had been her father's chaplain, and a zealous preacher in King Edward's time, had now changed his religion: to him she wrote a long and pathetic letter, setting forth his apostasy, and the judgments of God which he might expect upon it. She sent her Greek New Testament to her sister, with a letter in Greek, recommending the study of that book to her, and chiefly the following it in her practice: these were the last exercises of this rare young person. She was at first much moved when she saw her husband led out to his execution; but recovered herself, when she considered how soon she was to follow him: and when he desired they might take leave of one another, she declined it; for she thought it would increase their grief and disorder: and continued so settled in her temper, that she saw his beheaded body carried to the chapel in the Tower, without expressing any visible concern about it. She was carried out next to a scaffold set up within the Tower, to hinder great

crowds from looking on a sight which was like to raise much compassion in the spectators. She confessed her sin, in taking an honour that was due to another, though it was a thing neither procured nor desired by her; and acknowledged her other sins against God; that she had loved herself and the world too much; and thanked God for making her afflictions a means to her repentance: she declared she died a true Christian, trusting only to the merits of Christ; then she repeated the fifty-first Psalm, and stretched out her head on the block, which, upon the signal given, was cut off. Her death was as much lamented, as her life had been admired. It affected Judge Morgan, that had pronounced the sentence, so much, that he run mad, and thought she still followed him. The Queen herself was troubled at it; for it was rather reason of state, than private resentment, that set her on to it.

Her father was soon after tried by his peers, and condemned and executed. He was the less pitied, because by his means his daughter was brought to her untimely end. Wyat was brought to his trial; he begged his life in a most abject manner; but he was condemned and executed, and so were fifty-eight more: six hundred of the rabble were appointed to come with ropes about their necks, and beg the Queen's pardon, which was granted them. A slander was cast on the Earl of Devonshire and Lady Elizabeth, as if they had set on the rising that was intended in the West. Wyat, in hopes of life, had accused them, but he did them justice at his death; yet they were both put in prison upon it. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was accused of the same crime, but after a long trial he was acquitted; yet his jury were hardly used, and severely fined. Sir John Cheek was sought for: so he fled beyond sea; but both he and Sir Peter Carew, hoping that Philip would be glad to signalize his first coming to England with acts of grace, rendered themselves to him: after that, Cheek was again taken in Flanders, upon a new suspicion, and, to deliver himself out of his trouble, he renounced his religion: but

BOOK
III.

1554.

The imposture of the spirit in the wall.

though he got his liberty upon that, yet he could never recover the quiet of his mind; so he languished for some time, and died.

There was at this time a base imposture discovered in London; one seemed to speak out of a wall, in a strange tone of voice. Great numbers flocked about the house, and several things, both relating to religion and the state, were uttered by it: but it was found to be one Elizabeth Crofts, who by the help of a whistle spoke those words through a hole in the wall. There was no other complice found but one Drake, and they both were made to do penance for it publicly at St. Paul's.

Injunctions sent to the Bishops.

Injunctions were now given to the Bishops, to execute such ecclesiastical laws as had been in force in King Henry's time: that in their courts they should proceed in their own names; that the oath of supremacy should be no more exacted: none suspected of heresy was to be put in orders: they were required to suppress heresy and heretics, and to turn out all married Clergymen, and to separate them from their wives: if they left their wives, they might put them in some other cure, or reserve a pension for them out of their livings: none that had vowed chastity was to be suffered to live with his wife: those that were ordained by the book set out in King Edward's time were to be confirmed by all the other rites then left out, and that was declared to be no valid ordination.

Many Bishops turned out.
Holgate,
Ferrar,
Bird, Bush,
Taylor,
Hooper,
Harley.

The Queen gave also a special commission to Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstall, Day, and Kitchin, to proceed against the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, and to deprive them of their bishoprics, for having contracted marriage, and thereby having broken their vows, and defiled their function. "She also authorized them to call before them the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, who held their bishoprics only during their good behaviour; and, since they had done things contrary to the laws of God, and the practice of the universal Church, to declare their bishoprics void, as they

"were indeed already void." And thus were seven of the reformed Bishops turned out at a dash. It was much censured, that those who had married according to a law then in force, which was now only repealed for the future, should be deprived for it: and this was a new severity; for in former times, when the Popes were most set against the marriage of the Clergy, it was put to their option, whether they would part with their wives, or with their benefices: but none were summarily deprived, as was now done. The other Bishops, without any form of process, or special matter objected to them, were turned out, by an act of mere arbitrary government. And all this was done by virtue of the Queen's being *Head of the Church*; which though she condemned as a sinful and sacrilegious power, yet she now employed it against those Bishops, whose sees were quickly filled with men in whom the Queen confided. Goodrick died this year: it seems he complied with the change now made, otherwise he that put the seal to Lady Jane's patents could not have escaped being questioned for it. He was an ambitious man, and so no wonder if earthly considerations prevailed more with him than a good conscience. Scory, who was Bishop of Chichester, renounced his wife, and did penance for his marriage; but soon after he fled beyond sea, and returned in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign: so that his compliance was the effect of his weakness and fears. Barlow resigned Bath and Wells, and a book of recantation was published in his name, containing severe reflections both on the Reformers, and on the Reformation itself: but it is not certain, whether it was writ by him, or was only a forgery put out in his name; for if he turned so heartily, as the strain of that book runs, it is not likely that he would have been put from his bishopric; but he fled beyond sea: yet it seems both Scory and he gave great offence by their behaviour; for though they were the only surviving reformed Bishops when Queen Elizabeth succeeded, yet they were so far from being promoted, that they were not so

BOOK
III.

1554.

much as restored to their former sees, but put in meaner ones. By all these deprivations and resignations there were sixteen new Bishops made, which made no small change in the face of the English Church. Now the old service was every where set up, in which Bonner made such haste, that before the royal assent was given to the bill for it, he began the old service and processions. The first opening of it was somewhat strange, for it being on St. Catharine's day, the choristers went up to the steeple, and sung the anthem there, according to the custom for that day. Great numbers of the Clergy were summarily deprived for being married; they were estimated by Parker to be twelve thousand, and most of them were judged upon common fame, without any process but a citation; and many being then in prison, yet were censured, and put out for contumacy, and held guilty. Many books were written against the marriage of the Clergy; and the accusing them of impurity and sensuality on that account was one of the chief topics used by the Popish Clergy, to disgrace the Reformers; which made some recriminate too indecently, and lay open the filthiness of the unmarried Clergy, and those that were called religious, who led most irregular lives; in particular, it was said, Bonner had no reason to be a friend to that state, for he was the bastard of a bastard, and his father, though a priest, begat him in adultery.

A new
Parliament.

On the 2d of April a Parliament met, but the most considerable members were beforehand corrupted by Gardiner, who gave them pensions, some two hundred, and others one hundred pounds a year for their voices. The first act that passed was declaratory, that all the prerogatives and limitations, which by law belonged to the Kings of England, were the same, whether the crown fell into the hands of a male or a female. The secret of this was little known; some were afraid there was an ill design in it, and that it being declared that she had all the authority which any of her progenitors ever had, it might be inferred from thence, that she

might pretend to a right of conquest, and so seize on the estates of the English, as William the Conqueror had done; but it was so conceived, that the Queen was put under the same limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the same prerogatives, with her progenitors: the secret of this was afterwards discovered. A projecting man, that had served Cromwell, and loved to meddle much, had been deeply engaged both in Lady Jane's business, and in the late insurrection, and was now in danger of his life; so he made application to the Emperor's ambassador, and by his means obtained his pardon. He offered a project, that the Queen should declare, that she succeeded to the crown by the common law, but was not tied by the statute law, which did only bind Kings, and therefore a Queen was not obliged by it: thus she might pretend to be a conqueror, and rule at pleasure; and by this means might restore both religion and the abbey-lands, and be under no restraint. This the ambassador brought to the Queen, and prayed her to keep it very secret: but she disliked it; yet she sent for Gardiner, and charged him to give her his opinion of it sincerely, as he would answer to God for it at the great day. He read it carefully, and told her, it was a most pernicious contrivance, and begged her not to listen to such platforms, which might be brought her by base sycophants: upon that she burnt the paper, and charged the ambassador not to bring her any more such projects. This gave Gardiner great apprehensions of the mischiefs that Spanish counsels might bring on the nation; and so he procured the act to be made, by which the Queen was bound by the law as much as her ancestors were. He also got an act to be passed, ratifying the articles of the marriage, with strong clauses for keeping the government entirely in the Queen's hands; that so Philip might not take it on him, as Henry the VIIIth had done, when he married the heir of the house of York: for, as he set up a title in his own name, and kept the government in his own hands; so the

BOOK
III.

1554.

A proposition to
make the
Queen
absolute.

BOOK
III.

1554.

Spaniards began to reckon a descent from John of Gaunt; which made Gardiner the more cautious. And it must be confessed, that the preserving the nation out of the hands of the Spaniards was almost only owing to his care and wisdom. The bishopric of Durham was again restored, after a vigorous resistance made by those of Gateside near Newcastle. The attainders of the Duke of Suffolk, and fifty-eight more, for the late rebellion, were confirmed. The Commons sent up four several bills against Lollards, one confirming the act of the six Articles, and others against erroneous opinions; but they were all laid aside by the Lords: for the corrupted members in the Lower House were officious to shew their zeal for Spain and Popery. Another bill was sent up by them, that the Bishop of Rome should have no authority to trouble any for possessing abbey-lands. But it was said, this was preposterous to begin with a limitation of the Pope's authority, before they had acknowledged that he had any power at all in England: and that would come in more properly, after they had reconciled the nation to him.

New dis-
putations
at Oxford
with Cran-
mer.

During this Parliament the Convocation sat; and that they might remove the objections that some made to the disputations at their last meeting, that the ablest men of the Reformers were kept in prison while that cause was debated, they sent a committee of their ablest men to Oxford, to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who were also sent thither. The points to be disputed about were transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass. When Cranmer was brought before them, and they exhorted him to return to the unity of the Church, he answered, that he was always for that unity which could consist with truth. They fell into a long dispute concerning the words of the institution; that they must be true, for Christ was truth, and was then making his testament. Many passages of the Fathers were also alleged against him: it was said, that he had translated many things falsely out of the Fathers in his book: and the pro-

locutor called him often an *unlearned and impudent man*. But he carried himself with that gravity and mildness, that many were observed to be much affected at it, and to weep. He vindicated his sincerity in his book; he shewed that figurative speeches were true; and when the figures were clearly understood, they were likewise plain: he said, the Sacrament was effectually and really Christ's body, as it was broken on the cross, that is, his passion effectually applied to us. The whole action was carried with such hissing and insulting, and ended with such shouts of triumph, as if Cranmer had been quite baffled, that it was visible there was nothing intended, but to abuse the ignorant people, and make them believe he was run down. Ridley was brought out next day: he began with deep protestations of his sincerity, and that he had changed the opinion he had been bred up in, merely upon the force of truth; he argued from the Scriptures, that speak of Christ's leaving the world, and sitting at the right hand of God, and that the Sacrament was a memorial, which good and bad might equally receive: that it was against the human nature to swallow down a living man; that this opinion was contrary to the humanity of Christ, and was a new doctrine unknown to the Fathers, and brought into the Church in the later ages. Smith argued against him, from Christ's appearing to St. Stephen and to St. Paul, that he might be in more places at once. Ridley said, Christ might either come down and appear to them, or a representation might be made of him, but he could not be both in heaven and earth at once. Many of Chrysostom's expressions were alleged; but he said, these were rhetorical figures, and to be explained by other plainer passages. The dispute was carried on with the same insultings that had been used the day before: and in conclusion, Weston the prolocutor said, they saw the obstinacy, vain glory, and inconstancy of that man, but they saw likewise the force of truth; so he bid them cry out with him, *Truth has the victory*: upon which that was

BOOK
III.

1554.

echoed over and over again by the whole assembly. Latimer was brought out next day : he told them he was fourscore years old, and not fit for disputing, so he would declare his opinion, and then leave them to say what they pleased. He thought the Sacrament was only a memorial of Christ ; all who fed on Christ had eternal life, and therefore that feeding could not be meant of the Sacrament, since both good and bad received it : he said, his memory was much impaired, but his faith was founded on the Word of God ; so that though he could not dispute well, yet his faith was firmly rooted. Upon this, there were extraordinary shouts raised, and during the whole debates, the noise and disorder was such, that it looked liker a country game, than a dispute among Divines ; four or five spoke oft at once, so that it was not possible to hear what they said, much less to answer it. The committee of the Convocation condemned them all as obstinate heretics, and declared them to be no members of the Church. They appealed from their sentence to the judgment of God, and expressed great joy in the hopes they had, they should glorify God by dying for his truth. Cranmer sent a petition to the Council, complaining of the disorder of these disputes, and of huddling them up in such haste, that it was visible nothing was intended by them, but to shuffle up things so, that the world might be more easily abused with the name of a disputation. But this was not delivered, for it was intended to keep up this boasting, that the champions of the Reformation were publicly baffled.

It was also resolved to carry some of the prisoners that were in London to Cambridge, and there to erect new trophies in the same manner they had done at Oxford. Upon this, three of the imprisoned Bishops, and seven Divines, signed a paper, in which they declared, that they would engage in no dispute except it were in writing, unless it were in the presence of the Queen, or the Council, or before either of the Houses of Parliament. It was visible, the design of disputing was

not to find out the truth, otherwise it had been done before these points had been so positively determined : but now there was no benefit to be expected by it ; nor could they look for fair dealing, where their enemies were to be their judges : nor would they suffer them to speak their minds freely ; and after so long an imprisonment, their books and papers being kept from them, they could not be furnished to answer many things that might be objected to them. Then they added a short account of their persuasions in the chief points of controversy, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal terms : and concluded with a charge to all people not to rebel against the Queen, but to obey all her commands that were not contrary to the law of God.

In July, Prince Philip landed at Southampton : when he set foot to land, he drew his sword, and carried it a little way naked in his hand. This was interpreted as a sign that he intended to rule by the sword ; but his friends said, it imported, that he would draw his sword for the defence of the nation. The Mayor of Southampton brought him the keys of the town, which he took from him, and gave them back, without the least shew of his being pleased with this expression of that respect done him. This not being suitable to the genius of the nation, that is much taken with the gracious looks of their princes, was thought a sign of vast pride and moroseness. The Queen met him at Winchester, where they were married ; he being then in the twenty-seventh, and she in the thirty-eighth year of her age. The Emperor resigned to him his titular kingdom of Jerusalem, and his more valuable one of Naples ; so they were proclaimed with a pompous enumeration of their titles. The King's gravity was very unacceptable to the English, who love a mean between the stiffness of the Spaniards and the gaiety of the French. But if they did not like his temper, they were out of measure in love with his bounty and wealth ; for he brought over a vast treasure with him, the greatest part of which was

The Prince of Spain lands, and marries the Queen.

BOOK
III.

1554.

distributed among those, who for his Spanish gold had sold their country and religion. At his coming to London, he procured the pardon of many prisoners, and among others, of Holgate Archbishop of York, of whom I find no mention made after this. It is very likely he changed his religion, otherwise it is not probable that Philip would have interceded for him. He also interposed for preserving Lady Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonshire. Gardiner was much set against them, and thought they made but half work as long as she lived. Wyat had accused them, in hopes of saving his life; but when that did not preserve him, he did publicly vindicate them on the scaffold. The Earl of Devonshire, to be freed from all jealousy, went beyond sea, and died a year after in Italy, as some say, of poison. Philip at first took care to preserve Lady Elizabeth on a generous account, pitying her innocence, and hoping by so acceptable an act of favour to recommend himself to the nation: but interest did soon after fortify those good and wise inclinations; for when he grew to be out of hope of issue by the Queen, he considered that the Queen of Scotland, who was soon after married to the Dauphin, was next in succession after Lady Elizabeth: so if she should be put out of the way, the crown of England would have become an accession to the French crown; and therefore he took care to preserve her; and perhaps he hoped to have wrought so much on her by the good offices he did her, that if her sister should die without children, she might be induced to marry him. But this was the only grateful thing he did in England. He affected so extravagant a state, and was so sullen and silent, that it was not easy for any to come within the court; and access to him was not to be had, without demanding it with almost as much formality as ambassadors used when they desired an audience: so that a general discontent was quickly spread into most places of the kingdom; only Gardiner was well pleased, for the conduct of affairs was put entirely in his hands. Many malicious reports were

spread of the Queen, particularly in Norfolk : at one of these the Queen was much concerned, which was, that she was with child before the King came over ; but after great examinations, nothing could be made out of it.

BOOK
III.

1554.

The Bishops went to make their visitations this summer, to see whether the old service, with all its rites, was again set up ; they also enquired concerning the lives and labours of the Clergy, of their marriage, and their living chastely ; whether they were suspected of heresy, or of favouring heretics ? whether they went to taverns or alehouses ? whether they admitted any to officiate, that had been ordained schismatically, before they were reconciled ; or to preach, if they had not obtained a license ? whether they visited the sick, and administered the Sacraments reverently ? whether they were guilty of merchandize or usury ? and whether they did not once every quarter, at least, expound to the people the elements of the Christian religion in the vulgar tongue ? They did not proceed steadily in relation to the ordinations made in King Edward's time ; for at this time all that they did was to add the ceremonies that were then left out in the Book of Ordinations ; but afterwards they carried themselves as if they had esteemed those orders of no force ; and therefore they did not degrade those Bishops or Priests that had been ordained by it : nor has the Church of Rome been steady in this matter ; for though upon some schisms they have annulled all ordinations made in them ; yet they have not annulled the ordinations of the Greek Church, though they esteem the Greeks both heretics and schismatics. Thus there were many questions put in among the articles of the visitation ; yet these were asked only for form ; the main business was heresy, and the performing all offices according to the old customs : and the least failing in these matters was more severely enquired after, and more exemplarily punished, than far greater offences. Bonner carried himself like a madman ; and it was said by his friends, to excuse the violences of his rage, that his

The Bishops
visit their
dioceses.

BOOK
III.

1554.

brains were a little disordered by his long imprisonment: for if either the bells had not rung when he came near any church, or if he had not found the Sacrament exposed, he was apt to break out into the foulest language: and not content with that, he was accustomed to beat his Clergy, when he was displeased with any thing; for he was naturally cruel and brutal. He took care to have those places of Scripture, that had been painted on the walls of the churches, to be washed off: and upon this it was said, that it was necessary to dash out the Scripture, to make way for images, for they agreed so ill, that they could not decently stand together. Many mock poems and satires were flying up and down; but none was more provoking, than one that followed on an accident at St. Paul's on Easter-day. The custom was to lay the Host in the sepulchre at even-song on Good-Friday, and to take it out on Easter morning; and the choir sung these words, *He is risen, he is not here*, when it was taken out: but when they looked to take it out, they found it was not there indeed, for one had stolen it away; but another was quickly brought; so a ballad was made, that their God was lost, but a new one was put in his room. Great pains were taken to discover the author of this, but he was not found.

Another
Parliament.

The Queen's third Parliament met on the 11th of November: in the writ of summons the Queen's title of *Supreme Head* was left out, though she had hitherto not only used the name, but had assumed the power imported by it, to a high degree. Pole was now suffered to come so near as Flanders: and the temper of the Parliament being quickly found to be favourable to the work he came for, the Queen sent two Lords, Paget and Hastings, for him. Both King and Queen rode in state to Westminster, and each had a sword of state carried before them. The first bill that passed was a repeal of Pole's attainder; it was read by the Commons three times in one day; and the bill was passed without making a session by a short prorogation. He came over, and entered privately to London on the 24th of Novem-

ber; for the Pope's authority not being yet acknowledged, he could not be received as a legate. His instructions were full, besides the authority commonly lodged with legates; which consists chiefly in the many graces and dispensations that they are empowered to grant; though it might be expected, that they should come rather to see the canons obeyed, than broken: only the more scandalous abuses were still reserved to the Popes themselves, whose special prerogative it has always been, to be the most eminent transgressors of all canons and constitutions.

BOOK
III.

1554.

Pole made his first speech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the name of the common Pastor, inviting them to return to the sheepfold of the Church. The Queen felt a strange emotion of joy within her, as he made his speech, which she thought was a child quickened in her belly; and the flattering court ladies heightened her belief of it. The Council ordered Bonner to sing *Te Deum*; and there were bonfires, and all other public demonstrations of joy, upon it. The Priests said, that here was another John Baptist to come, that leaped in his mother's belly upon the salutation from Christ's Vicar. Both Houses agreed on an address to the King and Queen, that they would intercede with the legate, to reconcile them to the see of Rome; and they offered to repeal all the laws they had made against the Pope's authority, in sign of their repentance. Upon this the Cardinal came to the Parliament. He first thanked them for repealing his attainder, in recompense of which he was now to reconcile them to the body of the Church. He made a long speech, of the conversion of the Britons and Saxons to the faith, and of the obedience they had paid to the Apostolic see; and of the many favours that see had granted the crown, of which none was more eminent than the title of *Defender of the Faith*. The ruin of the Greek Church, and the distractions of Germany, and the confusions themselves had been in since they departed from the unity of the Church, might convince them of the necessity

The nation
is reconciled to the
see of
Rome.

BOOK
III.

1554.

of keeping that bond entire. In conclusion, he gave them and the whole nation a plenary absolution. The rest of the day was spent in singing *Te Deum*, and the night in bonfires. The act, repealing all laws made against the Pope's authority, was quickly passed; only it stuck a little, by reason of a proviso, which the House of Lords put in for some lands which the Lord Wentworth had of the see of London, which the Commons opposed so much, that after the bill was offered to the royal assent, it was cut out of the parchment by Gardiner. "They did
 " enumerate and repeal all acts made since the 20th
 " of Hen. VIII. against the Pope's authority; but
 " all foundations of bishoprics and cathedrals, all
 " marriages, though contrary to the laws of the
 " Church, all institutions, all judicial processes, and
 " the settlements made either of church or abbey
 " lands, were confirmed. The Convocation of Can-
 " terbury had joined their intercession with the
 " Cardinal, that he would confirm the right of the
 " present possessors of those lands: upon which he
 " did confirm them; but he added a heavy charge,
 " requiring those that had any of the goods of the
 " Church, to remember the judgments of God that
 " fell on Belshazzar, for profaning the holy vessels,
 " though they were not taken away by himself, but
 " by his father; and that, at least, they would take
 " care, that such as served the cures should be suffi-
 " ciently maintained: all which was put in the act,
 " and confirmed by it; and it was declared, that all
 " suits concerning those lands were to be tried in
 " the civil courts; and that it should be a *præmu-
 " nire*, if any went about to disturb the possessors,
 " by the pretence of an ecclesiastical power. They
 " also declared, that the title of *Supreme Head of
 " the Church* did never of right belong to the crown;
 " and enacted that it should be left out of writs in
 " all time coming. All exemptions granted to mo-
 " nasteries, and now continued in lay-hands, were
 " taken away, and all churches were made subject to
 " episcopal jurisdiction, except Westminster, Wind-
 " sor, and the Tower of London. The statute of

“ Mortmain was repealed for twenty years to come,
 “ and all things were brought back to the state in
 “ which they were in the twentieth year of King
 “ Henry’s reign.” The Lower House of Convoca-
 tion gave occasion to many clauses in this act, by a
 petition which they made to the Upper House,
 “ consenting to the settlement made of church and
 “ abbey lands; and praying that the statute of Mort-
 “ main might be repealed, and that all the tithes
 “ might be restored to the Church. They pro-
 “ posed also some things in relation to religion, for
 “ the condemning and burning all heretical books,
 “ and that great care should be had of the printing
 “ and venting of books; that the Church should be
 “ restored to its former jurisdiction, that pluralities
 “ and non-residence might be effectually con-
 “ demned, and all simoniacal pactions punished;
 “ that the Clergy might be discharged of paying
 “ first-fruits and tenths; that exemptions might be
 “ taken away; that all the Clergy should go in their
 “ habits, and that they should not be sued in a
 “ *præmunire*, till a prohibition were first served,
 “ and disobeyed, that so they might not be sur-
 “ prised and ruined a second time.” By another
 bill all former acts made against Lollards were re-
 vived. The Commons offered another bill for void-
 ing all leases made by married Priests, but it was
 laid aside by the Lords. Thus were the pensioners
 and aspiring men in the House of Commons either
 redeeming former faults, or hoping to merit highly
 by the forwardness of their zeal. By another bill
 several things were made treason: and “ it was de-
 “ clared, that if the Queen died before the King,
 “ and left any children, the King should have the
 “ government in his hands till they were of age;
 “ and during that time the conspiring his death was
 “ made treason; but none were to be tried for
 “ words, but within six months after they were
 “ spoken. Another act passed, declaring it treason
 “ in any to pray for the Queen’s death, unless they
 “ repented of it, and in that case they were to
 “ suffer corporal punishment at the Judge’s discre-

BOOK
III.

1554.

Gardiner's
policy in
the steps of
this change.

tion. A severe act was also passed against all that spread lying reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great officers." Some were to lose their hands, others their ears, and others were to be fined according to the degree of their offence.

And thus all affairs were carried in Parliament as well as the Court could wish: and upon this, Gardiner's reputation was much raised, for bringing about so great a change in so little time, with so little opposition. He took much pains to remove all the objections that were generally made use of: they were chiefly two; the one was the fear of coming under such tyranny from Rome as their ancestors had groaned under; and the other was the loss of the abbey-lands. But to the first he said, that all the old laws against provisions from Rome should still continue in force: and to shew them that legates should exercise no dangerous authority in England, he made Pole take out a license, under the Great Seal, for his legatine power. As for the other, he promised both an act of Parliament, and Convocation, confirming them, and undertook that the Pope should ratify these, as well as his legate did now consent to them. But to all this it was answered, that if the nation were again brought under the old superstition, and the Papal authority established, it would not be possible to bridle that power, which would be no longer kept within limits, if once they became masters again, and brought the world under a blind obedience. It was objected, that the church-lands must be certainly taken back, it was not likely the Pope would confirm the alienation of them; but though he should do it, yet his successors might annul that as sacrilegious. And it was observed in the charge which Pole gave to all to make restitution, and by the repeal of the statute of Mortmain, that it was intended to possess the nation with an opinion of the unlawfulness of keeping those lands; which would probably work much on men that were near death, and could not resist the terrors of purgatory, or perhaps of hell, for the sin of sacri-

lege; and so would be easily induced to make restitution of them, especially at such a time when they were not able to possess them any longer themselves.

BOOK
III.

1554.

Consulations about
the way of
proceeding
against he-
retics.

Now the Parliament was at an end; and the first thing taken into consideration was, what way they ought to proceed against the heretics. Pole had been suspected to bear some favour to them formerly, but he took great care to avoid all occasions of being any more blamed for that; and indeed he lived in that distrust of all the English, that he opened his thoughts to very few: for his chief confidants were two Italians that came over with him, Priuli and Ormaneto. Secretary Cecil, who in matters of religion complied with the present time, was observed to have more of his favour than any Englishman had. Pole was an enemy to all severe proceedings; he thought Churchmen should have the tenderness of a father, and the care of a shepherd, and ought to reduce, but not devour the stray sheep: he had observed that cruelty rather inflamed than cured that distemper: he thought the better and surer way was to begin with an effectual reformation of the manners of the Clergy, since it was the scandals given by their ill conduct and ignorance that was the chief cause of the growth of heresy: so he concluded, that if a primitive discipline should be revived, the nation would by degrees lay down their prejudices, and might in time be gained by gentle methods. Gardiner, on the other hand, being of an abject and cruel temper himself, thought the strict execution of the laws against the Lollards was that to which they ought chiefly to trust: if the preachers were made public examples, he concluded the people would be easily reclaimed: for he pretended, that it was visible, if King Henry had executed the act of the six Articles vigorously, all would have submitted. He confessed a reformation of the Clergy was a good thing, but all times could not bear it: if they should proceed severely against scandalous Churchmen, the heretics would take advantage from that to defame the Church the more,

BOOK and raise a clamour against all Clergymen. Gar-
 III. diner's spite was at this time much whetted by the
 reprinting of his book of true Obedience, which was
 1554. done at Strasburg, and sent over. In it he had
 called King Henry's marriage with Queen Catha-
 rine, *incestuous*, and had justified his divorce, and
his second marriage with his most godly and virtuous
wife, Queen Anne. This was a severe exposing of
 him; but he had brow enough, and bore down these
 reproaches, by saying, *Peter had denied his master.*
 But others said, that such a compliance of twenty-
 five years continuance was very unjustly compared
 to a sudden denial, that was presently expiated with
 so sincere a repentance. The Queen was for join-
 ing both these councils together, and intended to
 proceed at the same time both against scandalous
 churchmen and heretics. After the Parliament was
 over, there was a solemn procession of many Bishops
 and Priests, Bonner carrying the Host, to thank
 God for reconciling the nation again to St. Peter's
 chair; and it having been done on St. Andrew's
 day, that was appointed to be an anniversary, and
 was called, *The feast of the Reconciliation.*

1555. But soon after began the persecution; Rogers,
 persecu- Hooper, Taylor, Bradford, and seven more, were
 tion set on brought before the Council, and asked one by one,
 foot. if they would return to the union of the Catholic
 Church, and acknowledge the Pope: but they all
 answered resolutely, that they had renounced the
 Pope's power, as all the Bishops had also done:
 they were assured he had no authority, but over his
 own diocese, for the first four ages; so they could
 not submit to his tyranny. Gardiner told them,
 mercy was now offered them; but if they rejected
 it, justice would be done next: so they were all
 sent back to prison, except one, who had great
 friends; so he was only asked, if he would be an
 honest man, and upon that promise was dismissed.
 They began with Rogers, whose imprisonment was
 formerly mentioned. Many had advised him to
 make his escape, and fly to Germany: but he would

not do it, though a family of ten children was a great temptation.

BOOK
III.

Both he and Hooper were brought before Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstall, and three other Bishops. They asked them, whether they would submit to the Church, or not? But they answered, that they looked on the Church of Rome as Antichristian. Gardiner said, that was a reproach on the Queen. Rogers said, they honoured the Queen, and looked for no ill at her hands, but as she was set on to it by them. Upon that Gardiner and the other Bishops declared, that so far were they from setting on the Queen to the executing of the law, that she commanded them to do it; and this was confirmed by two Privy Counsellors that were present. In conclusion, they gave them time till next morning to consider what they would do, and then they continuing firm, they declared them obstinate heretics, and degraded them: but they did not esteem Hooper a Bishop, so he was only degraded from the order of priesthood. Rogers was not suffered to see his wife nor his children; yet so little did this terrible sentence fright him, that the morning of his execution he was so fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened: he was carried from Newgate to Smithfield on the 4th of February; a pardon was offered him at the stake if he would recant, but he refused it on such terms; and said, he would not exchange a quick fire for everlasting burnings; but declared that he resigned up his life with joy, as a testimony to the doctrine which he had preached. Hooper was sent to Gloucester, at which he rejoiced, for he hoped by his death to confirm many there. He spake to several whom he had formerly known: some of them, in compassion to him, wept by him; which made him shed tears; but he said, all he had suffered in his imprisonment had not moved him to do so much. He was burnt on the 9th of February: a pardon was also offered him at the stake, but to no effect. A great wind blew while he was burning, and hindered the flame to rise up and choke him, or destroy his vitals; so that he was near three

1555.

Rogers and
Hooper
condemned
and burnt.

BOOK
III.

1555.

quarters of an hour in great torment; but he continued still calling on God; his last words were, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* Saunders, who had been Minister at Coventry, and Taylor, that was Minister at Hadley, were at the same time condemned, and sent to be burnt at the places where they had served; the former was first committed for preaching without license, after the Queen's prohibition; and the latter for making opposition to some priests, that broke violently into his church, and said mass in it. Gardiner was in hope, that these four executions being made in several parts of England, would have struck so general a terror in the whole party, that there would have been little occasion for further severities: but when he saw six more were soon after apprehended on the same account, and that the spirits of those called heretics were now rather inflamed than depressed, he resolved to meddle no more in those trials; and turned over that invidious matter to Bonner, whose temper was so cruel, that he undertook it cheerfully.

The burning much
condemned.

These severities were very hateful to the nation. It was observed, that, in King Edward's time, those that opposed the laws were only turned out of their benefices, and some few of them were put in prison; but now men were put in prison on trifling pretences, and kept there till laws were made, by which they were condemned merely for their opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to law. One piece of cruelty was also singular: when the Council sent away those that were to be burnt in the country, they threatened to cut out their tongues, if they would not promise to make no speeches to the people; which they, to avoid that butchery, were forced to promise. Some made reflections on the length and sharpness of Hooper's torment, as a punishment on him for the contest he had raised in the Church about the vestments. Ridley and he had been entirely reconciled, and writ very affectionate letters to one another. The sense they had of those differences, when they were preparing for another world, and that bitter passage through which

they were to go to it, ought to inspire all others with more moderate thoughts in such matters. Those that loved the Reformation were now possessed with great aversion to the Popish party; and the whole body of the nation grew to dislike this cruelty, and came to hate King Philip for it. Gardiner and the other counsellors had openly said, that the Queen set them on to it; so the blame of it was laid on the King, the sourness of whose temper, together with his bigotry in matters of religion, made it seem reasonable to charge him with it. He finding that this was like to raise such prejudices against him, as might probably spoil his design of making himself master of England, took care to vindicate himself; so his confessor Alphonsus, a Franciscan, preached a sermon at Court, against the taking of people's lives for opinions in religion; and inveighed against the Bishops for doing it: by this, the blame of it was turned back on them, and this made them stop for some weeks; but at last they resolved rather to bear the blame of the persecution avowedly, than not to go on in it.

BOOK
III.

1555.

At this time a petition was printed beyond sea, by which the Reformers addressed themselves to the Queen. They set before her the danger of her being carried by a blind zeal to destroy the members of Christ, as St. Paul had done before his conversion. They remembered her of Cranmer's interposing to preserve her life in her father's time. They cited many passages out of the books of Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall, by which she might see that they were not acted by true principles of conscience, but were turned as their fears or interests led them. They shewed her how contrary persecution was to the spirit of the Gospel; that Christians tolerated Jews; and that Turks, notwithstanding the barbarity of their tempers, and the cruelty of their religion, yet tolerated Christians. They remembered her, that the first law for burning in England was made by Henry IV. as a reward to the Bishops, who had helped him to depose Richard the Second, and so to mount to the throne. They represented

Arguments
against
them.

BOOK
III.

1555.

to her, that God had trusted her with the sword, which she ought to employ for the protection of her people, and was not to abandon them to the cruelty of such wolves. The petition also turned to the nobility, and the rest of the nation; and the danger of a Spanish yoke and a bloody inquisition were set before them. Upon this, the Popish authors wrote several books in justification of those proceedings. They observed that the Jews were commanded to put blasphemers to death; and said, the heretics blasphemed the body of Christ, and called it only a piece of bread. It became Christians to be more zealous for the true religion, than heathens were for the false. St. Peter by a divine power struck Ananias and Sapphira dead. Christ in the parable said, *Compel them to enter in.* St. Paul said, *I would they were cut off that trouble you.* St. Austin was once against all severities in such cases, but changed his mind when he saw the good effects that some banishments and fines had on the Donatists: that on which they insisted most, was the burning of Anabaptists in King Edward's time. So they were now fortified in their cruel intentions, and resolved to spare none, of what age, sex, or condition soever they might be.

Bonner kept one Tomkins, a weaver, some months in his house, who was found to doubt of the presence in the Sacrament: he used divers violences to him, as the tearing out the hair of his beard, and the holding a candle to his hand till the veins and sinews burst; and these not prevailing to make him change, he was at last burnt in Smithfield. One Hunter, an apprentice, not above nineteen years old, was condemned and burnt on the same account. Bonner was so much concerned to preserve him, that he offered him forty pounds to change: so mercenary did he think other men's consciences were, measuring them probably by his own. Two gentlemen, Causton and Higbed, one Lawrence a priest, and two meaner persons, were burnt near their own houses in Essex. The method in these, and in all the other proceedings, during the rest of this reign,

was summary, and *ex officio*: upon complaints made, persons were imprisoned, and articles containing the points for which they were suspected were offered to them, which they were required to answer; and if their answers were heretical, they were burnt for them, without any thing being objected to them, or proved against them. Ferrar, who had been Bishop of St. David's, was dealt with in the same manner by his successor Morgan. When he was condemned, he appealed to Cardinal Pole; but that had no other effect, save that his execution was stopped three weeks. Rawlins White, a poor fisherman, was condemned by the Bishop of Llandaff, and afterwards burnt: Marsh, a priest, was burnt at Chester; and to the ordinary cruelty of burning, they added a new invention of pouring melted pitch on his head. One Flower, a rash and furious man, wounded a priest at St. Margaret's, Westminster, as he was officiating; for which, being seized on, and found to be an heretic, he was condemned and burnt. The fact was disapproved by all the reformed, and he became sincerely penitent for it before he died. After this, for some weeks, there was a stop put to those severities.

The Queen about this time sent for her treasurer, and some of the other officers of her revenue, and told them, that she thought herself bound in conscience to restore all the lands of the Church that were then in her hands: she thought they were unlawfully acquired, and that they could not be held by her without a sin; therefore she declared she would have them disposed of as Cardinal Pole should think fit. Some imputed this to a bull set out by the Pope, excommunicating all that kept any lands belonging to abbeys or churches: this alarmed many in England; but Gardiner pacified them, and told them, that bull was made only for Germany, and that no bull did bind in England till it was received. But this did not satisfy inquisitive people; for a sin in Germany was likewise a sin in England; and if the Pope's authority came from Christ, it ought to take place every where equally.

The Queen restores the church-lands.

BOOK
III.

1555.
Marcellus
chosen
Pope. Paul
the Fourth
succeeds.

Pope Julius died in March, and Marcellus was chosen to succeed him: he turned his thoughts wholly to the reformation of abuses: he suffered none of his nephews, nor kindred, to come to Court, and resolved effectually to put down non-residence and pluralities: but he found it very difficult to bring about the good designs he had projected, and that the Pope's power was such, that it was more easy for him to do mischief than good; which made him once cry out, that he did not see how any could be saved that sat in that chair. These things wrought so much on him, that he sickened within twelve days of his election, and died ten days after that. Upon his death, the Queen endeavoured to engage the French to consent to the promotion of Cardinal Pole, which she did without his knowledge or approbation: but at Rome they were so apprehensive of another Pope set on reformations, that they made haste in their choice, and set up Caraffa, called Paul the Fourth, who was the most extravagantly ambitious and insolent Pope that had reigned of a great while.

The Eng-
lish ambas-
sadors come
to Rome.

On the day of his election, the English ambassadors entered Rome in great state, having in their train one hundred and forty horse of their own attendants; but the Pope would not admit them to an audience, till they had accepted of a grant of the title of the kingdom of Ireland; for he pretended it belonged only to him to confer those titles. The ambassadors, it seems, knew it was the Queen's mind that they should in every thing submit to the Pope, and so took that grant from him. Their public audience was given in great solemnity, in which the Pope declared, that, in token of his pardoning the nation, "he had added to the crown the title of the kingdom of Ireland, by that supreme power which God had given him to destroy or to build kingdoms at his pleasure. But in private discourse he complained much, that the abbey-lands were not restored. He said it was beyond his power to confirm sacrilege; and all were obliged, under the pains of damnation, to restore to the last far-

" thing every thing that belonged to the Church :
 " he said likewise, that he would send over a col-
 " lector to gather the Peter-pence ; for they could
 " not expect that St. Peter would open heaven to
 " them, so long as they denied him his rights upon
 " earth." These were heavy tidings to the Lord
 Mountacute, (Sir Anthony Brown,) whose estate
 consisted chiefly of abbey-lands, that was one of the
 ambassadors. But the Pope would endure no con-
 tradiction, and repeated this every time they came
 to him.

BOOK
 III.

1555.

In England, orders were sent to the justices to
 look narrowly to the preachers of heresy, and to
 have secret spies in every parish, for giving them
 information of all people's behaviour. This was im-
 puted to the sourness of Spanish counsels, and
 seemed to be taken from that base practice of the
 Roman Emperors, that had their informers, (or
delatores,) that went into all companies, and accom-
 modated themselves to all men's tempers, till they
 had drawn them into some discourses against the
 state, and thereby ruined them. People grew so
 averse to cruelty, that Bonner himself finding how
 odious he was become, and observing the slackness
 of the other Bishops, refused to meddle any fur-
 ther, and burnt none in five weeks time : upon
 which the Queen writ to him, and required him to
 do the office of a good pastor, and either to reclaim
 the heretics, or to proceed against them according
 to law : and he quickly shewed how ready he was
 to mend his pace, upon such an admonition.

The English
 grow back-
 ward in the
 persecu-
 tion.

In the beginning of May the Court was in expec-
 tation of the Queen's delivery. The envoys were
 named, that were to carry the good news to the
 neighbouring Courts : the tidings of it did fly over
 England, and *Te Deum* was sung upon it in several
 cathedrals. But it proved to be a false conception,
 and all hopes of issue by her vanished. This tended
 much to alienate King Philip from her ; and he
 finding it more necessary to look after his hereditary
 crowns, than to stay in England, where he had no

The Queen's
 delivery in
 vain looked
 for.

BOOK
III.

1555.
More here-
tics burnt.

hopes of making himself master, left her, and that increased her melancholy.

New fires were kindled. Cardmaker, that had been a prebendary at Bath, and Warne, a tradesman, were burnt in Smithfield in May. The body of one that suffered for robbery, but at his execution said somewhat savouring of heresy, was burnt for it. Seven were burnt in several parts of Essex. They were condemned by Bonner, and sent down to be burnt near the places of their abode. The Council writ to the great men of the country, to gather many together, and assist at those spectacles: and when they heard that some had come of their own accord to the burnings at Colchester, they writ to the Lord Rich to give their thanks to those persons for their zeal; so dexterously did they study to cherish a spirit of cruelty among the people. Bradford, who had been committed soon after he had saved Bourne in the tumult at Saint Paul's, had been condemned with the rest, and was preserved till July. He was so much considered, that Heath, Archbishop of York, and Day, Bishop of Chichester, Weston and Harpsfield, with the King's Confessor, and Alphonsus à Castro, went to see if they could prevail on him, and had long conferences with him in prison, but all to no purpose. Bourne was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his brother was Secretary of State; but though Bradford had preserved his life, yet he neither came to visit him, nor did he interpose for his life; on the contrary, it was objected to Bradford, that by his carriage in suppressing that tumult, it appeared that he had set it on: but he appealed to God, who saw how unworthily they returned him evil for good: and he appealed to Bourne, who was sitting among the Bishops that judged him, if he had not prayed him for the passion of Christ to endeavour his preservation, and if he had not done it at the hazard of his own life: but Bourne, as he was ashamed to accuse him, so he had not the honesty nor the courage to vindicate him. A young apprentice was burnt with him, whom he encouraged much in his sufferings, and in

transports of joy he hugged the faggots that were laid about him. Thornton, Harpsfield, and others, set on a persecution at Canterbury, though Cardinal Pole was averse to it, but he durst not now discover so much; for the Pope had an inveterate hatred to him, and was resolved upon the first occasion to recall him; and for that end he entered into a correspondence with Gardiner, who hoped thereby to have been made a Cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury: and upon the hopes he had of that, he still preserved Cranmer; for though he was now condemned for heresy, yet the see was not esteemed void till he was formally degraded. Some said it was fit to begin with him, that had been the chief promoter of heresy in England. But Gardiner said, it was better to try if it could be possible to shake him, for it would be a great blow to the whole party, if he could be wrought on to forsake it; whereas if he should be burnt, and should die with such resolution as others expressed, it would much raise the spirits of his followers. The see of Canterbury was now only sequestered in Pole's hands, and he being afraid of falling under the Pope's rage, was willing to let the cruel prebendaries do what they pleased. They burnt two priests and two laymen at Canterbury, and sent a man and a woman to be burnt in other places in Kent. Two that belonged to the dioceses of Winchester and Chichester were condemned by Bonner, and were burnt near the places of their abode. There were at this time several pretended discoveries of plots both in Derbyshire and Essex: and orders were given to draw confessions from some that were apprehended, by torture; but the thing was let fall, for it was grounded only on the surmises of the Clergy.

The Queen was this year rebuilding the house of the Franciscans at Greenwich, and had recalled Peyto and Elston, of which mention was made, Book I. The one she made her confessor, and the other was to be guardian of that house. The people expressed such hatred of them, that, as they were passing upon the river, some threw stones at them:

Religious
houses set
up.

BOOK
III.1555.
More's
works
published.

but they that did it could not be discovered. Judge Rastal published Sir Thomas More's works at this time; but, as was formerly observed, he left out his letter concerning the Nun of Kent; though it lies among his other letters, in that very manuscript out of which he published them. He prefixed nothing concerning More's life to his works, which makes it highly probable that he never writ it; for this was the proper time and place for publishing it, if he had ever writ it. So that manuscript life of More's, pretended to be writ by him, out of which many things have been quoted since that time, to the disgrace of King Henry, and Anne Boleyn, must be a later forgery contrived in spite to Queen Elizabeth. "The Queen did now go on with her intentions, of founding religious houses out of those abbey-lands that were still in the crown. She recommended it also to the Council's care, that every where there might be good preaching, and that there might be a visitation of the Universities. She desired that justice might be done on the heretics in such a manner, that the people might be well satisfied about it; and pressed them to take care that there might be no pluralities in England, and that the preachers might give good example, as well as make good sermons."

The burnings went on: seven were burnt in August in several places; six more were burnt in one fire at Canterbury, and four were burnt in other places, but the particular days are not marked. In September five were burnt at Canterbury, and seven in other places. In October two were burnt at Ely, by Shaxton's means, who now completed his apostasy by his cruelty. The 16th of that month became remarkable by the sufferings of Ridley and Latimer. Three Bishops, Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, were sent with a commission from Cardinal Pole to proceed against them. Ridley said he paid great respect to Pole, as he was of the royal family, and esteemed him much for his learning and virtues; but as he was the Pope's legate, he would

Ridley and
Latimer
are burnt.

express no reverence to him, nor would uncover himself before any that acted by authority from him. The Bishop of Lincoln exhorted him "to return to the obedience of the see of St. Peter, on whom Christ had founded his Church, to which the ancient Fathers had submitted, and which himself had once acknowledged." He began his answer with a protestation, "that he did not thereby submit to the authority of the Pope or his legate: he said Christ had founded his Church not on St. Peter, but on the faith which he had confessed: the Bishops of Rome had been held in great esteem, but that was either on the account of their personal worth, or by reason of the dignity of the city. He confessed he had once been involved in that superstition; but St. Paul was once a blasphemer: and he had discovered such errors in that see, that he would never acknowledge it any more." Latimer adhered to what he said. A night's respite was granted them, but they continuing stedfast next day, they were condemned as obstinate heretics, and delivered to the secular arm, and the writs were set down for their burning. They prepared themselves for it with such patience and cheerfulness, as very much amazed their keepers. As they were led out, they looked up to Cranmer's window; but he was not in it, for he was then held in dispute by some Friars; yet he looked after them with a very tender sense of their condition, and prayed earnestly to God to assist them in their sufferings. When they came to the stake, they embraced and encouraged one another. Smith preached on those words, *If I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, it profiteth nothing*: and he compared their dying for heresy, to Judas's that hanged himself. Ridley desired leave to answer some points in his sermon; but it was told him, that he was not to be suffered to speak, except he intended to recant: so he turned himself to God, when he saw men were resolved to be so unreasonable to him. He sent a desire to the Queen, in behalf of the tenants of

BOOK
III.

1555.

the bishopric of London, from whom he had taken fines, for which he had renewed their leases; and prayed that either their leases might be confirmed, or that their fines might be restored out of his goods, which had been seized on when he was first put in prison: after both had prayed, and undressed themselves, the fire was kindled. Some gunpowder was hanged about their necks, and that being fired put Latimer quickly out of his pain: but Ridley had a more lingering torment; for they threw on so much wood, that it was long before the flame broke through it, and his legs were almost wholly consumed before the flame choked him. Thus did these two Bishops end their days and their ministry: the one was esteemed to be the ablest of all that advanced the Reformation, both for piety, learning, and solidity of judgment: the other was looked on as a truly primitive Bishop, that seemed to have more of the simplicity of the first ages, than the politeness or the learning of later times. Ridley was ill-rewarded both by Bonner and Heath: he had used Bonner's mother and friends with great kindness while he was Bishop of London, and had kept the latter a year and a half in his house, after he fell in trouble; but he made him ill returns; and when he went through Oxford, he did not so much as visit him: and so far had men been taught to put off all humanity, that during their imprisonment in Oxford, none of the University either came to visit them, or took care to relieve their necessities.

Gardiner's
death.

It was observed that Gardiner was very impatient to have those Bishops burnt, and delayed his dinner that day till the news should be brought him that the fire was kindled: but at dinner he was taken with an illness, which turned to a suppression of urine, of which he died the twelfth of November. He went twice to the Parliament which was opened the twenty-first of October, but could go abroad no more; he expressed great sorrow for his former sins, and often said, *He had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him.* He was

believed to be of noble extraction, though basely born; for his true father was supposed to be Richard Woodville, that was brother to Edward the Fourth's Queen, grandmother to King Henry the Eighth: and this was believed to be the occasion of his sudden preferment to the see of Winchester. So those that reflected on him for his opposition to the married state, said, that no wonder if persons basely born, as both he and Bonner were, had no regard to that state of life. He was learned in the civil and canon law; he had a good Latin style, and had some knowledge in the Greek tongue, but was a very indifferent divine: he had a quickness of apprehension, with a great knowledge of mankind, and the intrigues of courts: he had all the arts of insinuation and flattery, and was inferior to none in profound dissimulation. He died now, when he had the prospect of a Cardinal's hat, and of all the honours which a Pope, that found him after his own heart, could do him. Heath was made Chancellor during pleasure; and the Queen gave to the see of York the Duke of Suffolk's house, fallen to her by his attainder, in recompence for Whitehall, and it was afterwards called York House.

The Parliament was now assembled, and it appeared that the nation was much turned in their affections. It was proposed to give the Queen a subsidy, and two fifteenths. This was the first aid that the Queen had asked, though she was now in the third year of her reign; and what was now desired was no more than what she might have exacted at her first coming to the crown; and since she had forgiven so much at her coronation, it seemed unreasonable to deny it now: yet great opposition was made to it. Many said, the Queen was impoverishing the crown, and giving away the abbey-lands, and therefore she ought to be supplied by the Clergy, and not turn to the Laity. But it was answered, that the Convocation had given her six shillings in the pound, but that would not serve her present occasions; so the debate grew high: but, to prevent further heats, the Queen sent

The Parliament ill pleased with the Queen's conduct.

BOOK
III.

1555.

a message, declaring that she would accept the subsidy without the fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him, she could not with a good conscience exact the tenths and first-fruits of the Clergy, since they were given to her father to support his unlawful dignity, of being the Supreme Head of the Church: she also thought, that all tithes and impropriations were the patrimony of the Church, and therefore was resolved to resign such of them as were in her hands. The former part passed easily in the House; but great opposition was made to the latter part of her motion; for it was looked on as a step to the taking all the impropriations out of the hands of the laity; yet upon a division of the House, it went so near, that 126 were against it, and 193 were for it, so it was carried by 67 voices. A bill was put in against the Duchess of Suffolk, and several others that favoured the Reformation, and had gone beyond sea, that they might freely enjoy their consciences; requiring them to return, under severe penalties: the Lords passed it, but the Commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the severe laws they had already consented to, and resolved to add no more. They also rejected another bill, for incapacitating some to be justices of peace, who were complained of for their remissness in prosecuting heretics. An act was put in for debarring one Bennet Smith, who had hired some assassins to commit a most detestable murder, from the benefit of Clergy; which by the course of the common law would have saved him. This was an invention of the Priests, that if any, who was capable of entering into orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a widow, could read, and vowed to take orders, he was to be saved in many criminal cases. And it was looked on as a part of the ecclesiastical immunity; which made divers of the Bishops oppose this act; yet it passed, though four of them, and five temporal Lords, protested against it. There was such heat in the House of Com-

mons in this Parliament, that one Sir Anthony Kingston, who was a great stickler, called one day for the keys of the House: but when the Parliament was dissolved, he was sent to the Tower for it: he was soon after set at liberty, but next year he and six others were accused of a design of robbing the Exchequer: he died before he was brought up to London; the other six were hanged; but the evidence against them does not appear on record.

Cardinal Pole called a convocation, having first procured a licence from the Queen, empowering them both to meet, and to make such canons as they should think fit. This was done to preserve the prerogatives of the crown, and to secure the Clergy, that they might not be afterwards brought under a *præmunire*. In it several degrees were proposed by Pole, and assented to by the Clergy:

1. For observing the feast of the reconciliation made with Rome with great solemnity: they also condemned all heretical books, and received that exposition of the faith, which Pope Eugenius sent from the Council of Florence to the Arminians.
2. For the decent administration of the Sacraments, and putting down the yearly feasts in the dedications of churches.
3. They required all Bishops and Priests to lay aside secular cares, and to give themselves wholly to the pastoral charge; and all pluralists were required to resign all their benefices, except one, within two months, otherwise to forfeit all.
4. Bishops were required to preach often, and to provide good preachers for their dioceses, to go over them as their visitors.
5. All the pomp and luxury of the tables, servants, and families of the Bishops was condemned; and they were required chiefly to lay out their revenues on works of charity.
6. They were required not to give orders, but after a long and strict trial; which they ought to make themselves, and not to turn it over to others.
7. They were charged not to bestow benefices upon partial regards, but to confer them on the most deserving, and to take them bound by oath, to reside upon them.
8. Against giving ad-

Pole's decrees for the reformation of the Clergy.

BOOK
III.

1555.

vowsons before benefices fell vacant. 9. Against simony 10. Against dilapidations. 11. For seminaries in every cathedral for the diocese; and the Clergy were taxed in a fourth part of their benefices for their maintenance. The twelfth was about visitations.

It was designed also to set out four books of Homilies: the first for points of controversy; the second was for the exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Ave, and the Sacraments; the third was to be a paraphrase on all the lessons on holy-days; and the fourth was to be concerning the several virtues and vices, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church. In these, the wise and good temper of Cardinal Pole may be well discerned. He thought the people were more wrought on by the scandals they saw in the Clergy, than by the arguments which they heard from the Reformers; and therefore he reckoned if pluralities and non-residences, and the other abuses of Churchmen, could have been removed, and if he could have brought the Bishops to have lived better and laboured more, to be stricter in giving orders, and more impartial in conferring benefices, and if he could have established seminaries in cathedrals, heresy might have been driven out of the nation by gentler methods than by racks and fires. In one thing he shewed the meanness of his spirit, that though he himself condemned cruel proceedings against heretics, yet he both gave commissions to other Bishops and Archdeacons to try them, and suffered a great deal of cruelty to be exercised in his own diocese; but he had not courage enough to resist Pope Paul the Fourth, who thought of no other way for bearing down heresy, but by setting up courts of inquisition every where. He had clapped up Cardinal Morone, that was Pole's great friend, in prison, upon suspicion of heresy; and would very probably have used himself so, if he had got him at Rome.

BOOK
III.

The Jesuits were at this time beginning to grow considerable: they were tied, besides their other laws, to an absolute obedience to the see of Rome; and had set themselves every where to open free-schools, for the education of youth, and to bear down heresy. They were excused from the hours of the choir, and so were looked on as a mongrel order between the Regulars and the Seculars. They proposed to Cardinal Pole, that since the Queen was restoring the abbey-lands, it would be to little purpose to give them again to the Benedictine order, which was now rather a clog than a help to the church: and therefore they desired that houses might be assigned to them for maintaining schools and seminaries; and they did not doubt but they should quickly both drive out heresy, and recover the church-lands. Pole did not listen to this, for which he was much much censured by the fathers of that society. It is not certain whether he had then the sagacity to foresee that disorder which they were like to bring into the government of the Church, and that corruption of morals that hath since flowed from their schools, and has been infused by them generally in confessions, so that their whole Church is now over-run with it. Three were burnt at one stake in Canterbury in November; and Philpot was burnt in Smithfield in December: he had been put in prison soon after that Convocation was dissolved, in which he had disputed in the beginning of this reign; and was now brought out to the stake. In all, sixty-seven were burnt this year, of whom four were Bishops, and thirteen were Priests.

1555.
He refuses
to bring
the Jesuits
to England.More of the
reformed
are burnt.

In Germany a diet was held, in which it was left free to all the temporal Princes to set up what religion they pleased; but a restraint was put on the ecclesiastical Princes. Both Ferdinand and the Duke of Bavaria appointed the chalice to be given to the laity in their dominions; at which the Pope stormed highly, and threatened to depose them: for that was his common style, when he was dis-

Affairs in
Germany.

BOOK
III.

1555.

Charles, the
Fifth's re-
signation.

pleased with any Prince. The resignation of Charles the Fifth, which was begun this year, and completed the next, drew the eyes of all Europe upon it. He had enjoyed his hereditary dominions forty years, and the empire thirty-six. He had endured great fatigues by the many journeys he had made; nine into Germany, six into Spain, seven into Italy, four through France: he was ten times in the Netherlands, made two expeditions to Africa, and was twice in England; and had crossed the sea eleven times. He had unusual success in his wars; he had taken a Pope, a King of France, and some German Princes, prisoners; and had a vast accession of wealth and empire from the West Indies. But now as success followed him no more, so he was much afflicted with the gout, and grew to be much out of love with the pomp and vanities of this world, and so seriously to prepare for another life. He resigned all his dominions with a greatness of mind that was much superior to all his other conquests. He retired to a private lodge of seven rooms, that he had ordered to be built for him in the confines of Portugal: he kept only twelve servants to wait upon him, and reserved for his expence one hundred thousand crowns pension. In this retreat he lived two years: his first year was spent chiefly in mechanical inventions, in which he took great pleasure: from that he turned to the cultivating his garden, in which he used to work with those hands, that now preferred the grafting and pruning tools, to sceptres and swords. But after that he addicted himself more to study and devotion, and did often discipline himself with a cord. It was also believed, that in many points he came to be of the opinion of the Protestants before he died. His confessor was soon after his death burnt for heresy, and Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo, that conversed much with him at this time, was clapped into prison on the same suspicions. At the end of two years he died, having given a great instance of a mind surfeited with the glories of this world, that sought for quiet in a private cell, which

it had long in vain searched after in palaces and camps.

BOOK
III.

1556.
Cranmer's
sufferings.

In March next year came on Cranmer's martyrdom. In September last, Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, came down with authority from Cardinal Pole to judge him; with him two delegates came to assist him in the King and Queen's name. When he was brought before them, he paid the respect that was due to those that sat in the King and Queen's name, "but would shew none to Brooks, "since he sat there by an authority derived from "the Pope, which he said he would never acknowledge. He could not serve two masters; and "since he had sworn allegiance to the crown, he "could never submit to the Pope's authority. He "also shewed, that the Pope's power had been "as unjustly used, as it was ill grounded: that "they had changed the laws settled by Christ, "which he instanced, in denying the chalice; in "the worship in an unknown tongue; and in their "pretences to a power to depose Princes: he remembered Brooks, that he had sworn to maintain the King's supremacy; and when he studied "to cast that back on him, as an invention of his, "he told him, that it was acknowledged in his "predecessor Warham's time, and that Brooks "had then set his hand to it." Brooks and the two delegates, Martin and Scory, objected many things to him; as, that he had flattered King Henry, that so he might be preferred by him; and that he had condemned Lambert for denying the presence in the Sacrament, and had been afterwards guilty of the same heresy himself. But he vindicated himself from all aspirings to the see of Canterbury, which appeared visibly by the slowness of his motions, when he was called over out of Germany, to be advanced to it; for he was seven weeks on his journey. He confessed, he had changed his opinion in the matter of the Sacrament, and acknowledged that he had been twice married; which he thought was free to all men, and was certainly much better than to defile other men's wives.

BOOK
III.

1556.

14 Feb.

After much discourse had passed on both sides, Brooks required him to appear before the Pope within eighty days, and answer to the things that should be objected to him: he said, he would do it most willingly, but he could not possibly go, if he were still kept a prisoner.

In February this year, Bonner and Thirleby were sent to degrade him, for his contumacy in not going to Rome, when he was all the while kept in prison. He was clothed with all the pontifical robes, made of canvas, and then they were taken from him, according to the ceremony of degradation; in which Bonner carried himself with all the insolence that might have been expected from him. Thirleby was a good-natured man, and had been Cranmer's particular friend, and performed his part in this ceremony with great expressions of sorrow, and shed many tears at it. In all this, Cranmer seemed very little concerned: he said, it was gross injustice to condemn him for not going to Rome, when he was shut up in prison; but he was not sorry to be thus cut off, even with all this pageantry, from any relation to that Church: he denied the Pope had any authority over him, so he appealed from his sentence to a free General Council.

He recants.

But now many engines were set on work to make him recant: both English and Spanish Divines had many conferences with him, and great hopes were given him not only of life, but of preferment, if he would do it: and these at last had a fatal effect upon him; for he signed a recantation of all his former opinions, and concluded it with a protestation, that he had done it freely, only for the discharge of his conscience. But the Queen was resolved to make him a sacrifice to her resentments; she said it was good for his own soul that he repented, but since he had been the chief spreader of heresy over the nation, it was necessary to make him a public example: so the writ was sent down to burn him; and after some stop had been made in the execution of it, new orders came for doing it suddenly. This was kept from Cranmer's knowledge, for they intended to carry him to the stake, without

giving him any notice, and so hoped to make him die in despair: yet he suspecting somewhat, writ a long paper, containing a confession of his faith, such as his conscience, and not his fears, had dictated.

BOOK.
III.

1556.

He was on the 21st of March carried to St. Mary's, where Dr. Cole preached, and vindicated the Queen's justice in condemning Cranmer; but magnified his conversion much, and ascribed it wholly to the workings of God's Spirit: he gave him great hopes of heaven, and promised him all the relief that dirges and masses could give him in another state. All this while Cranmer was observed to be in great confusion, and floods of tears run from his eyes; at last when he was called on to speak, he began with a prayer, in which he expressed much inward remorse and horror: then, after he had exhorted the people to good life, obedience, and charity, he in most pathetic expressions confessed his sin, that the hopes of life had made him sign a paper contrary to the truth, and against his conscience; and he had therefore resolved, that the hand that signed it should be burnt first: he also declared, that he had the same belief concerning the Sacrament, which he had published in the book he writ about it. Upon this there was a great consternation in the whole assembly: but they resolved to make an end of him suddenly: so, without suffering him to go further, they hurried him away to the stake, and gave him all the disturbance they could by their reproaches and clamours: but he made them no answer, having now turned his thoughts wholly towards God. When the fire was kindled, he held his right hand towards the flame till it was consumed, and often said, *That unworthy hand*: he was soon after quite burnt, only his heart was found entire among the ashes: from which his friends made this inference, that though his hand had erred, yet it appeared his heart had continued true. They did not make a miracle of

He repents,
and is
burnt.

BOOK
III.1556.
His character.

great matter of it, if such a thing had fallen out in any that had died for their religion.

Thus did Thomas Cranmer end his days, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was a man of great candour, and a firm friend; which appeared signally in the misfortunes of Anne Boleyn, Cromwell, and the Duke of Somerset. He rather excelled in great industry and good judgment, than in a quickness of apprehension, or a closeness of style. He employed his revenues on pious and charitable uses; and in his table he was truly hospitable, for he entertained great numbers of his poor neighbours often at it. The gentleness and humility of his deportment were very singular: his last fall was the greatest blemish of his life, yet that was expiated by a sincere repentance, and patient martyrdom: and those that compared ancient and modern times, did not stick to compare him not only to the Chrysostoms, the Ambroses, and the Austins, that were the chief glories of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries, but to those of the first ages, that immediately followed the Apostles, and came nearest to the patterns which they had left the world; to the Ignatiuses, the Polycarps, and the Cyprians. And it seemed necessary that the reformation of the Church, being the restoring of the primitive and apostolical doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a man thus eminent for primitive and apostolical virtues. In January five men and two women were burnt at one stake in Smithfield, and one man and four women were burnt at Canterbury. In March two women were burnt at Ipswich, and three men at Salisbury. In April six men of Essex were burnt in Smithfield: a man and a woman were burnt at Rochester, and another at Canterbury; and six, who were sent from Colchester, were condemned by Bonner, without giving them longer time to consider whether they would recant, than till the afternoon; for he was now so hardened in his cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his prisoners some time, and of

More
burnings.

taking pains on them, to make them recant: he sent them back to Colchester, where they were burnt. He condemned also a blind man, and an aged cripple, and they were both burnt in the same fire at Stratford. In May three women were burnt in Smithfield; the day after that, two were burnt at Gloucester, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at Beccles in Suffolk; five were burnt at Lewes, and one at Leicester. But on the 27th of June Bonner gave the signalest instance of his cruelty that England ever saw: for eleven men and two women were burnt in the same fire at Stratford. The horror of this action, it seems, had some operation on himself; for he burnt none till April next year. In June three were burnt at St. Edmundsbury, and three were afterwards burnt at Newbury. This cruelty was not kept within England, but it extended as far as to the adjacent islands. In Guernsey a mother and her two daughters were burnt at the same stake: one of them was a married woman, and big with child: the violence of the fire bursting her belly, the child, that proved to be a boy, fell out into the flame: he was snatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the rest: but the other barbarous spectators, after a little consultation, threw it back again into the fire. This was murder without question, for no sentence against the mother could excuse this inhuman piece of butchery; which was thought the more odious, because the Dean of Guernsey was a complice in it: yet so merciful was the government under Queen Elizabeth, that he, and nine others, that were accused for it, had their pardons. Two were after this burnt at Greenstead, and a blind woman at Derby: four were burnt at Bristol, and as many at Mayfield in Sussex, and one at Nottingham; so that in all eighty-five were this year burnt, without any regard had either to age or sex, to young or old, or the lame and the blind; which raised so extreme an aversion in this nation to that religion, that it is no wonder if the apprehensions of being

BOOK
III.

1556.
The re-
formed in-
crease upon
this.

The trou-
bles at
Francfort.

again brought under so tyrannical a yoke, break out into most violent and convulsive symptoms.

By these means the Reformation was so far from being extinguished, that it spread daily more and more, and the zeal of those that professed it grew quicker. They had frequent meetings, and several teachers that instructed them: and their friends that went beyond sea, and settled in Strasburg, Francfort, Embden, and some other places in Germany, took care to send over many books for their instruction and comfort.

An unhappy difference was begun at Francfort, which has had since that time great and fatal consequences: some of the English thought it was better to use a Liturgy agreeing with the Geneva forms; whereas the rest thought that, since they were a part of the Church of England that fled thither, they ought to adhere to the English Liturgy; and that the rather, since those who had compiled it were now sealing it with their blood. This raised much heat; but Doctor Cox that lived in Strasburg, being held in great esteem, went thither, and procured an order from the senate, that the English should continue to use the forms of their own Church: but the fire was not thereby quenched; for Knox, and some other hot spirits, began to make exceptions to some parts of the Liturgy, and got Calvin to declare on their side; upon which some of them retired to Geneva. Another contest arose concerning the censuring of offenders, which some said belonged only to the minister, and others thought that the congregation ought to be admitted to a share in it. Great animosities were raised by these debates, which gave scandal to the strangers among whom they lived, and many reflected on the schisms of the Novatians and Donatists, that rent the Churches of Africa; the one during the persecutions, and the other immediately after they were over.

Pole made
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

In England, Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury the day after Cranmer was burnt; which gave occasion to many to apply the words of

Elijah to him, *Thou hast killed and taken possession.* A week after that he came into London in great state, and had the pall put about him by Heath in Bow-church: and after that he made a cold sermon concerning the beginning, the use and virtues of the pall, without either learning or eloquence; for it was observed, that he had so far changed his style, which in his youth was too luxuriant, that it was now become flat, and had neither life nor beauty in it. The pall was a device of the Popes in the twelfth century, in which they began first to send those cloaks to Archbishops, as a badge of their being the Pope's legates born.

The Queen had founded a house for the Franciscans of the Observance in Greenwich last year: this year she founded houses for the Franciscans and Dominicans in London, as also a house for the Carthusians at Sheen, and a nunnery at Sion: she also converted the church of Westminster into an abbey. And, that way might be made to the restoring religious orders, she took care to have all the reports, confessions, and other records, that tended to the dishonour of their houses, rased; so that no memory might remain of them to the next age. For this end she gave a commission to Bonner, and others, to search all registers, and to take out of them every thing that was either against the see of Rome, or the religious houses: and they executed this commission so carefully, that the steps of it appear in the defectiveness of all the records of that time: yet many things have escaped their diligence. This expurgation of theirs was compared to the rage of the heathens in the last persecution, who destroyed all the books and registers that they could find among the Christians. The monks of Glassenbury were in hope to have got their house, that had been dedicated to the honour of Joseph of Arimathea, raised again: they desired only the house, and a little land about it; which they resolved to cultivate, and did not doubt but the people of the country would contribute towards their subsistence: and it is probable that the like designs were set on

More religious houses.

BOOK
III.

1556.

foot for the other houses: and it was not to be doubted, but that as soon as they had again infused in the nation the belief of purgatory, they would have persuaded those that held their lands, especially if they could come near them when they were dying, to deliver themselves from the sin and punishments of sacrilege, by making restitution. It is true, the nobility and gentry were much alarmed at these proceedings; and at the last Parliament many in the House of Commons laid their hands on their swords, and declared that they would not part with their estates, but would defend them. Yet all that intended to gain favour at Court made their way to it by founding chantries for masses to be said for them and their ancestors, and took out licenses from the Queen for making those endowments.

The Pope
sets on a
war be-
tween
France and
Spain.

A truce was now concluded between France and Spain for five years: but the violent Pope broke it. He was offended at the house of Austria, and chiefly at Ferdinand's assuming the title of Emperor, without his consent: he used to say, *That all kingdoms were subject to him: that he would suffer no Prince to be too familiar with him: and that he would set the world on fire, rather than be driven to do any thing below his dignity.* He pretended that he had reformed the abuses of his own Court, and that he would in the next place reform all the abuses that were in other Courts, of which he ordered a great collection to be made. When he was pressed to call a council, he said, *He needed none; for he himself was above all;* and the world had already seen twice, to how little purpose it was to send about sixty weak Bishops, and forty Divines, that were not the most learned, to Trent: he resolved it should never meet there any more; but he would call one to sit in the Lateran: he signified this to the ambassadors of Princes only in courtesy; for he would ask advice of none of them, but would be obeyed by them all: and if Princes would send none of their Prelates thither, he would hold a Council without them, and would let the world see,

what a Pope that had courage could do. This imperious humour of his made him talk sometimes like a madman: he intended, as was believed, to raise his nephew to be King of Naples, and, in order to that, he sent one of his nephews to France, to absolve the King from the truce which he had sworn: and promised to create what Cardinals that King would nominate, if he would make war on Spain; though to the Queen's ambassadors, and all others at Rome, he gave it out, that he would mediate a peace between the crowns; for a truce did not sufficiently secure the quiet of Europe. The French King was too easily persuaded by the instigation of the Pope, and the house of Guise, to break his faith, and begin the war. The Pope also began it in Italy, and put the Cardinals of the Spanish faction in prison, and threatened to proceed to censures against King Philip, for protecting the Colonnese, who were his particular enemies. He made some levies among the Grisons, that were heretics; but said, he looked on them as angels of God, and was confident God would convert them. The Duke of Alva had that reverence for the Papacy, that he took arms against the Pope very unwillingly: he could have taken Rome, but would not; and for the places that he took, he declared he would deliver them up to the next Pope. It gave great scandal to the world, to see the Pope set on so perfidious a breach of truce; and it was thought strange, that in the same year a great Prince, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, should retire to a monastery, and that one bred a monk, and eighty years old, should set Europe in a flame.

1557.

The next year Pole sent Ormaneto with some English Divines to visit Cambridge. They put the churches, in which the bodies of Bucer and Fagius lay, under an interdict. They made a visitation of all the colleges and chapels, in which Ormaneto shewed great integrity; and, without respect of persons, he chid some heads of houses, whom he found guilty of misapplying the revenues of their houses. The two dead bodies were burnt with

A visitation
of the uni-
versities.

BOOK
III.

1557.

great solemnity: they were raised and cited to appear, and answer for the heresies they had taught; and if any would answer for them, they were required to come. The dead said nothing for themselves; and the living were afraid to do it, for fear of being sent after them; so witnesses were examined, and in conclusion they were condemned as obstinate heretics, and the dead bodies, with many heretical books, were all burnt in one fire. Pern was Vice-Chancellor at this time, and happened to be in the same office four years after, when, by Queen Elizabeth's order, public honours were done to the memory of these learned men; and he obeyed both these orders with so much zeal, that it appeared how exactly he had learned the lesson, so much studied in that age, of serving the time. After this there was a visitation of all the colleges in Oxford, and there it was intended to act such pageantry on the body of Peter Martyr's wife, as had been done at Cambridge. But she that could speak no English had not declared her opinions, so that no witnesses could be found to convict her of heresy: yet since it was notoriously known that she had been a nun, and had broken her vow of chastity, they raised her body, and buried it in a dunghill: but her bones were afterwards mixed with St. Frideswide's, by Queen Elizabeth's order.

A severe
inquisition
of heretics.

The justices of peace were now every where so slack in the prosecution of heretics, that it seemed necessary to find out other tools. So the courts of inquisition were thought on. These were set up first in France against the Albigenses, and afterwards in Spain for discovering the Moors, and were now turned upon the heretics. Their power was uncontrollable; they seized on any they pleased, upon such informations or presumptions as lay before them. They managed their processes in secret, and put their prisoners to such sorts of torture as they thought fit, for extorting confessions or discoveries from them. At this time both the Pope and King Philip, though they differed in other things, agreed in this, that these were the only

sure means for extirpating heresy. " So, as a step
" to the setting them up, a commission was given
" to Bonner, and twenty more, the greatest part
" laymen, to search all over England for all sus-
" pected of heresy, that did not hear mass, go in
" processions, or did not take holy-bread or holy-
" water: they were authorized, three being a quo-
" rum, to proceed either by presentments, or other
" politic ways: they were to deliver all that they
" discovered to their ordinaries, and were to use all
" such means as they could invent; which was left
" to their discretions and consciences, for executing
" their commission." Many other commissions
subaltern to theirs were issued out for several coun-
ties and dioceses. This was looked on as such an
advance towards an inquisition, that all concluded
it would follow ere long. The burnings were car-
ried on vigorously in some places, and but coldly in
most parts, for the dislike of them grew to be almost
universal.

In January six were burnt in one fire at Canter-
bury, and four in other parts of Kent: twenty-two
were sent out of Colchester to Bonner: but it seems
Pole had chid him severely for the fire he had made
of thirteen the last year; so he writ to Pole for di-
rections. The Cardinal employed some to deal
with the prisoners, and they got them to sign a paper
in general words, acknowledging " that Christ's
" body was in the Sacrament; and declaring that
" they would be subject to the Church of Christ,
" and to their lawful superiors." And upon this
they were set at liberty. By which it appeared that
Pole was willing to have accepted any thing, by
which he might on the one hand preserve the lives
of those that were informed against, and yet not be
exposed to the rage of the Pope, as a favourer of
heretics. In April three men and one woman were
burnt in Smithfield: in May three were burnt in
Southwark, condemned by White, the new Bishop
of Winchester, and three at Bristol. Five men and
nine women were burnt in Kent in June: and in the
same month six men and four women were burnt at

More burn-
ings.

BOOK
III.

1557.

Lewes. In July two were burnt at Norwich; and in August ten were burnt in one day at Colchester. They were some of those twenty-two that were by Pole's means discharged: but the cruel priests informed against them, and said, the favour shewed to them had so encouraged all others, that it was necessary to remove the scandal, which that mercy of the Cardinal's gave, and to make examples of some of them. In August one was burnt at Norwich, two at Rochester, and one at Litchfield. One Eagle, that went much about from place to place, from which he was called Trudge-over, was condemned as a traitor, for some words spoken against the Queen. But all this cruelty did not satisfy the Clergy; they complained that the magistrates were backward, and did their duty very negligently: upon which severe letters were written to several towns from the Council-board; and zealous men were recommended to be chosen mayors in sundry towns. In September three men and one woman were burnt at Islington, and two at Colchester; one at Northampton, and one at Laxefield: a woman was burnt at Norwich: a priest with thirteen other men and three women were burnt at Chichester. In November three were burnt in Smithfield. Rough, a Scotchman, that had a benefice in King Edward's time, kept a private meeting at Islington: but one of the company being corrupted, discovered the rest, so they were apprehended as they were going to the communion, and he and a woman were burnt in December; so seventy-nine were burnt in all this year.

The Lord
Stourton
hanged.

This year a horrid murder of one Argol and his son was committed by the Lord Stourton, and some of his servants; who, after they had butchered them in a most barbarous manner, buried them fifteen foot deep in the ground. The Lord Stourton was a zealous Papist, and had protested against all the acts that had passed in King Edward's time; yet the Queen not only would not pardon him, but would not so much as change the infamous death of hanging into a beheading; not because the prerogative

extends not so far, as some have without reason asserted; for both the Duke of Somerset, condemned in the reign of King Edward, and the Lord Audley, condemned under King Charles the First, for felony, were beheaded: but the Queen resolved in this case to shew no favour. All the distinction was, that the Lord Stourton was hanged in a silken rope. This was much extolled as an instance of the Queen's impartial justice; and it was said, that since she left her friends to the law, her enemies had no cause to complain, if it was executed on them.

The war breaking out between Spain and France, King Philip had a great mind to engage England in it. The Queen complained often of the kind reception that was given to the fugitives that fled out of England to France; and it was believed, that the French secretly supplied and encouraged them to embroil her affairs. One Stafford had this year gathered many of them together, and landing in Yorkshire, he surprised the castle of Scarborough, and published a manifesto against the Queen, that, by bringing in strangers to govern the nation, she had forfeited her right to the crown: but few came in to him; so he and his complices were forced to surrender, and four of them were hanged. The English ambassador in France, Dr. Wotton, discovered that the Constable had a design to take Calais; for he sent his own nephew, whom he had brought over and instructed, secretly to him: he pretended he was sent from a great party in that town, who were resolved to deliver it up; at which the Constable seemed not a little glad, and entered into a long discourse with him of the methods of taking it. Yet all this made no great impression on the Queen; all her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were against engaging, for they saw that would oblige them to slacken their severities at home; so the King found it necessary to come over himself, and persuade her to it. He prevailed with her; and after a denunciation of war, she sent over eight thousand men to his assistance, who joined the Spanish army consist-

The Queen joins in the war against France.

BOOK
III.

ing of fifty thousand that were set down before St. Quintin.

1557.

The battle
of St. Quintin.

The Constable of France came with a great force to raise the siege; but when the two armies were in view of one another, the French, by a mistake in the word of command, fell in disorder; upon which, the Spaniards charged them with such success, that the whole army was defeated: many were killed on the place, and many were taken prisoners, among whom was the Constable himself: and the Spaniards lost only fifty men. Had Philip followed this blow, and marched straight to Paris, he had found all France in a great consternation; but he sat still before St. Quintin, which held out till the terror of this defeat was much over. The Constable lost his reputation in it, and all looked on it as a curse upon that King for the breach of his faith.

The Pope
recalls Pole.

The French troops were called out of Italy, upon which, the Pope, being now exposed to the Spaniards, fell in strange fits of rage: particularly, he inveighed much against Pole, for suffering the Queen to join with the enemies of the Apostolic see: and having made a general decree, recalling all his legates and nuncios in the Spanish dominions, he recalled Pole's legatine power among the rest: and neither the intercessions of the Queen's ambassadors, nor the other Cardinals, could prevail with him to alter it; only, as an extraordinary grace, he consented not to intimate it to him. But after this he went further: he made Friar Peyto a Cardinal: he liked him for his railing against King Henry to his face, and thought that since the Queen had made him her confessor, he would be very acceptable to her. He recalled Pole's powers, and required him to come to Rome, and answer to some complaints made of him, for the favour he had shewed to heretics: he also declared Peyto his legate for England, and writ to the Queen to receive him. But the Queen ordered the bulls and briefs that were sent over to be laid up without opening them, which had been the method formerly practised, when unacceptable bulls were sent over; she sent word to Peyto

not to come into England, otherwise she would sue him, and all that owned him, in a *præmunire*. He died soon after. Cardinal Pole laid aside the ensigns of a legate, and sent over Ormaneto with so submissive a message, that the Pope was much mollified by it, and a treaty of peace being set on foot, this storm went over. The Duke of Alva marched near Rome, which was in no condition to resist him: so the Pope in great fury called the Cardinals together, and told them, he was resolved to suffer martyrdom, without being daunted; which they who knew that he had drawn all this on himself by his ambition and rage, could scarce hear without laughter. Yet the Duke of Alva was willing to treat. The haughty Pope, though he was forced to yield in the chief points, yet in the punctilios of ceremonies he stood so high upon his honour, which he said was Christ's honour, that he declared he would see the whole world ruined, rather than yield in a tittle. In that the Duke of Alva was willing enough to comply with him; so he came to Rome, and in his master's name asked pardon for invading the patrimony of St. Peter; and the Pope gave him absolution in as insolent a manner, as if he had been the conqueror. The news of this reconciliation was received in England with all the publickest expressions of joy. In Scotland the Queen Regent studied to engage that nation in the war: all that favoured the Reformation were for it; but the Clergy opposed it. The Queen thought to draw them into it, whether they would or not, and sent in D'Oisel to besiege a castle in England. But the Scotch Lords complained much of that, and required him to give over his attempt, otherwise they would declare him an enemy to the nation. So, after some slight skirmishes on the borders, the matter was put up on both sides. This made the Queen Regent write to France, pressing them to conclude the marriage between the Dauphin and the Queen: upon which a message was sent from that Court, desiring the Scots to send over commissioners to treat about the articles of the marriage,

BOOK
III.

1557.

and some of every state were dispatched for settling that matter. There was this year great want of money in the Exchequer of England: and the backwardness of the last Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was tried what sums could be raised by loan upon Privy Seals: but so little came in that way, that at last one was summoned to meet in January; yet in the mean while advertisements were given them of the ill condition in which the garrisons of Calais and the neighbouring places were, and that the French had a design on them; but either they thought there was no danger during the winter, or they wanted money so much, that no care was taken to secure them.

Affairs in
Germany.

In Germany the Papists did this year blow up the differences between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians with so much artifice, that a conference, which was appointed for settling matters of religion, was broken up without any good effect: only it discovered a common practice of the Popish party, in engaging those that divided from them into heats and animosities one against another, by which their strength was not only much weakened, but their zeal, instead of turning against the common enemy, turned upon one another. But yet the many experiments that have been made of this have not been able to infuse that moderation and prudence in many of the reformed churches which might have been expected. In France the numbers of the reformed increased so much, that two hundred assembled in St. Germain's, one of the suburbs of Paris, to receive the communion. This was observed by the people of the neighbourhood, and a tumult was raised: the men for the most part escaped, but one hundred and sixty women, and some few men, were taken: of these six men and one woman were burnt; and most horrid things were published of that meeting; and, among other calumnies, it was said, they sacrificed and eat a child. All these were confuted in an apology, printed for their vindication. The German Princes and the Cantons interposed so effectually, and their alliance was then

BOOK
III.

1557.

1558.

Calais and
other places
taken by the
French.

so necessary to the crown of France, that a stop was put to further severities. The Pope complained much of that, and of some edicts that the King had set out, annulling marriages without consent of parents, and requiring churchmen to reside at their benefices, as invasions on the spiritual authority.

The beginning of the next year was famous by the loss of Calais. The Duke of Guise sat down before it on the first of January. The garrison consisted but of five hundred men, so that two forts about it, of which the one commanded the avenue to it by land, and the other commanded the harbour, were easily taken: for the Lord Wentworth, that was governor, could not spare men enough to defend them. The French drew the water out of the ditches, and made the assault, and carried the castle; which was thought impregnable: after that, the town could do little, so it was surrendered, and the governor with fifty officers were made prisoners of war. Thus was this important place, which the English had kept two hundred and ten years, lost in a week, and that in winter. From this the Duke of Guise went to besiege Guisnes, which had a better garrison of eleven hundred men; but they were much disheartened by the loss of Calais: they retired into the castle, and left the town to the French; but yet they beat them once out of it. The French, after a long battery, gave the assault, and forced them to capitulate: the soldiers, as at Calais, had leave to go away, but the officers were made prisoners of war. The garrison that was in Hammes, seeing themselves cut off from the sea, and lost, abandoned the place before the French summoned them. The loss of Calais raised great complaints against the Council; and they, to excuse themselves, cast the blame on the Lord Wentworth, and ordered a citation to be made of him, when he was a prisoner with the French: his defence was not fit to be heard, otherwise it had been easy for the Council to have brought him over. He had not above the fourth part of that number that was necessary to defend the place; and in time of war had no

BOOK
III.

1558.

more than were usually kept there in times of peace: of this, both he, and Sir Edward Grimston, that was comptroller, gave full and timely advertisements, but had not those supplies sent them that were necessary. They both came over in Queen Elizabeth's time, and offered themselves to trial, and were acquitted. Grimston was unwilling to pay the great ransom that was set on him: so, after two years imprisonment, he made his escape out of the Bastile, and came to England, and lived till the ninety-eighth year of his age. He was great grandfather to Sir Harbottle Grimston, the author's noble patron and benefactor. The French after this took Sark, a little island in the Channel; but it was ingeniously retaken by a Fleming, who pretended that he desired to bury a friend of his, that had died aboard his ship, in that island. The French were very careful to search the men that came ashore, that they should have no arms about them; but did not think of looking into the coffin, which was full of arms; and when they thought the seamen were burying their dead friend, they armed themselves, and took all the French that were in the castle. The ingeniousness, rather than the importance of this, makes it worth the mentioning.

Great discontent in
England.

The discontent that the loss of Calais gave to the English was such, that the Queen could not hope ever to overcome it; and it sunk so deep in her mind, that it hastened her death not a little. Both sides took upon them to draw arguments from this loss: the Reformers said, it was a judgment on the nation for the contempt of the true religion, and the cruelties that had been of late practised: the Papists said, the heretics had found such shelter and connivance there, that no wonder the place was lost. Philip sent over and offered his assistance to go and retake the place, before the fortifications should be repaired, if the English would send over a force equal to such an undertaking: but they, upon an estimate made of the expence that this and a war for the next year would put them to, found it would rise to five hundred and twenty thousand pounds

sterling : and as the treasure was exhausted, and could not furnish such a sum, so they had no reason to expect such liberal supplies from the people. The Bishops were afraid lest the continuance of the war should make it necessary to proceed more gently against heretics, and thought it better to sit down with the loss of Calais, than hazard that : they seemed confident, that within a year they should be able to clear the kingdom of heresy ; and therefore moved that preparations might be made for a war to begin the year after this.

BOOK
III.

1558.

The Parliament assembled ; for which the Abbot of Westminster and the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem had their writs, and sat in it. The Lords desired a conference with the Commons concerning the safety of the nation ; and upon that a subsidy, a tenth, and a fifteenth were given by the Laity, and the Clergy gave eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. The Abbot of Westminster moved, that the privileges of sanctuary might be again restored to his house ; but that was laid aside. The procurers of wilful murder were denied the benefit of the Clergy ; but great opposition was made to it in the House of Lords. A bill was brought in, confirming the letters patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant. This related to the foundations of religious houses ; but one Coxley opposed this ; and insinuated, that perhaps the Queen intended to dispose of the crown, in prejudice of the right heir : at which the House expressed so great a dislike, as shewed they would not have it so much as imagined the Lady Elizabeth could be excluded. He had a public reprimand given him for insinuating a thing so much to the Queen's dishonour.

The Parlia-
ment meets.

A proposition of marriage was at this time privately made by the King of Sweden to Lady Elizabeth : but she rejected it, because it was not sent to her by the Queen : though the messenger declared that his master, as he was a gentleman, began at her ; and as he was a King, he had ordered him to propose it next to the Queen. But she assured him, that if the Queen would leave her to herself, she

The carriage and
usage of
Lady Elizabeth
all this reign.

BOOK
III.

1558.

would not change her state of life. When the Queen knew of this, she approved much of her sister's answer, and sent one to her to try her mind in it; for now the proposition was made to her: but she expressed her dislike of a married state so firmly, that this motion fell to the ground. It seems her aversion was very great, otherwise the condition she was then in was neither so easy, nor so secure, but that she had reason to desire to be out of her keeper's hands, and to apprehend that her danger increased, as the Queen's health was impaired: for many of the Bishops were offering cruel counsels against her. She had been first sent for upon the breaking out of Wyat's conspiracy; and though she lay then sick in bed, she was forced to come to Court: there she was at first confined to her lodgings, and was afterwards carried to the Tower, and led into it by the traitor's gate, and was strictly guarded: her servants were put from her, and none had access to her, but those that were spies upon her; nor was she suffered to walk on the leads, or have the ordinary comforts of air. Some were put to the rack to draw confessions from them; but none accused her, except Wyat, and he retracted what he had said, in hopes of a pardon, when he was upon the scaffold. When it appeared that nothing could be made out against her, she was sent down to Woodstock; and was kept under strict guards, and very roughly used by Sir Henry Bennefield. But King Philip so far mollified the Queen towards her, that he prevailed with her to bring her to Court, and to admit her to her presence. Gardiner, and many others, dealt much with her to confess her offences, and ask the Queen's pardon: but she always stood upon her innocence, and said, she had never offended her, not so much as in her thoughts. When she was brought to the Queen, she renewed the same protestations to her, and begged that she would entertain a good opinion of her. The Queen, though she pressed her much to acknowledge some faultiness, yet seemed to be satisfied with what she said; and parted with her in

good terms; of which King Philip had some apprehensions, for he had conveyed himself secretly into a corner of the room, that he might prevent a further breach, in case the Queen should fall into heats with her. After this, her guards were discharged, and she seemed to be at liberty: but she had so many spies about her, that, to avoid all suspicion, she meddled in no sort of business, but gave herself wholly to study: thus was she employed for five years; during which time she was under continual apprehensions of death; which was perhaps a necessary preparation for that long course of prosperity and glory, with which she was afterwards blessed.

During the sitting of Parliaments, the Bishops did always intermit their cruelties; but as soon as they were over, they returned to them. Cuthbert Simpson, one in Deacon's orders, had been taken at the meeting in Islington, and was racked with extreme severity, to make him confess all the friends they had in London: but nothing was drawn from him; so in March he and two others were burnt in Smithfield. In April one was burnt at Hereford; and in May three were burnt at Colchester: several books were printed beyond sea, and secretly conveyed into England: upon which, a proclamation of a very strange nature was set out; "That if any received any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without either reading them, or shewing them to any person, they were to be executed immediately by martial law." Seven were burnt in Smithfield in the end of May, and another proclamation was at that time made in the Queen's name, against all that should speak to them, or pray for them: but no authority could restrain those prayers which devout minds offered up secretly to God. Six were burnt at Brentford in July: a minister was burnt at Norwich in that month. In August a gentleman was burnt near Winchester: at St. Edmundsbury four were burnt in August, and three more in November; at the same time a man and a woman were burnt at Ipswich; a woman was also burnt at Exeter; and on the 10th of November

More burnings.

BOOK
III.

1558.

three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury; in all thirty-nine this year. All that were burnt during this reign, as far as I could gather the number, were two hundred and eighty-four; though Grindall, that lived in that time, writes, that in two years eight hundred were burnt; many more were imprisoned; sixty died in prison; others, after much cruel usage, Bonner himself often disciplining them with whips and tortures, were prevailed on to abjure; but carried in their minds a deep aversion to that cruelty which had tempted them to such apostasy. At first pardons were offered at the stake, to tempt the martyrs to the last moment of their life; but afterwards the priests' cruelty, as it continued to the last week of the Queen's life, so it increased to that degree, that Bembridge, who was burnt near Winchester, in August, crying out, when he felt the violence of the fire, that he recanted; the sheriff made his people put out the fire, and hoped that, since the Clergy pretended that they desired the conversion, and not the destruction of the heretics, this act of mercy would not displease them: but the Council writ to him, ordering him to go on and execute the sentence, and to take care that he should die a good catholic; for it was said, if he recanted sincerely, he was fit to die; and if he did it not sincerely, he was not fit to live: and when this was done, the sheriff was put in the Fleet for his presumption.

Ill success
and strange
accidents.

This year the Lord Clinton was sent with a fleet of 120 ships, and 7000 landmen in it, against France; he made but one descent, and lost 600 men in it; so, after an inglorious and expenceful voyage, he returned back. The English had lost their hearts, and began to think that Heaven was against them. Extraordinary accidents increased those apprehensions: thunder broke violently in Nottingham; the Trent swelled excessively, and did much mischief. Hail-stones of a huge bigness fell in some places. Intermitting fevers were so universal and contagious, that they raged like a plague: so that in many places there were not people enough to reap the har-

1558.

vest: all which tended to increase the aversion to the government, and that disposed the Queen to hearken to overtures of peace. This was projected between the Bishop of Arras and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who were the chief favourites to the two Kings, and were both much set on extirpating heresy, which could not be done during the continuance of the war. The Cardinal of Lorraine was more earnest in it, because the Constable, who was the head of the faction against the house of Guise, was suspected to favour it, and his three nephews, the Colignies, were known to incline to it. The King of France had also lost another battle this year, at Gravelines, which made him desire a peace; for he thought the driving the English out of France did compensate both that and his loss at St. Quintin: so both those Princes reckoned they had such advantages, that they might make peace with honour; and they being thus disposed to it, a treaty was opened at Cambray. Philip in his own disposition was much inclined to extirpate heresy, and the brothers of Guise possessed the King of France with the same maxims: which seemed more necessary, because heresy had then spread so much in that Court, that both the King and Queen of Navarre declared themselves for the Reformation; and great numbers in the public walks about Paris used to assemble at nights, and sing David's Psalms in verse. The King of Navarre was the first Prince of the blood, and so was in great consideration for his rank; but he was a weak man: his Queen was the wonder of her age, both for great parts, eminent virtues, and a most extraordinary sense of religion. There was an edict set out, forbidding this psalmody; but the dignity of these crowned heads, and the numbers of those that were engaged in it, made it seem not advisable to punish any for it, at least till a general peace had been first made.

In April the Dauphin was married to the Queen of Scotland, which was honoured by an Epithalamium, writ by Buchanan, reckoned to be one of the rarest pieces of Latin poetry. The deputies sent

The Dauphin and Queen of Scotland married.

BOOK
III.

1553.

from Scotland were desired to offer the Dauphin the crown of Scotland, in the right of his wife: but they said, that exceeded the bounds of their commission, so they only promised to represent the matter to the states of Scotland, but could not conceal the aversion they had to it. Soon after, four of the seven that were sent over died, and the fifth escaped narrowly. It was generally suspected that they were poisoned. When the rest returned to Scotland, an assembly of the states were called, in which it was agreed to allow the Dauphin the title of King, but with this proviso, that he should have no power over them; and that it was only a bare title which they offered him. This was appointed to be carried to him by the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrew's, who had been the chief sticklers for the French interest, in hopes of the Queen Regent's protection against the rage of the Bishops, in matters of religion.

A Parlia-
ment in
England.

In England a Parliament was called the fifth of November: the Queen being ill, sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and laid before him the ill condition of the nation, and the necessity of putting it in a posture of defence: but the Commons were so ill-satisfied with the conduct of affairs, that they could come to no resolution; so on the 14th of that month twelve of the chief lords of both estates came down to the House of Commons, and desired them to grant a subsidy to defend the nation, both against the French and Scots: but the Commons came to no conclusion, till the Queen's death, on the 17th, put an end to the Parliament.

The Queen's
death.

Her false conception, and the melancholy that followed it, which received a surcharge from the loss of Calais, brought her into an ill habit of body, and that turned to a dropsy, which put an end to her unhappy reign, in the forty-third year of her age, after she had reigned five years, four months, and eleven days. Sixteen hours after her, Cardinal Pole died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He left Priuli, a noble Venetian, that had lived twenty-six years in an entire friendship with him, his exe-

cutor: but as Pole had not studied to heap up much wealth, so Priuli, who had refused a Cardinal's hat, rather than be obliged thereby to lose his company, gave it all away, and reserved nothing to himself, but his breviary and diary.

BOOK
III.

1558.

Pole was a learned, humble, prudent, and moderate man, and had certainly the best notions of any of his party then in England: but he was almost alone in them; so that the Queen, whose temper and principles were fierce and severe, preferred the bloody counsels of Gardiner and Bonner, to the wiser and better methods which he proposed. And though his superstition for the see of Rome continued still with him, yet his eyes were opened in many things. His being legate at Trent, and his retirement at Viterbo, had both enlightened and composed his mind; and that, joined to the probity and sweetness of his temper, produced great effects in him. His character deserves the more to be enlarged on, because there were no others of the Clergy at that time, concerning whom even a partial historian can find much good to relate; for their temporising and dissimulation in the changes that were made, and their cruelty when power was put in their hands, were so scandalous, that it is scarce possible to write of them with that softness of style that becomes an historian.

Pole's
death and
character.

The Queen had been bred to some more than ordinary knowledge: a froward sort of virtue, and a melancholy piety, are the best things that can be said of her. She left the conduct of affairs wholly in the hands of her Council, and gave herself up to follow all the dictates and humours of the Clergy: and though she esteemed Pole beyond them all, yet she imputed the moderateness of his counsels rather to his temper than to his judgment; and perhaps thought that the Pope, who pressed all Princes to set up courts of inquisition for extirpating of heresy, was more likely to be infallible than the Cardinal: and as Princes were required by the fourth Council in the Lateran to extirpate heretics, under the pain of forfeiting their dominions; so the Pope had set

The Queen's
character.

BOOK
III.

1558.

out a decree this year, by the advice of his Cardinals, confirming all canons against heretics, declaring that such Princes as fell into heresy did thereby forfeit all their rights, without any special sentence; and that any that could, might seize on their dominions. The Bishops had also this to say for their severities, that, by the oath which they took at their consecrations, they were bound to *persecute heretics with all their might*; so that the principles of that religion working on sour and revengeful tempers, it was no wonder that cruel counsels were more acceptable than moderate ones.



ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Of the Settlement of the Reformation in the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

THE morning after Queen Mary died, the Lord Chancellor went to the House of Lords, and communicated to them the news of her death, and then sent for the Commons, and declared it to them; and added, that the crown was now devolved on their present Queen Elizabeth, whose title they were resolved to proclaim. This was echoed with repeated acclamations, which were so full of joy, that it appeared how weary the nation was of the cruel and weak administration of affairs under the former reign, and that they hoped for better times under the next. And indeed the proclaiming the new Queen, both at Westminster and in the city of London, was received with such unusual transports of joy, as gave the melancholy priests just cause to fear a new revolution in matters of religion; and though the Queen's death affected them with a very sensible sorrow, yet the joy in this change was so great and so universal, that a sad look was thought criminal, and the priests were glad to vent their

BOOK
IV.

1558.
Queen
Elizabeth
proclaimed.

BOOK
IV.

1558.
The Queen
comes to
London.

grievs at their forsaken altars, which were now like to be converted again to communion-tables.

The Queen came from Hatfield, where she had lived private, to London. The Bishops met her at Highgate: she received them all kindly, only she looked on Bonner as defiled with so much blood, that it seemed indecent to treat him with the sweetness that always attends the beginnings of reigns; for common civility to a person so polluted might seem some countenance to his crimes. She passed through London, in the midst of all the joys that people, delivered from the terror of fires and slavery, could express. She quickly shewed, that she was resolved to retain no impressions of the hardships she had met with in her sister's time, and treated those that had used her worst with great gentleness, Bennetfield himself not excepted; only with a sharpness of raillery she used to call him her Jailor. She gave notice of her coming to the crown to all foreign Princes, and writ particular acknowledgments to King Philip, for the good offices he had done her. Among the rest, she writ to Sir Edward Karn, that was her sister's ambassador at Rome. But the Pope in his usual style told him, that England was a fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high presumption in her to take the crown without his consent, especially she being illegitimate: but he said, if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, she might expect from him all the favour that could consist with the dignity of the Apostolic see. The Queen hearing this, recalled Karn's power; but he, being a zealous Papist, continued still at Rome.

Philip proposes marriage to the Queen, but in vain.

Philip proposed marriage to the Queen, and undertook to procure a dispensation for it from Rome: but the Queen, as she continued all her life averse to that state of life, so she knew how unacceptable a stranger, and particularly a Spaniard, would be to her people. She did not much value the Pope's dispensation; and if two sisters might marry the same person, then two brothers might likewise

marry the same woman; which would have overthrown all the arguments for her father's divorce with Queen Catherine, upon which the validity of her mother's marriage and her legitimation did depend. Yet though she firmly resolved not to marry King Philip, she thought that, during the treaty at Cambray, it was not fit to put him quite out of hopes; so he sent to Rome for a dispensation; but the French sent to oppose it, and set up a pretension for the young Queen of Scotland, as the rightful heir to the crown of Scotland.

BOOK
IV.

1558.

The Queen continued to employ most of her sister's Privy Counsellors; and they had turned so often before, in matters of religion, that it was not likely they would be intractable in that point: but to these she added divers others; the most eminent of whom were Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon. She ordered all that were imprisoned on the account of religion to be set at liberty: upon which, one, that used to talk pleasantly, told her, the four Evangelists continued still prisoners, and that the people longed much to see them at liberty. She answered, she would talk with themselves, and know their own mind. Some proposed the annulling all Queen Mary's Parliaments, because force was used in the first, and the writs for another were not lawful, since the title of *Supreme Head* was left out in the summons, before it was taken away by law: but it was thought a precedent of dangerous consequence, to annul Parliaments upon errors in writs, or particular disorders. The Queen desired, that all the changes that should be made might be so managed, as to breed as little division among her people as was possible: she did not like the title of *Supreme Head*, as importing too great an authority. She loved magnificence in religion, as she affected it in all other things; this made her inclined to keep images still in churches: and, that the Popish party might be offended as little as was possible, she intended to have the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament defined in general terms, that might comprehend all sides. A

The coun-
sels about
changing
religion.

BOOK
IV.

1558.

A scheme
proposed.

scheme was formed of the method in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put in Cecil's hands.

"It was thought necessary to do nothing till a Parliament were called. The Queen had reason, to look for all the mischief that the Pope could do her, who would set on the French, and, by their means, the Scots, and perhaps the Irish, against her. The Clergy, and those that were employed in Queen Mary's time, would oppose it, and do what they could to inflame the nation; and the greater part of the people loved the pomp of the old ceremonies. It was therefore proposed, that the Queen should on any terms make peace with France, and encourage the party in Scotland that desired a reformation. The Clergy were generally hated for their cruelty, and it would be easy to bring them within the statute of *præmunire*. Care was also to be taken to expose the former counsellors, for the ill conduct of affairs in Queen Mary's time, and so to lessen their credit. It was also proposed to look well to the commissions, both for the peace and the militia, and to the universities. Some learned men were to be ordered to consider what alterations were fit to be made, and by what steps they should proceed." It was thought fit to begin with the communion in both kinds.

The impatience of
some.

Now did the exiles, that had fled beyond sea, return again; and some zealous people began in many places to break images, and set up King Edward's service again. Upon this, the Queen ordered, that the Litany, and other parts of the service, should be said in English, and that no elevation should be used in the mass: but required her subjects by proclamation to avoid all innovations, and use no other forms but those that she kept up in her chapel, till it should be otherwise appointed in Parliament. She ordered her sister's funeral to be performed with the ordinary magnificence: White, Bishop of Winchester, that preached the sermon, not only extolled her government much,

27 Decem.

but made severe reflections on the present state of affairs; for which he was confined to his house for some time.

Many sees were now vacant; so one of the first things that came under consultation was the finding out fit men for them. Dr. Parker was pitched on, as the fittest man for the see of Canterbury: he had been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and been employed in instructing the Queen in the points of religion when she was young: he was well known to Sir Nicholas Bacon, and both he and Cecil gave so high a character of him, that it meeting with the Queen's particular esteem, made them resolve on advancing him. But as soon as he knew it, he used all the arguments he possibly could against it, both from the weakness of his body, and his unfitness for so great a charge. He desired that he might be put in some small benefice of twenty nobles a year; so far was he from aspiring to great wealth or high dignities: and, as Cranmer had done before him, he continued for many months so averse to it, that it was very hard to overcome him. Such promotions are generally, if not greedily, sought after, yet at least willingly enough undertaken; but this looked liker the practices in ancient than modern times. In the best ages of the Church, instead of that *ambitus* which has given such scandal to the world in later times, it was ordinary for men to fly from the offer of great preferments, and to retire to a wilderness or a monastery, rather than undertake a charge, which they thought above their merit or capacity to discharge. And this will still shew itself in all such as have a just sense of the pastoral care, and consider the discharging that, more than the raising or enriching themselves or their families. And it was thought no small honour to the Reformation, that the two chief instruments that promoted it, Cranmer and Parker, gave such evidences of a primitive spirit, in being so unwillingly advanced.

The seals were taken from Heath, and put in 1559.

1553.
Parker re-
fuses the
see of Can-
terbury
long.

BOOK
IV.

1558.

Bacon
made Lord
Keeper.

Bacon's hands, who was declared Lord Keeper, and had all the dignity and authority of the Chancellor's office, without the title; which was perhaps an effect of his great modesty, that adorned his other great qualities. As he was eminent in himself, so he was happy in being father to the great Sir Francis Bacon, one of the chief glories of the English nation.

The Queen
is crowned.

On the 13th of January the Queen was crowned. When she entered into her chariot at the Tower, she offered up an humble acknowledgment to God for delivering her out of that lion's den, and preserving her to that joyful day. She passed through London in great triumph, and received all the expressions of joy from her people with so much sweetness, as gained as much on their hearts, as her sister's sourness had alienated them from her. Under one of the triumphal arches, a child came down as from heaven, representing Truth with a Bible in his hand, which she received on her knees, and kissed it, and said, she preferred that above all the other presents that were that day made her. She was crowned by Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, for all the other Bishops refused to assist at it; and he only could be prevailed on to do it. They perceived that she intended to make changes in religion; and though many of them had changed often before, yet they resolved now to stick firmer to that which they had so lately professed, and for which they had shed so much blood.

A Parlia-
ment is
called.

The Parliament was opened on the 25th of January. Bacon made a long speech both concerning matters of religion, and the state of the nation. He desired they would examine the former religion without heat or partial affection; and that all reproaches might be forborne, and extremes avoided; and that things might be so settled, that all might agree in an uniformity in divine worship. He laid open the errors of the former reign, and aggravated the loss of Calais; but shewed, that it could not be easily recovered. He made a high panegyric

on the Queen : but when he shewed the necessities she was in, he said, she would desire no supply, but what they should freely and cheerfully offer. The House of Commons began at a debate, whether the want of the title of *Supreme Head* in the enumeration of the Queen's titles, made a nullity in the writs, by which this and some former Parliaments had been summoned : but they concluded in the negative.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

The treaty at Cambray stuck chiefly at the restitution of Calais ; and King Philip for a great while insisted so positively on it, that he refused to make peace on other terms. England had lost it by war, in which they engaged on his account ; so in honour he was bound to see to it. But when the hopes of his marrying the Queen vanished, and when he saw she was going to make changes in religion, he grew more careless of her interests, and told the English ambassadors, that, unless they would enter into a league for keeping up the war six years longer, he must submit to the necessity of his affairs, and make peace. So the Queen listened to propositions sent her from France. She complained of the Queen of Scotland's assuming the title and arms of England. It was answered, that, since she carried the title and arms of France, she had no reason to quarrel much on that account. She saw she could not make war with France alone, and knew that Philip had made a separate peace. She had no mind to begin her reign with a war, that would probably be unsuccessful, or demand subsidies that would be so grievous, as that thereby she might lose the affections of her people. The loss of Calais was no reproach on her, but fell wholly on her sister's memory. And since she intended to make some changes in matters of religion, it was necessary to be at quiet with her neighbours : upon this, she resolved to make peace with France on the best terms that could be obtained. It was agreed, that at the end of eight years Calais should either be restored, or five hundred thousand crowns

The peace
at Cam-
bray.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

Acts passed
in Parlia-
ment.The Com-
mons pray
the Queen
to marry.

should be paid the Queen : yet if during that time she made war, either on France or Scotland, she was to forfeit her right to Calais. Aymouth in Scotland was to be rased, and all differences on the borders there were to be determined by some deputed on both sides. This being adjusted, a general peace between the crowns of England, France, and Spain was concluded : and thus the Queen being freed from the dangerous consultations that the continuance of a war might have involved her in, was the more at liberty to settle matters at home.

The first bill that was brought to try the temper of the Parliament, was for the restitution of the tenths and first-fruits to the crown. Against this all the Bishops protested ; but that was all the opposition made to it. By it, not only that tax was of new laid on the Clergy, but all the impropriated benefices, which Queen Mary had surrendered, were restored to the crown.

After this, the Commons made an address to the Queen, desiring her to choose such a husband as might make both herself and the nation happy. She received this very kindly, since they had neither limited her to time nor nation ; but declared, that as hitherto she had lived with great satisfaction in a single state, and had refused the propositions that had been made her both in her brother's and sister's reign, so she had no inclination to change her course of life. If ever she did it, she would take care it should be for the good and to the satisfaction of her people. She thought she was married to the nation at her coronation, and looked on her people as her children ; and she would be well contented, if her tombstone might tell posterity, *Here lies a Queen that reigned so long, and lived and died a virgin.* There was little more progress made in this matter, save, that a committee was appointed by both Houses to consider what should be the authority of the person whom the Queen might happen to marry : but she sent them a message, to proceed to other affairs, and let that alone.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

Her title to
the Crown
acknow-
ledged.

A bill for the recognition of her title to the crown was put in: it was not thought necessary to repeal the sentence of her mother's divorce, for the crown purged all defects; and it was thought needless to look back unto a thing, which could not be done, without at least casting some reproach on her father; so it was in general words enacted, "That they did assuredly believe and declare, that by the laws of God and the realm she was their lawful Queen, and was rightly and lineally descended." This was thought a much wiser way, than if they had examined the sentence of divorce, that passed upon the confession of a precontract, which must have revived the remembrance of things that were better left in silence.

Acts con-
cerning
religion.

Bills were put in for the English service, for reviving King Edward's laws, and for annexing the supremacy again to the crown. To that concerning the supremacy, two temporal Lords, and nine Bishops, with the Abbot of Westminster, dissented. It was proposed to revive the law for making the Bishops by letters patents, as was in King Edward's time: but they chose rather to revive the act for electing them, made in the 25 Hen. VIII. They revived all acts made against the Pope's power in King Henry's time, and repealed those made by Queen Mary. They enacted an oath, for acknowledging the Queen *Supreme Governor in all causes, and over all persons*. Those that refused it were to forfeit all offices that they held either in Church or State, and to be under a disability during life. If any should advance the authority of a foreign power, for the first offence they were to be fined or imprisoned, for the second to be in a *præmunire*, and the third was made treason. The Queen was also empowered to give commission for judging and reforming ecclesiastical matters; who were limited to judge nothing to be heresy, but what had been already so judged by the authority of the Scriptures, or the first four General Councils. All points that were not decided either by express words of Scripture, or by those Councils, were to be referred to

BOOK
IV.

1559.

the Parliament and Convocation. The title of *Supreme Head* was changed, partly because the Queen had some scruples about it, partly to moderate the opposition which the Popish party might otherwise make to it: and the refusing the oath was made no other way penal, but that all offices or benefices were forfeited upon it; which was a great mitigation of the severity in King Henry's time. The Bishops are said to have made several speeches against this in the House of Lords: but that which goes under the name of Heath's speech must be a forgery; for in it the supremacy is called a new and unheard-of thing, which could not have flowed from one that had sworn it so often, both under King Henry and King Edward. Tonstall came not to this Parliament; and he was so offended with the cruelties of the last reign, that he had withdrawn himself into his diocese, where he burnt none himself: upon that it was now thought, that he was so much alienated from those methods, that some had great hopes of his declaring for the Reformation. Heath had been likewise very moderate, nor were any burnt under him. Upon the power given the Queen, to appoint some to reform and direct all ecclesiastical matters, was the court called the *High Commission Court* founded; which indeed was nothing but the sharing that authority, which was in one person in King Henry's time, into many hands: for that court had no other authority but that which was lodged formerly in Cromwell, as the King's Vicegerent, and was now thought too great to be trusted to one man.

Preaching
without
license
forbidden.

Great complaints were made of seditious sermons, preached by the Popish Clergy: upon which the Queen followed the precedent that her sister had made, and forbid all preaching, excepting only such as obtained a license under the Great Seal for it: she likewise sent an order to the Convocation, requiring them, under the pains of a *præmunire*, to make no canons. Yet the Lower House, in an address to the Upper House, declared for the corporal presence, and that the mass was a propitiatory

sacrifice, and for the supremacy, and that matters of religion fell only under the cognizance of the pastors of the Church. The greatest part of both the universities had also set their hands to all these points, except the last.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

This, it seems, was the rather added by the clerks of convocation, to hinder a public conference, which the Queen had appointed between the Bishops and the reformed Divines. It was first proposed to Heath, who was still a Privy Counsellor; and he, after some conference about it with his brethren, accepted of it. Nine of a side were to dispute about three points: worship in an unknown tongue; the power that every particular Church had to alter rites and ceremonies; and the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living. All was to be given in writing. The Bishops were to begin in every point, and they were to interchange their papers, and answer them. The last of March was the first day of conference, which was held in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of the Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament. The Bishop of Winchester pretended, there had been some mistake in the order, and that their paper was not quite finished; but that Dr. Cole should deliver in discourse what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order, that it could be copied out. The secret of this was, the Bishops had resolved openly to vindicate their doctrine, but not to give any papers, or enter into dispute with heretics, or so far to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy, as to engage in conferences at her command. Cole was observed to read almost all he said, though he affected to be thought only to deliver a discourse so, as if most part of it had been extemporary.

A public
conference
about reli-
gion.

The substance of it was, that though the worship in a known tongue had been appointed in the Scriptures, yet the Church had power to change it, as she changed the Sabbath, and had appointed the Sacrament to be received fasting, though it was instituted after supper. To eat blood was forbid, and a community of goods was set up by the Apostles;

Arguments
for and
against the
worship in
an unknown
tongue.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

yet it was in the power of the Church to alter these things. He enlarged on the evil of schism, and the necessity of adhering to the Church of Rome. Vulgar tongues changed daily, but the Latin was the same, and was spread over many countries. The people might reap profit from prayers which they understood not, as well as absent persons. The Queen of Ethiopia's eunuch read Isaiah, though he understood him not; and Philip was sent to explain that prophecy to him.

Horn, when this was ended, read the paper drawn by the Reformers: he began it with a prayer, and a protestation of their sincerity. They founded their assertion on St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians; in which he enjoined them to pray with understanding, that so the unlearned might say *Amen*; and that nothing should be spoken that might give an uncertain sound, but that all things should be done to edification; and though the speaking with strange tongues was then an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost, yet he forbids the using it, where there was no interpreter. Things so expressly enjoined could not be indifferent, or fall under the power of the Church. The Jews had their worship in the vulgar tongue; so had also the most barbarous nations, when converted to Christianity. The natural use of speech was, that every thing which was said might be understood. Quotations were brought, to shew that Psalms were daily sung in the vulgar tongue among all nations.

When they ended their paper, it was received with a shout of applause, and was put in the Lord Keeper's hands, signed by them all. But the Bishops refused to deliver theirs. The next day was appointed for considering the second point; but the Bishops resolved to go no further in the conference; for they saw by the applause of the people, that the audience was more favourable to the other side: so the next day of meeting they offered an answer to the paper given in the former days by the Reformers. The Lord Keeper told them, that, according to the order laid down, they

were first to go through the three points, before they might be suffered to reply: but they said, Cole had the former day only given his own sense in an extemporary discourse. Their foul dealing in this was condemned by the whole audience, so the Lord Keeper required them to go to the second point; but they refused to begin, and moved that the other side should be made to begin: and though the Lord Keeper shewed them that this was contrary to the order agreed on beforehand, yet they continued all resolute, and would not proceed any further: Fecknam only excepted: but he said, he could do nothing alone, since the rest would not join with him. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln said, the faith of the Church ought not to be examined, except in a synod of Divines: and it gave too great an encouragement to heretics to dispute with them; and that both the Queen and her Council deserved to be excommunicated for suffering them to argue against the Catholic faith, before an unlearned multitude. Upon this they were sent to the Tower, and the conference broke up. But the Reformers thought the advantage was much on their side; and that things were now carried much more fairly, than had been in those conferences and disputes that were in the beginning of the former reign. The Papists, on the other hand, said, it was visible the audience was prepossessed, and that the conference was appointed only to make way for the changes that the Parliament was then about, with the pomp of a victory; and therefore as they blamed the Bishops for undertaking it, so they justified them for breaking it off.

The Book of Common Prayer was now revised; The English the most considerable alteration was, that the ex-service is press declaration, which was made in the second again set book, set out by King Edward, against the corporal up. presence, was left out, that so none might be driven out of the communion of the Church upon that account. The matter was left undetermined, as a speculative point, in which people were left at liberty. The Book of Ordination was not specially

BOOK
IV.

1559.

Speeches
made
against it by
some Bi-
shops.

mentioned in the act; which gave occasion to Bonner afterwards to question the legality of ordinations made by it. But it had been made a part of the Common Prayer Book in the 5th year of King Edward; and the whole book, then set out, was now confirmed; so that by a special act, made some years after this, it was declared, that that office was understood to be a part of it.

When the bill for the English service was put into the House of Lords, Heath, and Scot, Bishop of Chester, and Fecknam, made long speeches against it, grounded chiefly on the authority of the Church, the antiquity of the established religion, and novelty of the other, which was changed every day, as appeared in King Edward's time. They said, the consent of the Catholic Church, and the perpetual succession in St. Peter's chair, ought to have more authority than a few preachers risen up of late. They also enlarged much against the sacrilege, the robbing of churches, and the breaking of images, that had been committed by the Reformers, and those that favoured them. What was said in opposition to this in the House of Lords is not known; but a great deal of it may be gathered from the paper which the reformed Divines drew upon the second point, about which they were appointed to dispute, of the power that every Church had to reform itself. This they founded on the Epistles of St. Paul to the particular Churches, and St. John's to the angels of the seven Churches. In the first three ages there were no General Councils, but every Bishop in his diocese, or such few Bishops as could assemble together, condemned heresies, or determined matters that were contested; so did also the orthodox Bishops after Arianism had so overspread the world, that even the see of Rome was defiled with it. And abuses were condemned in many places, without staying for a general concurrence; though that was then more possible, when all was under one Emperor, than it was at present. Even in Queen Mary's time, many superstitions, as pilgrimages, and the worshipping of relics, were laid aside. There-

fore they concluded, that the Queen might, by her own authority, reform even the Clergy, as Hezekiah and Josias had done under the old law. When the act passed in the House of Lords, eight spiritual Lords and nine temporal Lords protested against it; among whom was the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer. Another act passed with more opposition, that the Queen might reserve some lands belonging to bishoprics to herself, as they fell void, giving in lieu of them impropriated tithes to the value of them: but this was much opposed in the House of Commons, who apprehended, that under this pretence there might new spoils be made of church lands; so that, upon a division of the House, 90 were against it, but 133 were for it; and so it was passed. All religious houses founded by the late Queen were suppressed, and united to the crown. The deprivation of the Popish Bishops in King Edward's time was declared valid in law; by which all the leases which had been made by those that were put in their sees, were good in law. A subsidy, and two tenths, and two fifteenths, with the bill of tonnage and poundage, were given; and so the Parliament was dissolved on the 8th of May.

Some bills were proposed, but not passed: one was for restoring the Bishops deprived by Queen Mary, who were Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale: but the first of these had been made to resign; and the last, being extreme old, resolved to follow Latimer's example, and not return to his see: so it was not thought worth the while to make an act for Scory alone. Another bill, that was laid aside, was for restoring all churchmen to their benefices that had been turned out because they were married: but, it seems, it was not thought decent enough to begin with such an act. Another bill that came to nothing was for empowering thirty-two persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws: but as this last was then let fall, so, to the great prejudice of this Church, it has slept ever since.

After the Parliament was dissolved, the oath of Many Bishops turned out.
supremacy was tendered to the Bishops; and all,

BOOK
IV.

1559.

except Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, refused it. Tonstall continued unresolved till September, and so long did the Queen delay the putting it to him: but at last he refused it, and so lost his bishopric. It was generally believed that he quitted it rather, because, being extreme old, he thought it indecent to forsake his brethren, and to be still changing, than out of any scruple he had in his conscience concerning it. All the Bishops were at first put under confinement, but they were soon after set at liberty; only Bonner, White, and Watson, were kept prisoners. Many complaints were brought against Bonner, for the cruelties he had been guilty of against law, and the tortures he had put his prisoners to himself: but yet the Queen resolved not to stain the beginnings of her reign with blood; and the reformed Divines were, in imitation of Nazianzen, (upon the like revolution in the Roman empire,) exhorting their followers not to think of revenging themselves, but to leave that to God. Heath lived privately at his own house, in which he was sometimes visited by the Queen. Tonstall and Thirlby were appointed to live in Lambeth, with the new Archbishop. White and Watson were morose and haughty men, much addicted to the school-divinity, which has been often observed to incline people to an overvaluing of themselves. All the other Bishops, except Pates, Scot, and Goldwell, that had been Bishops of Worcester, Chester, and St. Asaph, continued still in England; but these had leave to go beyond sea. A few gentlemen, and all the nuns, went likewise out of England: and so gentle was the Queen, that she denied that liberty to none that asked it.

The Queen
inclined to
keep images
in churches.

The Queen inclined to keep images still in churches; and though the reformed Divines made many applications to divert her from it, yet she was not easily wrought on. The Divines put all their reasons against them in writing, and desired her to commit the determining of that matter to a synod of Bishops and Divines, and not to take up an unalterable resolution upon political considerations.

They laid before her the second Commandment, against making images for God, and the curse pronounced against those that made an image, and put it in a *secret place*, that is, in an oratory. The Book of Wisdom calls them *a snare for the feet of the ignorant*. St. John charged the Christians to *beware of idols*, and not only of worshipping them. The use of them fed superstition, and ended in idolatry, and would breed great divisions among themselves. They shewed that images were not allowed in the Church till the seventh century; and the contests that were raised about them in the eastern empire occasioned such distractions, as in a great measure made way for its ruin, and laid it open to the Mahometans. These things wrought so much on the Queen, that she was at last content they should be put down.

It was now resolved to send visitors over England; so injunctions were prepared for them. Those appointed in the first year of King Edward were now renewed with some little alteration: to which, "rules were added concerning the marriages of the
" Clergy, for avoiding the scandals given by them.
" The Clergy were also required to use habits according to their degrees in the universities. All
" people were to resort to their own parish-church;
" and some were to be appointed to examine and
" give notice of those who went not to church.
" All slanderous words were forbidden. No books
" were to be printed without license. Enquiry was
" ordered to be made into all the proceedings
" against heretics, during the late reign. Reverence was to be expressed, when the name *Jesus*
" was pronounced. An explanation was made of
" the supremacy, that the Queen did not pretend
" to any authority for ministering divine service;
" but only that she had the sovereignty over all
" persons, and that no foreign power was to be acknowledged: and such as had scruples about it
" might declare that they took it only in that sense.
" A communion-table was to be set where the
" altars stood formerly; but on Sacrament-days it

A general
visitation.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

“ was to be brought into the most convenient place
 “ in the chancel. The bread for the Sacrament
 “ was to have no figure on it, and to be thicker than
 “ wafers. The bidding prayer was appointed to be
 “ the same that had been used in King Edward’s
 “ time, only an expression that imported a prayer
 “ for the dead was changed.” The obliging
 churchmen to go always in their habits was thought
 a good mean to make them observe the decencies
 of their function, when their habit declared what
 they were, and would be a reproach to them, if they
 behaved themselves unsuitably to it. The bowing
 at the name *Jesus* was considered as such an ac-
 knowledgment of his divinity, as was made by stand-
 ing up at the Creed, or the *Gloria Patri*. The
 liberty given to explain in what sense the oath of
 supremacy was taken, gave a great evidence of the
 moderation of the Queen’s government; that she
 would not lay snares for her people, which is always
 a sign of a wicked and tyrannical prince. But the
 Queen reckoned, that if such comprehensive me-
 thods could be found out, as would once bring her
 people under an union, though perhaps there might
 remain a great diversity of opinions, that would wear
 off with the present age, and in the next generation
 all would be of one mind. And this had the good
 effect that was expected from it, till the Pope and
 the King of Spain began to open seminaries beyond
 sea for a mission to England; which have since that
 time been the occasion of almost all the distractions
 this nation has laboured under.

The High
 Commission
 Court.

The Queen granted commissions for the two pro-
 vinces of Canterbury and York, consisting most of
 the Laity; some few of the Clergy being mixed
 with them: “ empowering them to visit the churches,
 “ to suspend or deprive unworthy Clergymen, to
 “ proceed against scandalous persons, by imprison-
 “ ment or church-censures; to reserve pensions for
 “ such as resigned their benefices, and to restore
 “ such as had been unlawfully put out in the late
 “ reign.” By these reserved pensions, as the Clergy
 that were turned out were kept from extreme want,

so they were in great measure bound to their good behaviour by them. The empowering laymen to deprive churchmen, or excommunicate, could not be easily excused; but was as justifiable as the commissions to lay-chancellors for those things were. There are nine thousand four hundred benefices in England; but of all these, the number of those who chose to resign, rather than to take the oath, was very inconsiderable. Fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors, was the whole number of those that were turned out. But it was believed that the greatest part complied against their consciences, and would have been ready for another turn, if the Queen had died while that race of incumbents lived, and the next successor had been of another religion.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

The see of Canterbury was now to be filled; but Parker stood out long, before he would submit to a burden which he thought disproportioned to his strength. He said, he was afraid of incurring God's indignation, for accepting a trust which he could not discharge as he ought, having neither strength of body nor mind equal to it. He was threatened with imprisonment, in case of refusal; but he said, he would suffer it cheerfully, rather than engage in a station that was so far above him: and he had such a sense of the episcopal function, that he resolved never to aspire to it. He thought he had but two or three years more of life before him, and desired to employ these well, and not to be advanced to a place, in which he knew he could not answer the expectations that some had of him. He wished the Queen would seek out a man, that was neither arrogant, faint-hearted, nor covetous; and expressed the great apprehensions he had, that some men, who he perceived were men still, notwithstanding all the trials they passed through of late, would revive those heats that were begun beyond sea; and that they would fall a quarrelling among themselves, which would prove a pleasant diversion to the Papists. But when by many repeated commands he was re-

Parker is very unwillingly made Archbishop of Canterbury.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

quired to accept of that great advancement, he at last writ to the Queen herself, and protested, "that out of regard to God, and the good of her service, he held himself bound in conscience to declare to her his great unworthiness for so high a function; and so, as prostrate at her feet, he begged her to press it on him no further: for that office did require a man of more learning, virtue, and experience, than he perfectly knew was in himself." But as these denials, so earnestly and frequently repeated, shewed, that he had certainly some of the necessary qualifications, which were true humility, and a contempt of the world; so they tended to increase the esteem which the Queen and her ministers had of him: and they persisting in their resolution, he was at last forced to yield to it. He was, upon the sending of the *cong  d' lire*, chosen by the Chapter of Canterbury; and in September the Queen issued out a warrant for his consecration, which was directed to Tonstall, Bourn, and Pole, (the last was Cardinal Pole's brother, and was Bishop of Peterborough,) and to Kitchin, Barlow, and Scory: by which it appears, that there was then some hope of gaining the former three to obey the laws, and to continue in their sees: but they refusing to execute this, there was a second warrant directed to Kitchin, Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, and to Bale, Bishop of Ossory, and two suffragan Bishops, to consecrate Parker: and on the 17th of December he was consecrated by four of these, according to the Book of Ordination set out under King Edward, only the giving the pastoral staff was now omitted.

The other
Bishops
consecrated.

After this, Parker ordained Grindal to the see of London; Cox for Ely; Horn for Winchester; Sandys for Worcester; Merick for Bangor; Young for St. David's; Bullingham for Lincoln; Jewel for Salisbury; Davis for St. Asaph; Guest for Rochester; Berkley for Bath and Wells; Bentham for Coventry and Litchfield; Alley for Exeter; and Parre for Peterborough; Barlow and Scory were put in the sees of Chichester and Hereford. The sees of

York and Durham were kept vacant a year, upon some hopes that Heath and Tonstall would have conformed: but in the year 1561, Young was translated from St. David's to York, and Pilkington was put in Durham.

All this is opened the more particularly, for discovering the impudence of the contrivance of the Nag's Head ordination, which was first vented in King James's time, above forty years after this. It was then said, that the elect Bishops met at the Nag's Head tavern in Cheapside, and were in great disorder, because Kitchin refused to consecrate them; upon which, Scory made them all kneel down, and laid the Bible on their heads, saying, *Take thou authority to preach the Word of God sincerely*; and that this was all the ordination that they ever had: and to confirm this, it was pretended, that Neale, one of Bonner's chaplains, watched them into the tavern, and saw all that was done through the key-hole. This was given out when all that were concerned in it were dead; yet the old Earl of Nottingham, who had seen Parker's consecration, was still alive, and declared, that he saw it done at Lambeth, in the chapel, according to the Common Prayer-Book; and both the records of the crown, and the registers of the see of Canterbury, do plainly confute this. The author did also see the original instrument then made, describing all the particulars relating to Parker's consecration, preserved still in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, among the other manuscripts which he left to that house, in which he had his education.

The fable
of the Nag's
Head con-
futed.

The first thing which the Bishops set about was the publishing the doctrine of the Church. In order to this, a review was made of those Articles that had been compiled under King Edward the Sixth, and some small alterations were made. The most considerable was, that a long determination, that was made formerly against the corporal presence, was now left out; and it was only said, *That the body of Christ was given and received in a spiritual manner, and that the means by which it was*

The Articles
of the
Church pub-
lished.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

received was faith. Yet in the original subscription of the Articles by both Houses of Convocation, still extant, there was a full declaration made against it, in these words: "Christ, when he ascended into heaven, made his body immortal, but took not from it the nature of a body. But it still retains, according to the Scriptures, a true human body, which must be always in one definite place, and cannot be spread into many or all places at once: since then Christ was carried up to heaven, and is to remain there to the end of the world, and is to come from thence, and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead; none of the faithful ought to believe or profess the real, or, as they call it, the corporal presence of his flesh and blood in the Eucharist." But the design of the Queen's Council was to unite once the whole nation into the communion of the Church; and it was feared, that so express a definition against the real presence would have driven many out of the communion of the Church, who might have been otherwise kept in it; and therefore it was thought enough to assert only the spiritual presence; but that it was not necessary to condemn the corporal presence in such express words; and therefore, though the Convocation had so positively determined this matter, it was thought more conducing to the public peace, to dash it in the original copy, and to suppress it in the printed copies.

A translation of the Bible.

The next thing they took in hand was a new translation of the Bible: several books of it were given to several Bishops, who were appointed to call for such Divines as were learned in the Greek or Hebrew tongues, and by their assistance they were to translate that parcel that fell to their share; and so when one had completed that which was assigned to him, he was to offer it to the correction of those that were appointed to translate the other parts; and after every book had thus passed the censure of all who were employed in this matter, then it was approved of. And so great haste made they in this

important work, that within two or three years the whole translation was finished.

There was one thing yet wanting to complete the reformation of this Church, which was the restoring a primitive discipline against scandalous persons, the establishing the government of the Church in ecclesiastical hands, and the taking it out of lay-hands, who have so long profaned it; and have exposed the authority of the Church, and the censures of it, chiefly excommunication, to the contempt of the nation; by which the reverence due to holy things is in so great a measure lost, and the dread-fullest of all censures is now become the most scorned and despised. But, upon what reasons it cannot be now known, this was not carried on with that zeal, nor brought to that perfection, which was necessary. The want of ecclesiastical discipline set on some to devise many new platforms, for the administration of it in every parish; all which gave great offence to the government; and were so much opposed by it, that they came to nothing. Other differences were raised concerning the vestments of the Clergy; and some factions growing up in the Court, these differences were heightened by those who intended to serve their own ends, by making the several parties quarrel with so much animosity, that it could scarce be possible to reconcile them. Since that time, the fatal division of this nation, into the court and country party, has been the chief occasion of the growth and continuance of those differences; so that all the attempts which have been made by moderate men to compose them have proved ineffectual.

1559.
The want
of church
discipline.

At this time there was a great revolution of affairs in Scotland. When there was a probability of bringing the treaty of Cambray to good effect, the Cardinal of Lorraine writ to his sister, the Queen Regent of Scotland, and to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and let them know the resolution that was taken to extirpate heresy, and exhorted them to use their endeavours for that end. The Queen Regent saw that, by doing this, she should not

The reforme
ation in
Scotland.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

only break her faith with the Lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon the assurance she gave them of her protection, but that the peace of Scotland would be endangered; for as their party was strong, so it was not to be doubted but the Queen of England would support them, and so she was not easily brought to follow her brother's cruel counsels. But the Bishops shut their eyes upon all dangers, and resolved to strike a terror into the people by some severe executions. They began with Walter Mell, an old infirm priest, who had preached in some places against many of the opinions then received: he was particularly accused for having asserted the lawfulness of the marriage of the Clergy, and for having condemned the sacrifice of the mass, and transubstantiation, with some other particulars; all which he confessed, and upon his refusal to abjure them, he was condemned to be burnt. Yet so averse were the people from those cruelties, that it was not easy to find any that would execute the sentence; nor would any do so much as sell a cord to tie him to the stake, so that the Archbishop was forced to send for the cords of his own pavilion. The old man expressed great firmness of mind, and such cheerfulness in his sufferings, that the people were much affected at it: and this being every where looked on as a prologue to greater severities that were to follow, the nobility and gentry began to consider what was fit to be done. They had offered a petition to the Queen Regent the last year, that the worship might be in the vulgar tongue, that the communion might be given in both kinds, and that scandalous priests might be turned out, and worthy men to be put in their places. The Queen Regent being unwilling to irritate so great a party, before the Dauphin was declared King of Scotland, promised that they should not be punished for having their prayers in the vulgar tongue. In Parliament they moved for a repeal of the laws for the Bishops proceedings against heretics, and that nothing might be judged heresy, but that which was condemned by the Word of God: but the

Queen Regent told them these things could not pass, because of the opposition which was made to them by the spiritual estate; upon that they made a protestation, that whereas they had modestly moved for a redress of abuses, they were not to be blamed for the ill effects of rejecting their petition, and the violences that might follow.

But when the Queen had gained her end in relation to the Dauphin, she ordered a citation to be served on all the reformed preachers. The Earl of Glencairn was, upon that, sent to put her in mind of her former promises. She answered him roughly, "that maugre all that would take those men's part, they should be banished Scotland;" and added, "that Princes were bound only to observe their promises, so far as they found it convenient for them to do it." To this he replied, that if she renounced her promises, they would renounce their obedience to her.

In St. John's Town, that party entered into the churches, and had sermons publicly in them. The ministers were coming from all parts to appear on the 20th of May, for to that day they had been cited; and great numbers came along with them. The Queen, apprehending the ill effects of a great confluence of people, sent them word not to come, and upon this many went home again; yet upon their non-appearance, they were all declared rebels. This foul dealing made many leave her, and go over to those that were met at St. John's Town. And the heat of the people was raised to that pitch, that they broke in upon the houses of the monks and friars, and after they had distributed all that they found in them, except that which the monks conveyed away, to the poor, they pulled them down to the ground. This provoked the Queen so much, that she resolved to punish that town in a most exemplary manner: so she gathered the French soldiers together, with such others as would join with her: but the Earl of Glencairn gathered 2500 men together, and with incredible haste he marched to that place, where there were now in all 7000 armed

It is first set
up in St.
John's
Town.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

men. This made the Queen afraid to engage with them: so an agreement was made. An oblivion was promised for all that was past; matters of religion were referred to a Parliament, and the Queen was to be received into St. John's Town, without carrying her Frenchmen with her: but she carried them with her into the town; and as she put a garrison in it, so she punished many for what was past; and when her promises were objected to her, she answered, "Princes were not to be strictly charged with their promises, especially when they were made to heretics; and that she thought it no sin to kill and destroy them all, and then would excuse it as well as could be, when it was done." This turned the hearts of the whole nation from her, and in many places they began to pull down images, and to raze monasteries. The Queen Regent represented this to the King of France, as done on design to shake off the French yoke, and desired a great force to reduce the country. On the other hand, some were sent over from the Lords, to give a true representation of the matter, and to let him know, that an oblivion for what was past, and the free exercise of their religion for the time to come, would give full satisfaction. The French King began now to apprehend, how great a charge the keeping that kingdom in peace was like to come to; and saw the danger of the Scots casting themselves into the arms of the Queen of England; therefore he sent one, in whom the Constable put an entire confidence, to Scotland, to bring him a true report of the state of that matter that was so variously represented: but before he could return, the King of France was dead, and the Constable was in disgrace; and all affairs were put in the hands of the brothers of the House of Guise, so that all moderate councils were now out of doors. The people did so universally rise against the Queen Regent, that she was forced to retire to Dunbar castle. She was once willing to refer the whole matter to a Parliament: but 2000 men coming over from France, and assurances being sent her of a greater force to

follow, she took heart, and came and fortified Leith, and again broke her last agreement; upon which the Lords pretended, that, in their Queen's minority, the government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent was only the chief administrator, and accountable to them; so they resolved to depose her from her regency.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

They objected many mal-administrations to her; as her beginning a war in the kingdom, and bringing in strangers to subdue it; her embasing the coin; governing without consent of the nobility, and breaking her faith and promises to them: upon which they declared that she had fallen from her regency, and suspended her power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now called *the Lords of the Congregation*, retired from Edinburgh to Stirling: upon which the French came to Edinburgh, and set up the mass again in the churches; then a new supply came from France, commanded by the Marquis of Elbeuf, one of the Queen Regent's brothers, so that there were in all 4000 French in Scotland. But by her having this foreign force, the whole nation came to be united against the Queen, and to look on her as a common enemy. The Scots, who had been hitherto animated, and secretly supplied with money and ammunition from England, were now forced to desire the Queen of England's aid more openly: and France was now like to be so much divided within itself, that the Queen did not much apprehend a war with that crown; so she was more easily determined to assist the Scots.

The Queen
Regent is
deposed.

A treaty was made between the Duke of Norfolk and the Scots: they promised to be the Queen's perpetual allies, and that, after the French were driven out of Scotland, they would continue their obedience to their Queen: upon which, 2000 horse and 6000 foot were sent to assist the Scots. These besieged Leith, during which there were considerable losses on both sides; but the losses on the side of the English were more easily made up, supplies being nearer at hand. The French offered

The Queen
of England
assists the
Scots.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

10 June.
The Queen
Regent
dies.

to put Calais again into the Queen of England's hands, if she would recall her forces out of Scotland. She answered on the sudden, "she did not value that fish-town, so much as she did the quiet of the isle of Britain." But she offered to mediate a peace between them and the Scots.

Before this could be effected, the Queen Regent of Scotland died; she sent for some of the Scotch Lords in her sickness, and asked them pardon for the injuries she had done them: she advised them to send both the French and English out of Scotland, and prayed them to continue in their obedience to their Queen: she also discoursed with one of their preachers, and declared that she hoped to be saved only by the merits of Christ. She had governed the nation, before the last year of her life, with such justice and prudence, and was so great an example, both in her own person, and in the order of her court, that if she had died before her brother's bloody counsels had involved her in these last passages of her life, she had been the most lamented and esteemed Queen that had been in that nation for many ages. Her own inclinations were just and moderate; and she often said, that if her counsels might take place, she did not doubt but she should bring all things again to perfect tranquillity and peace. Soon after, a peace was concluded between England, France, and Scotland: an oblivion was granted for all that was past; the French and English were to be sent out of Scotland, and all other things were to be referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's absence, the kingdom was to be governed by a council of twelve, all natives; of these the Queen was to name seven, and the States were to choose five. So both the English and French were sent out of Scotland; and the Parliament met in August.

A Parliament
meets, and
settles the
Reformation.

In it, all acts for the former way of religion were repealed, and a confession of faith, penned by Knox, afterwards inserted among the acts of Parliament, 1567, was confirmed. These acts were opposed only by three temporal Lords, who said, they would

believe as their fathers had done: but all the spiritual Lords, both Bishops and Abbots, consented to them; and they did dilapidate the lands and revenues of the Church in the strangest manner that was ever known. The Abbots converted their abbeys into temporal estates; and the Bishops, though they continued Papists still, divided all their lands among their bastards or kindred, and procured confirmations of many of the grants they gave from Rome: by which that Church was so impoverished, that if King James and King Charles the First had not with much zeal, and great endeavours, retrieved some part of the ancient revenues, and provided a considerable maintenance for the inferior Clergy, all the encouragements to religion and learning had been to such a degree withdrawn, that barbarism must have again overrun that kingdom. When these acts thus agreed on in the Parliament of Scotland were sent over to France, they were rejected with great scorn; so that the Scots began to apprehend a new war: but Francis the Second's death soon after, delivered them from all their fears; for their Queen, having no more the support of so great a crown, was forced to return home, and govern in such a manner, as that nation was pleased to submit to.

Thus had the Queen of England divided Scotland from its ancient dependence on France, and had tied it so to her own interests, that she was not only secure on that side of her dominions, but came to have so great an interest in Scotland, that affairs there were for the most part governed according to the directions she sent thither. Other accidents did also concur to give her a great share in all the most important affairs of Europe.

The Queen
of England
the head of
all the Pro-
testants,

In France, upon Henry the Second's fatal end, Both in great divisions arose between the Princes of the France, blood and the brothers of the house of Guise, into whose hands the administration of affairs was put, during Francis the Second's short reign. It was pretended on the one hand, that the King was not of age till he was twenty-two, and that during his

BOOK
IV.

1559.

minority the Princes of the blood were to govern by the advice of the Courts of Parliaments, and the Assembly of Estates. On the other hand, it was said, that the King might assume the government, and employ whom he pleased at fourteen. A design was laid, in which many of both religions concurred, for taking the government out of the hands of the strangers, and seizing on the King's person; but a Protestant, moved by a principle of conscience, discovered it. Upon this the Prince of Condé, and many others, were seized on; and if the King had not died soon after, they had suffered for it. Charles the Ninth succeeding, who was under age, the King of Navarre was declared Regent: but he, though before a Protestant, was drawn into the Popist interest, and joined himself with the Queen mother and the Constable. A severe edict was made against the Protestants; but the execution of it was like to raise great disorders; so another was made in a great assembly of many Princes of the blood, Privy Counsellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, allowing the free exercise of that religion: yet after this, the Duke of Guise reconciled himself to the Queen mother, and they resolved to break the edict: so the Duke of Guise happening to pass by a meeting of Protestants, his servants offered violence to them: from reproachful words, it went to throwing of stones: by one of which the Duke was hurt: upon which, his servants killed sixty of the Protestants, and wounded two hundred; and upon this the edict was every where broken. It was said, that the Regent's power did not extend so far, as that he could break so public an edict, and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. The Prince of Condé set himself at the head of them, and the King of Navarre being killed soon after the breaking out of the war, he, as the first Prince of the blood that was of age, ought to have been declared Regent: so that the Protestants said, their defending themselves was not rebellion, since they had both the law and the first Prince of the blood on their side. The wars lasted

near thirty years; for in all that time, notwithstanding some intervals of peace, the seeds of war were never so rooted out, but that they were ready to spring up upon every new occasion. In this the Queen interposed, and supported the Protestant party; sometimes with men, but oftener with money, so that she had near the half of that kingdom depending on her.

In the Netherlands, a long continuance of civil war almost on the same account gave her the like advantages. The King of Spain, by endeavouring to set up the courts of inquisition in those provinces, and by keeping some Spanish troops among them, and other excesses in his government, contrary to the articles of the *Lætus Introitus*, provoked them so much, that they shook off his yoke; and were supported by the aid and money which the Queen sent them. So that the Queen met with such a conjuncture of affairs in the dominions of those Princes that were next her, (of whom only she had reason to be afraid,) as scarce any Prince ever had.

And in the Netherlands.

In foreign parts she was the arbiter of Christendom; and at home things were so happily managed, trade did so flourish, and justice was so equally distributed, that she became the wonder of the world. She was victorious in all her wars with Spain; and no wonder; for it appeared signally in the ruin of the great Armada, which Spain looked upon as invincible, that Heaven fought for her. She reigned more absolutely over the hearts than the persons of her subjects. She always followed the true interests of her people, and so found her Parliaments always ready to comply with her desires, and to grant her subsidies, as often as she called for them; and as she never asked them but when the occasion for them was visible; so after they were granted, if the state of her affairs changed so that she needed them not, she readily discharged them. Rome and Spain set many engines on work, both against her person and government; but she still lived and triumphed. In the first ten years of her reign, the Papists were so compliant, that there was

The excellent administration of affairs in England.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

Catena.

no stir made about matters of religion. Pope Pius the Fourth condemned the madness of his predecessor, in that high and provoking message which he sent her; and therefore he attempted a reconciliation with her, at two several times; and offered, if she would join herself to the see of Rome, that he would annul the sentence against her mother's marriage, and confirm the English service, and the communion in both kinds. But she refused to enter into any treaty with him. Pius the Fifth, that succeeded him in that chair, resolved to contrive her death, as is related by him that writes his life. The unfortunate Queen of Scotland was forced to take sanctuary in England; where it was resolved to use her well, and restore her to her crown and country. But her own officious friends, and the frequent plots that were laid for taking away the Queen's life, brought on her the calamities of a long imprisonment, that ended in a tragical death; which, though it was the greatest blemish of this reign, yet was made in some sort justifiable, if not necessary, by the many attempts that the Papists made on the Queen's life; and by the deposition which Pope Pius the Fifth thundered out against her; from which it was inferred, that as long as that party had the hopes of such a successor, the Queen's life was not safe, nor her government secure.

Severities
against the
Papists
were ne-
cessary.

This led her towards the end of her reign to greater severities against those of the Roman communion; of which a copious account is given by Sir Francis Walsingham, that was for so many years employed, either in foreign embassies, or in the secrets of state at home; that none knew better than he did the hidden springs that moved and directed all her councils. He writ a long letter to a Frenchman, giving him an account of all the severities of the Queen's government, both against Papists and Puritans.

Sir Francis
Walsing-
ham's ac-
count of

The substance of which is, "That the Queen
"laid down two maxims of state; the one was, not
"to force conscience; the other was, not to let

1559.

the steps in
which she
proceeded.

“factious practices go unpunished, because they
“were covered with the pretence of conscience.
“At first, she did not revive those severe laws
“passed in her father’s time, by which the refusal
“of the oath of supremacy was made treason, but
“left her people to the freedom of their thoughts,
“and made it only penal to extol a foreign juris-
“diction: she also laid aside the word *Supreme*
“*Head*, and the refusers of the oath were only dis-
“abled from holding benefices, or charges, during
“their refusal. Upon Pius the Fifth’s excommu-
“nicating her, though the rebellion in the North
“was chiefly occasioned by that, she only made a
“law against the bringing over or publishing of
“bulls; and the venting of Agnus Dei’s, or such
“over love-tokens, which were sent from Rome, on
“design to draw the hearts of her people from her,
“which were no essential parts of that religion;
“so that this could hurt none of their consciences.
“But when, after the twentieth year of her reign,
“it appeared that the King of Spain designed to
“invade her dominions, and that the priests that
“were sent over from the seminaries beyond sea
“were generally employed to corrupt the subjects
“in their allegiance, by which, treason was carried
“in the clouds, and infused secretly in confession;
“then pecuniary punishments were inflicted on
“such as withdrew from the Church: and in con-
“clusion, she was forced to make laws of greater
“rigour, but did often mitigate the severity of
“them, to all that would promise to adhere to her,
“in case of a foreign invasion. As for the Puritans,
“as long as they only inveighed against some
“abuses, as pluralities, non residence or the like,
“it was not their zeal against those, but their vio-
“lence only that was condemned. When they
“refused to comply with some ceremonies, and
“questioned the superiority of Bishops, and de-
“clared for a democracy in the Church, they were
“connived at with great gentleness: but it was
“observed, that they affected popularity much, and
“the methods they took to compass their ends.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

“ were judged dangerous ; and they made such use
 “ of the aversion the nation had to Popery, that it was
 “ visible they were in hazard of running from one
 “ extreme to another : they set up a new model of
 “ church-discipline, which was like to prove no less
 “ dangerous to the liberties of private men, than
 “ to the sovereign power of the Prince : yet all this
 “ was borne with, as long as they proceeded with
 “ those expressions of duty which became subjects.
 “ But afterwards, when they resolved to carry on
 “ their designs, without waiting for the consent of
 “ the magistrate, and entered into combinations ;
 “ when they began to defame the government by
 “ ridiculous pasquils, and boasted of their numbers
 “ and strength, and in some places broke out into
 “ tumults, then it appeared that it was faction, and
 “ not zeal, that animated them. Upon that, the
 “ Queen found it necessary to restrain them more
 “ than she had done formerly ; yet she did it with
 “ all the moderation that could consist with the
 “ peace of the Church and State.” And thus,
 from this letter, an idea of this whole reign may be
 justly formed.

CONCLUSION.

THUS have I prosecuted, what I at first undertook, the progress of the Reformation, from its first and small beginnings in England, till it came to a complete settlement in the time of this Queen. Of whose reign, if I have adventured to give any account, it was not intended so much for a full character of her, and her councils, as to set out the great and visible blessings of God that attended on her ; the many preservations she had, and that by such signal discoveries as both saved her life, and secured her government ; and the unusual happiness

of her whole reign, which raised her to the esteem and envy of that age, and the wonder of all posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a virgin Queen could rule such a kingdom, for above forty-four years, with such constant success, in so great tranquillity at home, with a vast increase of wealth, and with such glory abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the rewards of Heaven, crowning that reign with so much honour and triumph, that was begun with the reformation of religion.

THE HISTORY OF THE

THIRD VOLUME

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AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

*Being a Supplement to the Abridgment of the
two former Volumes.*



ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

*Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended
in the First Book of the Abridgment of the His-
tory of the Reformation.*

THE greatest transaction which happened in this period, and which probably at that time had a great influence on the minds of the English, being the setting up of the Concordate in the room of the Pragmatic Sanction in France, by Francis the First, it will not be improper to give an account of that matter from its first springs and rise, to its final conclusion in the year 1532; at which time the Concordat was set up; and by it the King and the Pope agreed to divide between them all the liberties of the Gallican Church.

The Popes had increased in their power vastly from Gregory the Seventh to Boniface the Eighth's time, in about two hundred and thirty years. The progress of the Papal usurpation.

BOOK
1.

BOOK
III.

1300.

The schism
in the
Papacy.The Coun-
cil of Basil.The Pope
and Coun-
cil quarrel.

one began the pretension to depose Kings; the other declared himself to be both Pope and Emperor, and decreed, that it was absolutely necessary to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Bishop of Rome. The holy war had been one of the great engines of bringing in wealth and authority to the Papacy. But the long schism between the Popes of Rome and Avignon put a considerable stop to their growing usurpations, and occasioned the Council of Constance to be called. The Bishops then were too hasty in healing the breach; and did not seem to apprehend the opportunity they had of recovering their ancient authority. They thought it security enough to pass acts for perpetual General Councils to meet every ten years, whether the Pope summoned them or not, and for subjecting the Popes to the Councils. But when the schism was made up, these proved but feeble restraints: yet the Council of Basil met ten years after, pursuant to the decree of the Council of Constance. In this Council they condemned the making Bishops by Papal provisions, or by the power and favour of Princes, and restored elections to the chapters.

Upon a contest with the Pope Eugenius the Fourth, they addressed themselves to Charles the Seventh, King of France, for his protection, and sent him their decrees, in which they condemned the Pope's demanding first-fruits, and granting the survivances of bishoprics and of benefices, or reserving preferments by his bulls, which were in the gift of the Bishops, and allowing him only to dispose of one if the Bishop had ten, and two, if fifty. They appointed elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, and not the Pope; and condemned all exacting fees, and immediate appeals to the Pope: and they appointed, that when a cause rose up by the regular steps to the Pope, it should be judged by delegates upon the place, excepting only those which the law called the greater causes. They made likewise some provisions for the encouragement of learning, and of the universities: but

the chief thing was, they declared the Council to be above the Pope, that he was bound to submit to it, and that appeals lay to it from him. The first breach was made up by Sigismund the Emperor: the Pope submitted and ratified what the Council had done: but soon after a new quarrel arose; the Pope translated the Council to Ferrara, notwithstanding that the majority of them opposed it; upon which they deposed Eugenius, and he excommunicated them. They chose Amedee Duke of Savoy for their new Pope, and again begged the protection of France.

The King upon that called a great assembly, where the Dauphin and Princes of the blood, and many of the Nobility and Bishops, met. They disapproved of the deposing the Pope, and choosing Felix; but rejected the meeting at Ferrara, and adhered to that at Basil, and reduced their decrees into an edict, which was called the Pragmatic Sanction. 1438. The Pragmatic Sanction made in France.

Twenty years after this, Eneas Silvius, which had been secretary to the Council of Basil, and wrote in defence of it, but was gained, as he himself confessed, by a red hat to the Pope's side, and was now Pope himself, by the name of Pius the Second, in a Council he held at Mantua arraigned all that the Council of Basil had done, and branded the Pragmatic Sanction as heresy. When Danesius the French Attorney General heard this proceeding, he protested against it, and appealed to a General Council: and the Pragmatic Sanction continued to be observed in France till Charles the Seventh's death. But Lewis the Eleventh, who succeeded him, abrogated it, by the persuasion of the Bishop of Arras, whom the Pope had gained with the promise of a Cardinal's hat. The King writ a very abject letter to the Pope, which none will wonder at who read Philip de Comines's character of that Prince. He (in his letter) owns the Pope to be God's Vicar, and therefore, since he desires to have the Pragmatic Sanction abrogated, though it had been very solemnly received, and was now 1458. The Pope condemns it in a Council at Mantua. Lewis the Eleventh abrogates it.

BOOK
I.

1458.

The Parlia-
ment of
Paris op-
pose it.

fully settled, he abrogates it, and freely restores to him the power which Martin the Fifth and Eugenius the Fourth had exercised in former times, and promises to execute all his commands, and to punish the contumacious as he shall direct. This caused great joy at Rome; the Pragmatic was dragged about the streets; the Pope consecrated a fine sword to be sent to the King, and annexed the title of *Most Christian King* to the Crown of France. The Parliament of Paris upon that remonstrated to the King, that the Pragmatic Sanction contained the decrees of a General Council, and that he was obliged to maintain it: and the King grew slacker in the matter upon the Pope's refusing to help his son-in-law to recover Sicily from the bastard of Arragon. Six years after Pope Paul the Second procured an edict, revoking the Sanction by a new minister, whom he had gained likewise with the bait of a Cardinal's hat. The edict was sent to be registered in the Parliament of Paris, and the Court ordered St. Romain the Attorney General to examine it. He behaved himself with great courage, and opposed the registering it. He said, if the Sanction were repealed, all the old abuses would return; and shewed that, in the three years in which the Sanction was neglected, 1,120,000 crowns were sent to Rome to obtain bulls for bishoprics, abbeyes, and other preferments; that ten or twelve bulls of survivances were sometimes granted upon the same benefice, and that the survivance of any parish was to be purchased at the price of twenty-five crowns. He insisted that the King, as founder and defender of the rights and liberties of his Church, was bound to maintain them. The minister, now a Cardinal, got him to be turned out; but the King secretly rewarded him, and afterwards restored him to his place. The University of Paris likewise interposed against abrogating it; but the King being afraid of the practices of his brothers at Rome, renewed his promises to abrogate it; and the Sanction for many years was in disuse. About the end of this reign an assembly

met at Orleans to re-establish it, but the King's death prevented them. BOOK
I.

Charles the Eighth succeeding, the States met at Tours, and agreed that it should be observed. The Prelates which had been promoted contrary to it opposed it vehemently. St. Romain, now Attorney General, said it was for the interest of the kingdom, and therefore he would support it. The King saw it was for his advantage, and so resolved to adhere to it, and the Courts of Parliament judged according to it: thus it continued to be observed all Charles the Eighth's time, notwithstanding all the opposition that Pope Innocent the Eighth made by his legates against it: and Lewis the Twelfth made an edict, that the Sanction should be for ever observed. In his time Pope Julius the Second called the Council of the Lateran, and chiefly against him. In it the Pragmatic Sanction was arraigned, and the Advocate of the Council insisting that it should be condemned, all who would appear for it were summoned to come and be heard within sixty days. That Pope dying, Leo the Tenth renewed the summons. The personal hatred between Pope Julius and Lewis being now at an end, Bishops were sent by the Gallican Church to assist at the Council; but before any thing was concluded, Lewis died; and Francis who succeeded, standing in need of the Pope's favour, resolved to agree the matter, and had an interview with the Pope at Bononia. It was concluded on both sides to set up the Concordate in the room of the Pragmatic Sanction; upon which the Pope's Bull, condemning that Sanction, was read and approved by the Council, and the Concordate was established. By it the King and the Pope shared the spoils between them. The King was to nominate to bishoprics within six months after a vacancy: if the Pope disapproved, he had three months more; and if the King failed again, the Pope was to provide one to the see; and all that became vacant in the Court of Rome the Pope was to fill up: there were likewise some limitations, with relation to the persons

1458.

The Pragmatic Sanction re-established.

1499.

Condemned by the Council at the Lateran.

1516.

The Concordate put instead of it.

BOOK
I.

1516.

the Kings should nominate to bishoprics and abbeyes; appeals were to be judged in the parts where the causes lay, excepting the great causes; and no mention was made of first-fruits: in other particulars it agreed with the Pragmatic Sanction.

King Francis carried to the Parliament of Paris.

1517.

The King went in person to the Court of Parliament of Paris, to offer the Concordate to be registered. The Chancellor set before them the dangerous war the King had been engaged in, and that he fearing lest the old oppressions should take place again, if the Council of the Lateran simply condemned the Pragmatic Sanction, made the matter up by agreeing to the Concordate. The Cardinal of Boisi, in the name of the Ecclesiastics that were present, said, it could not be approved without a general consent. The King said, if they would not approve it, he would send them to Rome to dispute it with the Pope; and he commanded the Court to obey without delay. Then letters patent were made out, requiring the Court and all Judges to observe the Concordate, and see it executed. Some days after the Chancellor brought the King's letters patent to the Court. They first appointed the King's Council to examine the matter; but, at the Advocate General's desire, they named a committee of their own, which sat some time upon it. Soon after that the Advocate General moved the Court to judge according to the Pragmatic, and not to receive the revocation of it, and appealed against it; but the King sent his natural uncle, the bastard of Savoy, with orders to them immediately to publish the Concordate, and to hear the debates, and report them to him. They upon that sent some of their body, to lay before the King, that it looked like frightening them, to send one, not of their body, to be present at the debates. The King answered them, that he would be obeyed as his predecessors were, or he would banish them, and put good men in their places; that he would have his uncle present at their proceedings.

They resolve not to publish it.

After they had been a month in delivering their opinions, they concluded not to register the Con-

cordate, but to observe still the Pragmatic; that if the King would have the Concordate established, it must be in a great assembly, as in Charles the Seventh's time, when the Pragmatic was settled: and they desired the Savoyard to make a true report to the King of their proceedings. Upon this the King ordered them to send some of their body to give him an account of the grounds they went on. Two were sent, and they were bid to put what they had to offer in writing; but they desired to be heard forthwith, which the King refused. He said, there was but one King in France, that he had done his best in Italy to quiet the state, and he would not suffer that to be undone in France, nor them to assume the authority of the Senate of Venice: he ordered them to approve the Concordate, or they should feel his displeasure: and he would not allow of Ecclesiastics to be any more of this body, since they were not his subjects, as he could not cut off their heads. They pleaded the constitution of their Court; but he said, he was King as well as his ancestors, and would sit on another foot: and he commanded them to be gone by such an hour, or he would imprison them for six months, see who dare move set them at liberty so they went to Paris. The Duke of Tremouille was sent after them to the Parliament, to let them know that the King would have the Concordate published without any more deliberation; that if they delayed to obey him, he would make all the Court feel the effects of it. The Court upon this called the King's Council; they said the King had with severe threats commanded them to consent to the Concordate. The Advocate General said, he was sorry for the method the King took, but wished they would consider what might follow, if they stood out any longer; that the publishing it could be of no force, since the Church, whom it so much concerned, was not heard: he proposed that they should insert in the register, that it was done in obedience to the King, and declare that they did

The King
is offended
at this.

BOOK
I.

not approve of abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction, but would judge according to it.

1517.
The Parlia-
ment pub-
lishes it, but
with a pro-
testation.

The Parliament at last resolved that the decree for observing the Pragmatic should be confirmed, but that, in obedience to the King, they would publish the Concordate; and made a protest in the hands of the Bishop of Langres, that their liberties were taken from them, that they did not approve of the Concordate, but intended in all their judgment to observe the Pragmatic; and they appealed from the Pope to the Pope better advised, and the next General Council. Before the day of publication, the Rector, with others of the University of Paris, came to the Court, and desired to be heard before they proceeded. The Court received his petition, and assured him, that though they should publish the Concordate, it should not prejudice their rights, for they should still judge as formerly. The very day of publication, the Dean of Notre Dame came and prayed them not to proceed till the whole Gallican Church were consulted, since the Concordate implied a condemnation of the Councils of Constance and Basil, and destroyed the liberties of the Gallican Church, and protested against any thing that they should do to the prejudice of the Church. After that the Court proceeded to the publication; but added, that it was done by the command of the King, often repeated to them in the presence of the Lord of Tremouille: and two days after they renewed their former protest and appeal.

The Uni-
versity and
Clergy op-
pose it.

The Rector of the University, by a mandate that was printed, prohibited their printer to print the Concordate; and appealed from the Pope to a General Council lawfully assembled, and sitting in a safe place, and full freedom. Many reflections likewise were cast in sermons on the King and Chancellor. The King was incensed at this, and inhibited all meetings in the University, and ordered the first President to get the Concordate printed soon, and punish the authors of sedition: but the

Court of Parliament said they knew nothing tending that way, their business taking them up so, that they could not attend on sermons.

The Concordate was to have been published in six months, or be null and void; but upon their delays, the King had got the term prolonged a year. The chief exceptions that made the Parliament demur were, that by the Concordate the greater causes were to be judged at Rome; but what were those greater causes was not settled, as in the Pragmatic, where they were limited to bishoprics and monasteries; that now the Canonists might multiply them as they pleased; that the Pope's giving all that became vacant at Rome extended very far; that by the Concordate all nunneries, deaneries, and provostships were left to the Pope's provision; that in bishoprics the Pope may refuse to approve the King's nomination unjustly: all their elections being of divine right established by General Councils, by the civil law, and royal edicts, were taken away without hearing the parties concerned; that the King usurped what did not belong to him, on pretence that the Pope gave it him, which was contrary to the doctrine of the Gallican Church. They complained that the Pope's Council of Lateran had invaded the King's prerogative, by forbidding all that held lands of the Church to observe the Pragmatic, under pain of forfeiting their lands; and by annulling the Sanction, while it subsisted by the royal authority, which might prove a dangerous precedent: they said that taking away the pragmatic was setting aside the doctrine of the Councils of Constance and Basil, contrary to their decrees set the Pope above the Council, though two Popes had confirmed the decrees made at Basil. They desired the King to remember his coronation oath, to maintain the rights of their Church, and either to prevail with the Pope to call a General Council, or to call a national one himself in France, to judge of the matter; and to despise the Pope's threatening to depose him, for he held his crown of God.

1518.
The exceptions to the Concordate by the Parliament.

BOOK
I.

1518.
The Chan-
cellor's an-
swer.

The Chancellor made a flattering answer to these exceptions, and was rewarded with a red hat. He said, the King being engaged in a dangerous war in Italy, the Pope having condemned the Pragmatic Sanction, and that being ratified by the Council at the Lateran, threatened him with censures, and would have revived all the old oppressions, if the King had not yielded some points to save the rest. He told them that the Kings of the first race named to bishoprics, that England and Scotland did the same; that elections had sometimes been made by the Pope, sometimes by Princes and the people, or Princes alone, sometimes by all the Clergy, and at last by the Canons only; that the King, embarrassed with these difficulties, was advised to accept the Concordate; that Pope Leo repented he had granted so much, and that the Cardinals with great difficulty were brought to consent to it. He went through the other heads, softening and defending the abuses, like a Canonist. Thus we see how little the honesty and courage of good judges signifies, when a Prince has assumed all the legislative power, and designs to break through the laws and constitution of his country. If the assembly of states in France had preserved their share in the legislative, and never suffered themselves to be taxed but by their own consent, probably these judges would have been supported and thanked, and the Chancellor would have received the punishment such corrupt ministers deserve, who for their own ends betray the interest of their country.

The Parlia-
ment still
judged by
the Prag-
matic
Sanction.

The Court of Parliament had still the firmness to judge by the Pragmatic Sanction, pursuant to their protestation. The archbishopric of Sens falling vacant soon after, the King inhibited the Chapter to elect: they hearing the Bishop of Paris was to have it, wrote to him not to wound their liberties so as to take it on the King's nomination; but he neglecting that, they chose him to keep up their claim: but the Bishop of Alby dying next, the King named one, and the Chapter chose another, and the Parliament of Thoulouse (within whose jurisdiction

it was) judged for the Chapter, against the King's nomination, though a bull had been obtained upon it.

BOOK
I.

Some years after the King being in Italy, and his mother left Regent, the Parliament made a remonstrance to her, desiring her to interpose that the Pragmatic might be restored. But that had no effect, till the King was taken prisoner by Charles the Fifth at the battle of Pavia; and then his mother declared, she thought his misfortunes a judgment on him for having abolished the Pragmatic; and that though she would not alter any thing during his absence, yet when he was at liberty, she would use her utmost endeavours with him to set it up again.

1524.
Upon the King's being a prisoner, the Concordate was more condemned.

This was registered in Parliament, but on the King's return nothing was done; but the King finding the Parliament resolved to support elections, removed all such suits from them to the Great Council, on some dispute about a bishopric and abbey that was given to Chancellor Prat, in recompense of his services. The Parliament struggled hard against this, and wrote to the Dukes and Peers to support them. But the King confirmed what was done, and settled the Chancellor in his see and abbey; and the proceedings of Parliament against him were annulled, and ordered to be struck out of their registers. Afterwards the King obtained a bull from Rome, suspending for the King's life all the special privileges which some Chapters and Abbeys had for free elections.

1527.
These matters removed from the Parliament to the Great Council.

Clement the Seventh was in a secret treaty with France, and so was easy to grant it, and the bull was registered in Parliament. Upon that the Chancellor called for all those privileges, pretending to examine them, and when he got them all together, he burnt them. After this there were several attempts made to recover the Pragmatic Sanction, especially in the point of elections in Henry the Third and Charles the Ninth's reign, but without effect; for the Court of Rome felt the advantages of the Concordate too sensibly ever to part with it,

1533.

BOOK
I.

1532.

and the Kings of France got so much power by it, that they were not willing to yield it up.

Thus was this great affair settled, when King Henry broke off all correspondence with Rome; and no doubt it had a great effect upon the wise men of the Church, to see how the Court of Rome sold the rights of the Church, whenever they were to be gainers by it.

1521.

The progress of
Wolsey's
rise and
ministry.

As to the affairs of England in this period, Wolsey was now the favourite and sole minister. He had been first Rector of Lymington, and Vicar of Lyde, and was made Almoner in 1509. He was afterwards made Prebend of Windsor, and then Dean of Lincoln, and a year after Bishop by Pope Leo; and in his bull for that bishopric he was styled Dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster: afterwards he was made Archbishop of York, whether by the King's recommendation is not mentioned in the bull, as it is in Campeggio's bull for Salisbury. He had great pensions from Charles the Fifth, and Francis, and the Duke of Milan. He was so entirely minister, that he even prepared the King's secret letters for him; for while he was in Flanders making up the differences between the Emperor and Francis, he sent the King over two letters, to transcribe with his own hand, for the Emperor, and the Regent of Flanders. The Emperor paid him great respects, and he, in a private letter to the King, commended the Emperor highly, either being really deceived by him himself, or being gained by him to deceive the King. He says that he was a very wise man, and much inclined to truth; that he promised always to follow the King's advice, so that the King would not only govern the affairs at home, but also Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries.

Wolsey
gained by
Charles the
Fifth.

Wolsey's
practices to
be chosen
Pope.

It is generally said, that Wolsey's revenge, because the Emperor would not make him Pope, was in a great measure the cause of all the change of the councils, and of the divorce that followed: but his private letters to the King make this very doubtful. Upon Adrian's death, he wrote to the King, that

his absence only could hinder him from being chosen Pope, by reason of the factions at Rome; that he thought himself unfit for it, and would rather end his days with the King; but since the King thought it would be for his service, he would send him over instructions for the ambassadors at Rome to that end, which he desired him to sign and dispatch: and he sent him, together with those letters and instructions, a private letter to write in his own hand to the Emperor, though he verily supposed that he had done what he could to advance him, pursuant to the conference he had with the King. In the dispatch which he sent to the ambassadors at Rome, he tells them, that the Emperor being absent could not help his advancement; yet the Regent of the Netherlands, who knew him, was heartily for him, and several of the Cardinals: that it was not ambition, but his zeal for the honour and safety of the King and the Emperor, and the exaltation of the Christian faith, that determined him to move in this matter: yet he sends them double powers for himself and the Cardinal of Medici. If the last was like to carry it, they were to use no other; if not, they were to serve him, and offer the Cardinals great rewards and promotions, and to commend his wisdom and temper to them. He promises to be at Rome in three months, if he be chosen; and tells them that the King would come with him. He added a postscript with his own hand to the Bishop of Bath, telling him how the King esteemed his policy; that the King believed the Imperialists would be for him; willed him to spare neither his authority nor money. But all this simony came too late, for it found a Pope already chosen. After it was over, he wrote to the King, that the French party being abandoned in the Conclave, the Cardinals had resolved on him, or Medici: but the people of Rome hearing that, cried at the Conclave-windows, what danger it would be to choose an absent person; which frightened the Cardinals so, that by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost they chose Medici; and he blessed God for it, and

BOOK
I.

1521.

Lord Bur-
leigh's
character
of Wolsey.

was gladder than if he himself had been chosen, since he was a true friend to the King, and promoted by his assistance. Nor is there any thing like complaint in these letters, as if the Emperor had failed in his promise at the election: so that the King's supporting Francis against the Emperor, after his misfortunes at the battle of Pavia, seems rather to have been owing to that true maxim which King Henry always followed, *of keeping the balance of Europe even*, than to any private resentments of the Cardinal.

There is a character of this Cardinal, given by the Lord Burleigh in the memorial he prepared for Queen Elizabeth against favourites, which does not tend much to his advantage. He says, he kept a court like a Prince; that he had an Earl, nine Barons, and a thousand Knights, and Gentlemen, and inferior officers, in his family; that, besides his vast expence, he gave great pensions at Rome, in hopes of being made Pope; that he lent great sums to the Emperor, who was so poor, that he could not hope to be repaid: that these drains made him take extraordinary ways to raise money. He granted commissions under the Great Seal to oblige all that did not swear themselves worth less than fifty pounds, to pay four shillings in the pound; and this by his own authority; for it being represented to the King, the King disowned it, declaring that nothing should ever make him attempt raising money, but by Parliament. This failing, he endeavoured to raise money by benevolence: but London opposing this on the statute of Richard the Third against benevolence, and it being like to cause a civil war, it was likewise dropped. This is what Burleigh tells of him.

1518.

Wolsey's
proceedings
as Legate.

As to his ecclesiastical proceedings, he behaved himself very insolently; for when Warham had summoned a Convocation to Lambeth for the reforming abuses, as he affirmed in his summons, with the King's consent; Wolsey wrote to him, that reforming abuses belonged to him as *Legatere a latere*; that the King had never commanded any such thing, nor

would suffer such a derogation of the dignity of the apostolic see, and expressly ordered the contrary: so he orders him to come to him. And Warham was obliged to recall his summons, and send this letter round to all his Bishops. A year after Wolsey summoned a legatine council by a circular letter. But nothing of their proceedings remains, excepting some regulations about the habits of the Clergy, and the lives and manners of them who were to be ordained.

In the fourteenth of this King's reign, when the Parliament was called, Warham had a writ to summon the Convocation, which met accordingly at St. Paul's. The Cardinal, who had brought his York Convocation to Westminster, sent a monition to Warham to appear before him, with his Clergy, at Westminster, and in this irregular synod he intended that supplies should be granted: but the Clergy of Canterbury refusing to act, and saying, they had no warrant to proceed, but in a provincial way under the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom their powers were directed, the two Convocations separated again, and granted their supplies apart. Wolsey upon that issued out monitory letters to the Bishops of the province of Canterbury to meet at Westminster, to deliberate on the reformation of the Clergy, and required the Proctors of the Clergy to bring sufficient powers to act in a legatine synod; but it does not appear that any such assembly of the Clergy met, so probably the thing was let fall.

Wolsey likewise took upon him as legate to give institution to all benefices without the Bishop of the diocese's consent, which being a papal provision, the accepting of such institutions involved the Clergy in a *præmunire*. He likewise published Pope Leo's bull against Luther, and required all that had any of Luther's books to bring them in by a prefixed day, under pain of excommunication. This shews how much they were then afraid of the spreading of Luther's doctrines. Indeed the corruptions were become so gross, that a reformation was universally wished for, so much, that, in the commission to

BOOK
I.

1523.

Colet's sermon before the Convocation.

those who were sent by the King to assist at the Council of Lateran, the reformation of the head and members is mentioned as the thing that was expected from that Council.

These corruptions were so great, that Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, and one of the best men of the age, who though he never tried to recommend himself at Court by flattery, yet was so much esteemed by the King, that he called him his Doctor, made them the subject of a sermon he preached at the opening of a Convocation: wherein he complains grievously of the pride and covetousness of the Bishops and Clergy, that those were the occasions of all their corruptions and quarrels; that churchmen being employed in secular employments was the disgrace of the Church, and made them ignorant, and flatterers of princes: he complains of the greediness of Clergymen, how they run from benefice to benefice, and seemed to mind nothing but fat benefices and high promotions, and though they have many great ones, never do the office of any small one; he says that hurts them more than any contradiction from lay-people. He calls on them all to reform themselves, and the rather to give good example. He complains the gate of ordination is too wide, that people without learning or good lives are admitted; that Rectors do not reside in their churches, but that all offices are performed by foolish and wicked Vicars. He complains that Bishops are made by the favour of men, and are worldly, not heavenly, and do not reside in their diocese; he earnestly begs them not to let that meeting pass in doing nothing, as others had; but to go on by God's aid and spirit, and contrive, establish, and decree such things as may lead to the advantage of the Church, their own honour, and the glory of God.

Sir Thomas More's thoughts of religion in his Utopia.

There was another great man about this time, Sir Thomas More, who seems once to have had the same sense of the corruptions which then prevailed. He writ his Utopia when he was about thirty-four years old, A.D. 1516, and was employed with Tonnage in some negotiations with Prince Charles. He

shews in that book what large and noble apprehensions he had of things; he arraigns the Monks as being useless and mischievous to the public, and gives a very ridiculous view of the folly and ill-nature of the Friars; he accuses the preachers of having corrupted Christ's doctrine, and made a leaden rule of it; he makes the Utopians allow their Priests to marry; and he exalts solid virtue much above the rigid severities then in fashion; he puts images out of the Utopian churches; he makes them pay divine honours only to God; he gives it as one of their maxims, that no man ought to be punished for his religion, and there was a law amongst them to that purpose; and if any one endeavoured to raise sedition on the account of religion, he was to be banished; he makes that, though there were several sects among them, they performed particular rites in their private houses, and in the public temples there was nothing but the worship of one God, in which they all agreed. These representations of the happiness of his imaginary country shew what Sir Thomas More then thought of matters. And there is nothing can be a surer mark that Popery will darken the clearest understanding, and corrupt the best nature, than that this same man, who had such noble thoughts of things, should afterwards prove not only a violent opposer of the Reformation in writing, but a persecutor of it even to blood.

Thus stood the affairs in England when the divorce was first set on foot. It was said in the former volume, that the Emperor broke his contract to marry Princess Mary by the advice of a Spanish Cortes, on the account of exceptions that were made against her mother's marriage: but now it appears, that the Emperor desired of the King to be discharged of his obligation, because the match with Portugal was more for his interest, and not on any scruple as to the legitimacy of Princess Mary; but the King never discharged him, and afterwards demanded of him one part of the forfeiture of the contract, which was 100,000*l*. The first motion about the divorce was made to the Pope, when Wolsey

BOOK
I.

1527.

Wolsey desires a deputation of the Pope's authority.

was in France concluding a treaty with Francis to set the Pope at liberty. From thence likewise Wolsey with four other Cardinals wrote to the Pope, desiring him to grant them a full deputation of his authority, during his imprisonment, for the safety of his Church, lest the Emperor should force him to yield up its territories; and declaring, that if he dies, they will choose a new Pope, without regarding any elections the imprisoned Cardinals might be forced to.

1528.

A bull sent to Wolsey to judge the marriage.

Wolsey designed to bring the Emperor and King of France to an accommodation, if he could, by the King's mediation; but if that did not succeed, and the Pope was still kept prisoner, he expected a general meeting of Cardinals at Avignon, where he might bring on the matter of the divorce with success: he made a treaty with Francis, which the King swore to, Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, and several more, being sent over to take his oath. Now the King's matter began to be public; for one Wakefield, (the first man of this nation that was learned in the oriental tongues,) who had writ against the divorce, before he knew that Prince Arthur had consummated his marriage, now printed a book in Latin, with a Hebrew title, to prove the marrying a brother's wife, whom he had carnally known, unlawful. Knight, who was sent to Rome at this time, obtained a bull, which was directed to Cardinal Wolsey, empowering him and the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any other Bishop, to judge the King's marriage, and determine it without appeal: but the bull was never made use of: and another was got afterwards, together with a solemn promise, on the word of a Pope, that he would never revoke his commission. In the mean while Warham with several Bishops met to consider the grounds of the King's scruples; and agreed, that they were great and weighty; and that it was necessary for him to consult their holy father the Pope in the matter.

This year the King and the King of France declared war against the Emperor; and the King de-

manded the forfeit the Emperor had agreed to in case he did not marry Princess Mary. The Emperor answered, that the King had agreed to send her to him before he was to marry her, which he had not done; and he knew that the King had been treating a marriage for her with Scotland: he heard that the King designed a divorce, but he said he had in his hands full dispensations for the marriage; and if the King proceeded, it would give him a just occasion of war. He laid all on the Cardinal's revenge, because he would not make him Pope by force, as the King and he had desired him to do. But this might be a false imputation, as the breve he pretended to have was a forgery.

This summer the sweating sickness raged so, that the King made his will; and the Cardinal stole privately out of his own house, and ran away.

Wolsey was now beginning to decline in favour at Court, and was hastening to finish his colleges, and furnish his episcopal palaces, and seemed to be preparing for a storm. The King had said some terrible words to him, as if he apprehended him to be cold in his matter.

Gardiner was now at Rome advancing the King's business. He writes over, that he had endeavoured to frighten the Pope with telling him what message the German Princes had sent to the King; but the Pope would do nothing to offend the Emperor, being entirely in his power as long as he stayed at Rome. He says, the Pope in his words favoured the King, but he was sure he would do nothing; but he believed he would be glad if the legates determined the cause; and then if the Emperor began a suit, they would serve him with delays, as they had the King, and would still, if he waited for any thing from Rome. He sent over the Pope's promise, never to revoke the commission, in which he had got some words inserted, mentioning *the justice of the King's cause*. He said the Pope told him that the Emperor had advertised him that the Queen would do nothing, but as the King commanded her. Gardiner did not

BOOK
I.1528.
King Henry's letters
to Anne
Bullen.

obtain what he was ordered to ask, and he seems to insinuate that the blame was to be laid on Wolsey.

The King was at this time writing every day to Anne Bullen letters full of passion, but such as mark an honourable love, directed to marriage, and plainly shew that there was no ill commerce between them. These letters have been lately printed, because at Rome they have long made use of them as an argument against us, pretending that they were full of defilement, and calling them the true original of our Reformation. The Queen still eat and lodged with the King, even after Campeggio came into England.

Wolsey at this time desired the French to intercept the General of the Cordeliers who was to sail to Spain, that they might know from him what it was that obstructed the King's matter at Rome; for they knew he had made a treaty with the Pope in the Emperor's name, in which they were sure the reasons of those obstructions would appear. He complained that the French did not assist the King as they might and ought, since the divorce was first set on foot by himself, to make a perpetual separation between England and the House of Burgundy.

The Cardinals waited both upon the King and Queen. The Queen received Campeggio with respect, but spoke very severely to Wolsey, laying all the blame upon him, and told him of his scandalous life, and accused him of having raised all those doubts out of revenge to her nephew the Emperor. A little after she chose for her Council the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, Bath, Rochester, Ely, and Exeter, with the Dean of the Chapel; of which, only London, Rochester, and the Dean were in their opinion for her. She expected an Advocate, Proctor, and Counsellor from Flanders, it not being allowed her, by reason of the war, to bring one from Spain.

The King called for the Mayor of London to give the city an account of his scruples, and told, that the Bishop of Tarbe was the first who made him

entertain them. Anne Bullen was come to Court, and was waited on like a Queen. The people were uneasy, and disposed to a revolt. There were many strangers in the kingdom, whom they designed to send away. The lawyers that came from Flanders, in their audience, spoke to the King very boldly, and were answered sharply. They courted Campeggio, but neglected Wolsey; and having lodged the advices that were sent by them with the Queen, returned home.

BOOK
I.

1528.
Apprehensions of disorders on the Queen's account.

Gardiner had threatened the Pope, that if he did not order Campeggio to proceed in the divorce, the King would withdraw from his obedience. Wolsey was in great fear, that, if it was not done, all the blame would be cast upon him, and would sink him. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were persuading the King that he betrayed him; and he desired the King of France and his mother to make the Duke of Suffolk desist; and pressed that King to send to the Pope, that both kingdoms would withdraw from his obedience, if justice was denied the King, and made the French great promises to persuade them to it.

1529.
Wolsey's credit shaken.

Gardiner returned from Rome with proofs of the *breve's* being forged; and Campeggio could delay matters no longer, the French pressing him to make dispatch. But on the thirteenth of July, Cassali writ from Rome, that the Pope had recalled the King's cause at the Emperor's suit. The original register of the Legates' proceedings, which is now found, differs in some points from the former account. The King never is mentioned in the register as appearing in person, but only by proxy; and so those speeches seem to be inventions; or they were spoke to the King in the hall before the Cardinals were set, and so there was no court, nor could any thing then said be registered. The Queen was thrice declared contumacious. Some of the articles offered against the marriage were, that it was against the laws of God and the Church, and could not be dispensed with; that the Pope had been surprised into it by false suggestions of the danger of a war,

The proceedings of the Legates.

BOOK
I.

1529.

The Cardi-
nal's fall.

and it was proved that there was no appearance at that time of a war between England and Spain: the *breve* was likewise proved to be a forgery. Warham said, in his examination, he had been against the marriage, thinking it against the laws of God and the Church, but that he acquiesced upon the Pope's dispensation. The Bishop of Ely deposed, that the Queen had often denied to him that the marriage with Prince Arthur was ever consummated; but many witnesses were brought to prove a consummation, from their lodging constantly in the same bed; from Prince Arthur's good health, and some words he spoke the morning after his marriage. In this record there is no mention of that paper, which it was said Warham and the Bishops signed, and Fisher denied he had signed, concerning the King's marriage; which makes it probable that the story of its being brought into court was a mistake: in other particulars it agrees with the former account. Wolsey (after the adjournment) expressed great fear, and pressed the Bishop of Bayonne, the French minister, to go over to France, and gather the opinions of learned men on the King's cause: the Bishop desired leave of the King of France to come over, under pretence of coming to see his old father, but really to know the sense of the French Divines: he writ to France, that if they did not agree to his coming over, it would increase the jealousies the King had already conceived of that court.

Wolsey was soon after that disgraced, and bore it very ill: he desired the French king and his mother to interpose with the King for him, to prevent his total ruin, though he did not desire to remain Chancellor or Legate; but he begged them not to let it appear that the motion came from him, lest it should hasten his ruin; and if they would do any thing, to do it without delay.

When he went to York, he behaved himself very well, and gave a good example to Bishops. He rode about the country to parish-churches most holydays, and made one of his Doctors preach, and

said mass himself; and composed any quarrels that were among them.

BOOK
I.

1529.

In the mean while the King sent his question to the several Universities of Europe; and to gain Francis to assist him in this, he lent him 150,000 crowns to help to pay the redemption of his sons, who were yet in the Emperor's hands; and sent him great presents.

When the Parliament was met, the Convocation assembled two days after. A reformation of abuses was proposed, and an enquiry was made concerning heretical books; and they remitted to the King the loan they had made him. The Bishops were very angry at several translations of the Bible by Tindal and others, and the King ordered them all to be brought in, and promised a new one. When Coverdale had made his translation, the Bishops told the King that there were many faults in it. He asked if there were any heresies in it: they said they found none; upon which the King answered, *Then in God's name let it go abroad among my people.*

Proceed-
ings in Con-
vocation.

1530.

The Convocation met again the next year; their greatest business was to purchase a pardon for the *præmunire* the Cardinal had involved them in, which they did for 100,000*l.* The dispute was about putting in those words, *The King who is Protector, and the only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England.* They seemed unwilling to allow that, and the King insisted on it, or would pass no pardon. At last it was mollified by adding these words, *As far as is to be allowed by the laws of Christ.* This both Houses consented to, and so the matter was carried; and the King was glad to have it settled, notwithstanding the limitation, that it might serve to terrify the Court of Rome. Tonsal, now made Bishop of Durham, protested against it, but was so satisfied by a letter the King wrote to him, that he afterwards took the oath without any limitation. Afterward they condemned Tracy's Testament, and complained of Crome, Bilney, and Latimer, desiring that they might be proceeded against.

BOOK

I.

1530.

The proceedings in the Universities.

When the King consulted his Universities about the marriage, Cambridge determined the matter first. The King writ to them, and sent Gardiner and Fox to inform them of the state of the case. When they determined against the marriage, they added, she being carnally known by her former husband. The Vice-Chancellor brought this determination to the King; and the King desired them to determine the other question, whether the Pope had power to dispense with such a marriage? and was not pleased that it was not already determined. To them of Oxford the King writ, charging them to judge uprightly, and desiring them to make haste, as Cambridge had done; and not to suffer the young men to stay the heads and seniors in so weighty a cause: but there is nothing like threatening them, if they did not judge for him.

Proceedings in the Universities abroad.

The King desired the opinions of the French Divines; and wondered that, after he had received such good answers from Italy, they at Paris were so backward; and he suspected the King of France was not enough his friend: so Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, went to Paris, and was so zealous in King Henry's affair, that some told the King of France, that he seemed to be serving two masters.

In the mean while Cajetan wrote for the Pope's power of dispensing with such marriages, affirming that they were not against the moral law, which he owned the Pope could not dispense with. The Pope, on a complaint of Queen Catharine, sent a *breve* to the King, prohibiting him to marry again, under pain of the severest censures, and threatened to put the whole kingdom under an interdict. He had attempted to do the same before; but that being complained of, he disowned and annulled the censures that were threatened in the interdiction.

The proceedings of the Sorbonne.

The Doctors of the Sorbonne had before given their opinion as private men; and fifty-six Doctors had been for the King, and only seven against him. But now they met in a body to consider the matter. The question being proposed to them, some said they were subject to the Pope, and could not proceed

without knowing his pleasure, or, at least, without knowing whether the King approved it: others were for proceeding to examine the matter, but for suspending the final resolution, till they had an answer from the Pope and King. When the beadle began to gather the votes, whether they should proceed or not, a Doctor snatched the scroll out of his hand, and tore it, and so they all rose in a tumult.

Upon this the English complained grievously; the French pressed the King to write to the Dean to cut off all delays, and end this business as soon as possible, and represented to him how things were managed among them, and how much that body wanted to be reformed. There were thirty-six against King Henry, and only twenty-two for him, in the last assembly, which made the English suspect some underhand dealing. They were ordered to meet again, and at last (on the second of July) made their decision, which was sent to King Henry, with an attestation by the notaries of the Court of Paris, which pleased the King mightily.

After this the party against the King would have overturned what was done by the whole body, and met as a capitular congregation, and demanded the act of determination from the Bishop of Senlis, who had it in his keeping, and was one of their body; but he would not send it them, and they threatened to deprive him as a rebel to the faculty. There was another instrument which they all signed, but was full of rasures and additions: this was demanded to be sent to England, but it was with much difficulty got out of their hands. In all this transaction there appeared so much tumult and disorder, as shewed they did not deserve the high character they bore in the world. At Angers the University gave their opinion against the marriage and dispensation; but the Divines for them both.

The Pope at this time had cited the King to appear before him; and because the King would not suffer his citation to be intimated to him, had made it be affixed at Tournay and Bruges. Upon this the King writ to the Pope, that he saw he neither

The Pope's
proceed-
ings.

BOOK
I.

1530.

regarded the most Christian King's interces-
nor himself, nor his nobility; that he refuse^{bo} u
send judges to judge upon the place, contrary to
what both Councils and Fathers had determined,
and to what he had once already done; that he saw
he was entirely devoted to the Emperor; that the
Queen could not pretend England was a suspected
place, considering the liberties her friends were al-
lowed to take: he complains that the Pope had en-
deavoured to hinder learned men from giving their
opinion, both by his own people, and by the Empe-
ror's means, notwithstanding that he had granted a
breve for that purpose; that he would not suffer his
prerogative, nor the laws of his kingdom, to be
broke, as they would be by citing him out of it.
But that had no effect, and the Pope sent a second
breve, declaring his marriage, if he should marry,
null, and the issue illegitimate, and denouncing
censures against him, and all that should assist him
in it. Upon this the King sent an excusator to
Rome, and his ambassadors complained of the indig-
nity done the King; and the King's advocates, that
pleaded for admitting the excusator, argued upon
the unsafeness of the place to which the King was
cited; and that he could not be obliged to send a
proxy, but where he might appear himself; nor was
any proxy fit to be trusted in so nice a matter.
They did not dare (at Rome) to insist upon the
cause's being to be judged on the place where it lay,
but they insisted that it should be in the neighbour-
hood. This matter was pleaded backward and for-
ward for above three years at Rome, Francis always
interposing for King Henry, and the Court of Rome
pressing him to keep the King from giving new pro-
vocations; and the Pope assured him that he would
manage the matter so, as to do service to King
Henry, without seeming partial to him. Francis
had agreed on an interview with the Pope for the
marriage of the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry
the Second, to Catharine de Medici, in which he
pretended he would promote the King's interest by
gaining the Pope; and another interview was fixed

between the two Kings to lay the matter, at which Anne Bullen was brought at the request of Francis. There the two Kings vowed perpetual friendship; and afterwards King Henry reproached Francis for having broken his word to him, in kissing the Pope's toe at the interview, and marrying his son to the Pope's niece, before he had given him satisfaction, and in not withdrawing himself from the Pope's obedience, and joining with him in an appeal to a General Council, as he had promised to do, if the Pope proceeded to final censures against him.

Soon after this the King married Anne Bullen, but Cranmer was not present, as he declares himself in a letter; nay he did not know of it till a fortnight after; he says it was done about St. Paul's day: but Queen Elizabeth being born within eight months, on the thirteenth or fourteenth of September, as appears by a letter of Cranmer's, it is probable they gave out that the marriage had been made in November, which was easily done, it having been managed so very secretly. When the news of the marriage came to Rome, the Pope seemed unwilling to proceed to censures, knowing how little they would signify: but the Emperor, it seems, forced him to it; for there was a *breve* published this year, but it was suppressed till the next year, for it has a second date of 1532. In it the King is required to put away Anne, and take back his wife, under pain of their being both excommunicated: yet the Pope changed his tone, for after this he talked openly in favour of the King's cause. The Emperor was pressing for a General Council to be called upon the King's affair, and on some other accounts: the King's ministers, on the other hand, urged the decree of the Council of Nice, that all such causes were to be judged by the Bishops of the province; but the Pope would not hear of it. He was told by the King's agents, that the King was resolved to adhere to his marriage, whatever the Pope did; and if he proceeded further, he might lose England, and perhaps France, as he had lost Hungary, and a great part of Germany. The King of France would have

BOOK
I.

1550.

King Henry
opposes the
interview
with the
Pope in
vain.

had the King come to the interview with the Pope at Marseilles; but the King was so disgusted at the Pope's tricks, that he said, he had married upon a sentence in England which satisfied his own conscience; and if the Pope would not do him justice, he would deliver the nation from their slavery to Rome. He had got the judgments of some Universities against his citation to Rome, Orleans in particular; and several canonists and advocates at Paris were of opinion that he was not bound to appear, nor send a proxy. King Henry endeavoured to divert the King of France from his interview with the Pope, which Francis said could not in honour be broke; but he desired the King would come thither, and he hoped all would be made up; or if he would not come, he desired the Duke of Norfolk should be sent, with some learned persons. The Duke was sent, and told the King of France, that, after the last sentence at Rome, the King looked upon the Pope as his enemy; and if he could not divert the interview, he was to return immediately: and upon Francis's refusing that, he returned, notwithstanding the most pressing instances he made him to stay. The King of France wrote to King Henry, that if the Duke of Norfolk had been with him, much might have been done. The Pope was angry that the King had contemned his *breve*, and that Cranmer had pronounced the sentence of divorce, and the Cardinals were so distasted with it, that the Pope could not avoid doing something upon it; but if Henry would have undone what had been done, he seemed willing to serve him with whatever he desired. The King of France sent very friendly messages to the King and Anne Bullen, and promised to be the godfather of their child, if it was a son.

The inter-
view at
Marseilles.

They were now at Marseilles, whither Gardiner was sent by the King. Francis pressed violently to have the King's affair first dispatched; but the Pope pretended the process was left at Rome, and so nothing could be done in it. King Henry upon this expostulated, that Francis went on with the marriage before his affair was done, contrary to his promise:

but answer was made, that to break with the Pope would throw him into the Emperor's hands, and that the interest he should gain with the Pope should be employed for the King's service. The Pope, seeing the King of France espouse the matter so cordially, was willing to do any thing to satisfy the King; but the Imperialists so pressed him, that he was forced to do whatever they demanded of him. The matter was still delayed at Rome; they still insisted on a proxy's being sent, promising to send delegates to England to examine witnesses, only reserving the final sentence to the Pope: Cassali came over to England about the proposal, but to no purpose. In the interview the Pope always allowed the King's cause to be just, but complains of the King's injuries to the see: Francis told him, he had begun doing injuries; but Henry desired that, setting aside all that was past, justice might be done him; and if that was refused, he would trouble himself no more about it. Francis complained, that the King would send no proxy to Marseilles; otherwise, he said, the business would have been done: and King Henry complained that Francis had not kept his promises to him, nor had pressed the Pope enough, otherwise he would have yielded. The Emperor at this time sent word to the Queen and her daughter not to come to Spain, till he had got right done them; since the people in England were in such fear of a change in religion, and a war that would spoil their trade with Flanders, that they would be ready to join with any Prince that should espouse their party.

But to set out at full the progress of those things which so incensed the Pope, we must look back a little, and first give the proceedings of the Convocation. The Parliament having complained of several grievances in the ecclesiastical courts, the King answered, he would hear what the Clergy said of those matters. When the Convocation met, they began with Tracy, who died without leaving any money to have his soul prayed for, declaring that

BOOK

I.

1552.

he only trusted in Christ, and not in any saint; so they were for burning his body; and the more, because one Brown had published another Testament like Tracy's. The Parliament had passed an act about pluralities of benefices; but the Convocation would do nothing about that, and condemned the bonds of residence which some Bishops took, which when they brought up as a complaint to the Bishops, they made no answer to them.

In another session, Latimer was excommunicated for having refused to subscribe some articles, and ordered to prison; but he submitted and subscribed all but two, and they absolved him: but after this, he being called on another occasion to answer upon oath, appealed to the King, who remitting him to the Archbishop, he submitted, and was restored at the King's desire: some Bishops protested against it, because he had not renounced his errors. On the 12th of April, 1552, the Archbishop proposed to them to prepare an answer to the complaint of the Commons; and they made an answer, with which the King was not satisfied; and they employed four sessions more in a further consideration of that matter. In another session the Bishop of London proposed a supply to them, and the prolocutor went down with the proposal, but returned with a desire that they might consider of an answer to the King about ecclesiastical authority; and then desired that one might be sent to the King, to pray him that he would maintain the liberties of the Church; and begged some of the Bishops to intercede in their behalf, which they promised to do. Afterward they agreed upon an answer to the King. And on the 15th of May there came a writ to the Archbishop to prorogue them: that day the Bishops agreed to a schedule, in which it appears was the form of their submission to the King; only the Bishop of Bath dissented: and it was sent to the Lower House, who were divided about it, but the majority agreed; and the Convocation was prorogued till November. Next day the Archbishop delivered it to the King, as enacted and concluded.

by them all. This great transaction was finished in about a month's time; it began April the 12th, and was ended May the 15th. It appears by the heat against Tracy and Latimer, that the opposers were violently set against any reformation; but that submission of theirs helped it on mightily, and restrained all the opposition that would otherwise have made against it. How this affair went at York does not appear by any account that is left; only it is certain, the thing was carried thither, and that then they apprehended some difficulty there. Whatever was done in either Convocation, the King kept within himself for two years, to have been given up, if he could have agreed with Rome; but after the final breach, it was ratified in Parliament.

Before the Convocation met again, Warham died. He had always concurred with the King; but six months before his death, he made a secret protest at Lambeth before witnesses, that what statutes soever passed, and were to pass in the Parliament, to the prejudice of the Pope, or ecclesiastical authority, or the liberties of the see of Canterbury, he did not consent to, but disowned and dissented from them; which makes him either a very deceitful man, or a very weak man, on whom his confessor had imposed it as a penance for what he had done.

Upon Warham's death the Bishop of St. Asaph was deputed to preside in Convocation by the Prior and Convent of Canterbury. In this meeting the King's marriage was brought before them, and Gardiner offered the judgments of several Universities to be read. Some were afraid of meddling with the matter, since it was then depending before the Pope: but the President produced the Pope's *breve*, allowing all to give their opinions freely in that matter. Next session he produced the original instrument of six Universities, (not nineteen, as was said before,) of Paris, Orleans, Bologna, Padua, Bruges, and Thoulouse: and, after a long dispute, they agreed with the Universities. And on April the 2d, 1533, Cranmer being then consecrated, two questions were put: first, whether it was unlawful to marry the wife

The Convocation judges against the marriage.

BOOK
I.

1532.

of a brother, dying without issue, but having consummated the marriage? and if the prohibition of such a marriage was grounded on a divine law, with which the Pope could dispense, or not? There were 66 present, and the proxies of 197 absent: all agreed to the affirmative, except 19. The second question was, whether the consummation of Prince Arthur's marriage was sufficiently proved? This question being referred to the Bishops and Clergy that were canonists, who were 44 in number, all but five or six affirmed it. It does not at all appear that the Deans and Archdeacons sat in the Upper House, as was conjectured before. At York also the Convocation agreed to the affirmative of both questions, excepting only two persons.

The Arch-
bishop
Cranmer
gives sen-
tence
against it.

Both provinces thus agreeing against the marriage, the Archbishop Cranmer desired the King's license to judge the matter, and having obtained it, gave sentence on the 23d of May: then the King opened his marriage, for the Queen's big belly could be no longer hid. This was much resented at Rome; and the Imperialists pressed the Pope very tumultuously to exert his authority: but the views he then had of marrying his niece to France, which he feared such a proceeding would disappoint, made him resolve to delay the final sentence for some time. Gardiner, Bryan, and Bennet, were sent ambassadors to Francis at Marseilles; and Bonner to the Pope, with the King's appeal to a General Council: he carried a notary with him, one Penniston, to make an act of what he was to say to the Pope. When he first came to the Pope, he found him going to the Consistory; but the Pope took him aside, and he delivered him his message from the King; upon which the Pope bid him come again in the afternoon. When he came again with Penniston, the Pope called his datary and two others, and complained of the usage he had met with from the King: on the other side, Bonner complained of his using the King so ill, and breaking his promise to him: the Pope said, he could not help avocating the cause when the Queen demanded it, and refused

the judges in England; that the delays were owing to the King's not sending a proctor. When Bonner was going to reply, the datary came in, and the Pope ordered the datary to read the commission. The Pope shewed great passion, though he endeavoured to cover it, especially when the appeal was read, and the Archbishop's sentence, which he spoke of with contempt, and pretended that he was ready to call a Council, but that the King seemed to put it off. In the mean while, the King of France came to the Pope, and when the Pope told him what they were doing, he affected to be entirely ignorant of it. When the King was gone, the Pope heard the rest of the appeal, and two other appeals of the King's to a General Council, and often interrupted them in the reading. When all was over, the Pope said he would consult with the Cardinals, and then give him an answer. There was a Consistory held next day, and Bonner being called in, the Pope told him he was resolved to continue in doing the King justice, however he took it; but rejected his appeal as unlawful, according to Pius's constitution condemning all such appeals; that he would use all his diligence to get a Council to meet; but the calling it belonged wholly to him. He refused to restore the instruments to Bonner, as he had desired; but told him he should have his answer in writing, and signed from the datary, which accordingly he had next day. The Pope left Marseilles the next day, and went for Rome. Bonner believed the French knew their design, and were glad it was executed just before the Pope went; yet when it was done, they said it had spoiled all. This account Bonner gives of his own negotiation in a letter to the King; he says nothing of any threatenings to himself: probably Bonner or his friends gave that out to raise the value of his service in England. At the same time Cranmer appealed likewise, by the King's order, to a General Council, and sent his appeal over to Gardiner, to get it intimated to the Pope the best way he could.

BOOK

I.

1533.
Bellay sent
over by the
King to
Francis.

When Francis came back from Marseilles he sent Bellay, now Bishop of Paris, over to the King, with instructions to tell him, that he heard he complained of him, and took it very ill, since he had been doing all he could to serve him; that the treaty of marriage with the Pope's niece had been agreed on by them both, and had gone so far, that he could not retreat; that the Pope would do nothing farther in the King's matter, if he would stop on his side; that though the King had innovated in many things, yet he had softened the Pope's resentments; that if the King would have sent one with full powers, as he had promised, matters might have been made up with the Pope. But Gardiner, though he pretended to have them, yet had no such powers; that the Pope was willing to yield, if such had come as he expected from the King; that, instead thereof there came an appeal to a Council, which so provoked the Pope, that all he had been working was pulled down by it; that he had injured him in using the Pope ill, in his house, without his knowledge; that the Pope upon that refused to put some places in Italy into his hands, which he had offered before, and so the marriage was concluded without any advantage to him: he saw the King suspected every thing he did, as treating with the King of Scotland, though by it he took him out of the Emperor's hands. He complained of his ambassadors at Marseilles, especially Gardiner, that they did not design there should be any agreement. He proposed of new the same means of reconciliation that were proposed at Marseilles, with some other things which he believed would repair all: it touched him to see his friendship requited with suspicions. He had been offered Milan, if he would let the Pope and Emperor proceed against the King: but now he was to offer a league between the Pope and them two, if he would be reconciled to the Pope; but if the King would not do that, he would nevertheless continue his friend, and stand by him if any Prince should make war upon him on account of his marriage; and engage the King of Scotland to do the same. Pro-

bably these instructions are not published fully by the French ; for the French King does not mention in them what the Pope had said to him of the justice of the King's cause, which would have been the best argument to King Henry, and which Francis owned on other occasions.

At this time the King writ to the ambassador at Vienna, to complain of Queen Catharine's obstinacy, and assure him the report of her being ill used was false ; and tells him that the Pope had confessed the justice of his cause, and promised to give sentence for him, if he would send a proxy ; which he refusing, the Pope gave sentence against him, though he had appealed to a General Council, which he imputed to his malice and pride.

A representation to the Emperor.

The Bishop of Paris came to London, and had long conferences with the King, and the King promised him to supersede his withdrawing from his obedience, if the Pope would supersede his sentence ; upon which the Bishop went post to Rome. And the King writ to his ambassadors there, that he had heard that the Pope had spoke favourably of his cause to the Emperor, and proposed that the thing might either be tried in an indifferent place, reserving the judgment to himself ; or that he and the King of France should make a three years truce, that he might call a General Council to try the cause ; that the Nuncio had made him the same overture, pretending that the Pope had agreed to it, at Cassali's instance in the King's name, (which the King denied he had any order for :) yet since the Pope seemed better inclined than formerly, he ordered them to thank him in his name, and tell him he desired nothing but to have justice done him without delay ; that till he had peace in his own conscience, he would not meddle in the truce ; but then he would endeavour to procure a general peace with Francis, from whom he would never separate : he bids them therefore press the Pope to let the fact be tried in the kingdom, according to the old sanctions of Councils ; that he could not suffer it to be tried abroad, without breaking his coronation oath,

The Bishop of Paris prevailed on the King to submit to the Pope.

BOOK

I.

1533.

and the laws of his kingdom, and injuring his own prerogative; that he could not do it without consent of Parliament, and knew they would never consent; he sent over the leagues for the marriage, signed by his father, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in which it appeared there was no such urgent cause, as without which the Pope confessed he could not dispense with such a marriage, and in it the consummation of the former marriage with Arthur is mentioned: that if the Pope would suffer the Church of England to judge the matter, and ratify their sentence, he would require the obedience of England, and quiet Europe. He concludes, that if the Pope seemed well disposed towards him, they were not to deliver this as his final answer, but to assure the Pope he would study by all honourable ways to concur with him. This is all the submission that appears from the King to the Pope.

To quicken the Court of France, the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Montmorency, that he wished the Bishop of Paris might succeed; that if the Pope persisted to favour the Emperor, and oppress the King, it would ruin his authority in England, and perhaps in other places; that they began to believe in England that his power was usurped, when it extended beyond the diocese of Rome; that so many Scriptures and reasons were alleged for the King by the Bishops and Doctors, that he himself, and other noblemen, and the body of the people, were convinced of it; and that if the King gave way, this present Parliament would withdraw from their obedience to the Pope, and then every thing belonging to it would be hated and abhorred by the whole nation. He as a friend advertised him of this: he apprehended some ill effects from the close union of Francis with the Pope; he complained that Beda, who abused the King at Paris in his cause, and the King of France had promised to banish, was now recalled: he does not desire Francis to become the Pope's enemy, but only that he will not, if there happen a rupture with the Pope, encourage him to execute his malice against the King or his subjects,

and be drawn in to lose his friends and allies by promises of the Pope's to enable him to recover his dominions in Italy.

BOOK
I.

The Pope was now in great anxiety, pressed by the Imperialists on one side, and by the danger of losing England on the other. He seemed much inclined to a reconciliation with the King; but at last the Imperialists prevailed, and the sentence was given in great haste, two and twenty Cardinals being present, as is told in the former volume. The French ministers had expressed great hopes about a month before: but now they were afraid the King of England would think they had deceived him, and so they resolved to come away, and desired the French King to let King Henry know it as soon as possible, and all the world would see how true a friend he had been to him. The Imperialists made great rejoicings, running about crying *Empire and Spain*, as if they had gained a victory. Thus was this great transaction ended, and by a wonderful providence, when King Henry was ready to give up all that had been done, and the hopes of a reformation seemed blasted, then those, the Court of Rome, who were most concerned to prevent and hinder the breach, were the very persons that brought it on, and in a manner forced it. The sentence was given at Rome on the twenty-third of March, the day the act of succession passed in England, and the Parliament was prorogued on the thirtieth, before they could hear what was done at Rome; so that though they at Rome had taken the King's word, and not ended the matter, King Henry seems to have put it out of his power to have kept it; for it is scarce credible that the Parliament, when they had gone so far in the breach with Rome, would have undone all again.

1533.
The final
sentence
given.

After this a question was put to the Convocation in England, whether the Bishop of Rome had any greater jurisdiction given him by God in the holy Scriptures, within the kingdom of England, than any other foreign Bishop? and it was carried for the negative; thirty-two denying it, and only four

1534.
All in Eng-
land concur
to renounce
the Pope's
authority.

BOOK
I.

1534.

affirming it: the same was agreed to at York without one contrary vote. Then the King sent the question to Oxford, requiring the University to examine it, and return an answer under their seal speedily, according to the sincere truth. They, after five weeks deliberation and public disputations on the point, unanimously made the same answer with the Convocation, setting their seal to it, and directing it to all the sons of their mother-church, in the name of the Chancellor, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the whole Convocation of all Doctors and Masters regent and non-regent. When this was made a law, and oaths and subscriptions were required, those who were zealous for the King, and for a further reformation, were known by expatiating copiously in the form they took them in; whereas those who adhered to their old opinions were satisfied with signing the proposition, and taking the oath simply; of the first sort the Prior and Chapter of Worcester were most forward and ample.

An order
for bidding
prayers and
preaching.

There was about this time an order to preachers to bid prayers before sermon for the King as supreme head of the Church of England, to preach once against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, not to preach one against another, nor for or against purgatory, honouring saints, that faith only justifieth, pilgrimages, and miracles; but to preach the word of Christ, not mixing the authority of men, as if they could dispense with God's laws: the excommunication that used to be read against all that broke the laws and liberties of the Church was prohibited to be used any more: the preachers were ordered to justify the King's marriage to the people, and set forth to them the ill usage he had met with from the Pope; and for that end the whole process, and all the Pope's artifices, were deduced at length, particularly how he had sent over a bull, decreeing the marriage unlawful and null, if the former one was proved to have been consummated, and that the bull was embezzled by the Cardinals: that when complaint was made at Rome by the King, upon an excommunication and interdiction of him and his

realm that came out, the Pope had disowned it, laying the blame on an officer, and promised to let the process cease; yet went on, and it was set up in Flanders: that the Pope had owned to the French King the justness of his cause, and pleaded only the fear he was in of the Emperor, for not judging for him at Rome; but promised to do it at Marseilles, provided he would send a proxy, which he knew he could not.

As the King took care thus to have his cause fully set forth to his own subjects, so also he desired to have it rightly understood by the Princes of Europe. For this end he sent Paget to the King of Poland, and the Dukes of Pomerania and Prussia, and the cities of Dantzick, Stetin, and Koningsburg: probably others were sent to other princes and cities, but none but Paget's instructions remain. He was to desire in the King's name that their old friendship might be renewed, the rather because the King saw they were seeking the truth of God's Word, and the extirpation of those abuses by which the world had been kept in slavery to the Bishop of Rome; to tell that the King's great desire was to promote the common good of Christendom: he was to give an account of the progress of his cause, and the injuries the Bishop of Rome had done him; to shew them the justice of his cause, and of the manner in which it was carried on; that the King did not only follow his own opinion, and that of his Clergy, but that of the most famous Universities of Christendom; that upon that, by the consent of his Parliament, and by the sentence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the good of his people, he separated from Queen Catharine, and married Queen Anne, whom he highly commends upon many accounts: if any should object to what he had done, as being contrary to the Pope's laws, he asserted that every man's conscience is to him the supreme court for judgment; he was to set forth the ungodly dealing of the Pope, who had put him off with delay for more than seven years; that he had broken his promise under his hand to him, in avocating the cause;

Paget sent
to some
northern
Courts.

BOOK
I.

1534.

that after that he had often cited him to Rome, to the subversion of the royal dignity, though the Councils of Nice, Afric, and Milevi, had decreed against appeals to remote places; that if the Pope could cite Kings out of their kingdoms at pleasure, he may depose them, or rule them as he pleased; that a proxy was a person not fit to be employed in a case of conscience; so that all this proceeding of the Pope was unjust and null: that the Pope had refused his excusator; and when Karn told him that was against law, he answered, that he might judge all things according to his own conscience; and went on, though they shewed him the determinations of the Universities of Paris and Orleans, and the opinions of most learned men in France and Italy, condemning his proceedings, and designed to excommunicate the King; to prevent which he appealed to a Council; but the Pope rejected his appeal, saying he was superior to all General Councils, and calling those who appealed to them heretics and traitors to him; so that it appeared plainly, that his own glory and ambition was his only motive; which should make them all on their guard against such invasions of their authority. For these reasons the King was resolved to reduce his power to what was granted to him expressly in Scripture: so the King desired that those Princes and States would adhere to him till a General Council could meet to treat this matter, and would now give him their advice; and he promised kindly to admit of whatever they proposed, and that he would endeavour to extirpate all abuses against God's word and laws, and do all that lay in him for the reformation thereof, the maintenance of God's word, the faith of Christ, and the welfare of Christendom.

But Paget was to sound their minds, how far they were devoted to the Pope, before he was to deliver the King's letters, or shew them his instructions, and then to proceed according to his discretion. What followed upon this, or how it was executed, does not appear. There had been the foundation of an alliance laid in Germany two years before by

BOOK
1.

1535.

this Paget with John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and his allies, and the two Kings of France and England: but those Princes, having then agreed matters with the Emperor, could enter into no treaty at that time; only John Frederick offered the scheme of that which was afterwards proposed in their name to the King.

All these negotiations were set on foot, pursuant to the advice of Cromwell, as appears by a paper under his hand, and marked on the margin by the King. In the year 1535, after the Parliament had settled every thing, the King published a circular letter, in which, first setting forth the great quiet that would accrue to the nation, if the Bishops and Clergy would sincerely publish the many and great abuses of the Pope's usurpation, and preach the true word of God to the people, and rase the Pope's name out of all the books of divine service, in pursuance of what both Clergy and temporalty had done and sworn to the abolishing the Pope's power, and uniting to the Crown the supremacy over the Church of England, he requires the Justices of peace in their sessions to examine whether the Bishops and Clergy did this sincerely; and at their meeting to set forth the same to the people, and to declare the treasons for which the Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More had suffered. He requires them, if they find any dissimulation or fault in any one as to this, to signify it to the King and Council immediately; this he charges them to do upon their allegiance, and threatens them severely if they neglect it. But it seems this had not effect enough, for there was a new letter to some of the nobility, complaining that some, both regulars and seculars, extolled the Bishop of Rome, and prayed for him, setting him up as a God, and preferring his laws to God's laws; and requiring them to make such to be apprehended, and put in prison, without bail.

A letter of the King's to the Justices to observe the behaviour of the Clergy.

Of all the Bishops, Lee, Archbishop of York, and Gardiner, retained most of the old leaven. The King, having heard that Lee did not do his duty in

BOOK
I.

1535.

An expos-
tulation
with the
Court of
France.

his diocese and province, in teaching, and making others teach, what had been settled in Convocation and Parliament, sent him orders to do it. Upon which he vindicated himself to the King, and denied that he had been negligent, but that he had taken care to disperse the King's orders, and to see them observed; that he had made the Pope be left out in the prayers, and that he had and would always obey the King, so God were not offended by it; and begged the King not to believe stories any more so easily against him.

When the King proceeded to take the heads of Fisher and More, the King of France was much displeased with that violence, having answered for the King to the Pope at Marseilles, and now seeing things in England put past all reconciliation; and expostulated with the King upon that severity. To this the King answered, If the King of France had answered for him, and justified his cause, he had done what was just and friendly; that the conspiracies of Fisher and More were plainly proved; that he took it very ill that Francis gave ear to idle stories about them, which did not shew that integrity in him which the King deserved at his hands: he vindicates the new laws, as being only the old laws revived.

The King
of France
engages
himself to
adhere to
and defend
the King in
his second
marriage.

There had been a sort of coldness between the Courts of France and England ever since the interview at Marseilles till this time. But Pope Clement being now dead, and the personal tie to the Pope-dominion ceased, the King of France finding the King's friendship would be necessary to him, resolved to give him a full assurance of his firmness to him, and sent him over a solemn engagement; in which, after having set forth how just he thought the King's cause was, to divorce his former wife, and marry Anne, and declared that he thought the Pope's dispensation null, and that the Pope and many of the Cardinals had owned to him at Marseilles that a dispensation for such a marriage was null; and that the Pope would have declared this by a definitive sentence, if human regards and private affection

had not prevailed more with him than a regard to equity; he judged and affirmed that the marriage with Queen Anne was lawful and valid, and their issue had the right of succession; and that all judgments of censures passed by Pope Clement, or that should be passed by any one else, were null and unjust: and he promised on the faith of a King, under forfeiture of all his and his subjects' goods, for himself and his successors, that he would maintain this at all times, and in all places, in all synods and general councils, against whoever should oppose it; and (if need were) would justify it by a strong hand, and with all his forces; and would never for the future, publicly or privately, directly nor indirectly, do, or attempt to do, any thing against it: and he kept his word, for even in the war he afterwards had with King Henry, he never falsified this engagement.

King Henry seemed much pleased with his new title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, which was now by an act of Parliament annexed for ever to the Crown; and ordered an office for all ecclesiastical matters, and a seal to be cut, which was after this used in all affairs of the Church. The Archbishop's title was ordered in Convocation to be changed from *Legate of the Apostolic See*, to *Metropolitan and Primate*; and upon a complaint of heretical books, Tindal's books, and a book called the Primer, with some others, the Convocation petitioned the King to call in all heretical books, and order the Scriptures to be translated; but withal to prohibit the laity's disputing about the Catholic faith.

Gardiner probably supported the sharpness against heresy, as Cranmer the motion for translating the Bible, which might begin the breach between them, which broke out a little after. When Cranmer issued out his inhibitions, according to form, for an archiepiscopal visitation of the province, having obtained the King's license, Gardiner complained of it to the King upon two reasons; that the style he used of *Primate of England* derogated from the

King Henry pleased with his title of *Supreme Head*.
Cranmer and Gardiner oppose one another.

BOOK
I.

1535.

King's power; and that it was too heavy on his diocese, since they were to pay tenths for ever to the King, to be now at the charge of a visitation. Upon this, Cranmer vindicated himself, and fully answers both parts. To the first he speaks like a true primitive Bishop. He did not see how his titles lessened the King's supremacy. The Popes never thought theirs was lessened by them, otherwise (Gardiner knew well) they would soon have found means to bring all Bishops to a level, and abolished those subaltern dignities. He declared, that, if he thought his style against the King's authority, he would desire to lay it down; that he had no regard to it, further than as it was for the setting forth God's word; but that he would not leave any just thing at the pleasure of the Bishop of Winchester, he being no otherwise affectionate to him than he was; that he wished he and his brethren might leave all their titles, and call themselves only apostles of Christ; so they took not that name vainly, but were such indeed, and did order their dioceses so, that not parchment, lead, or wax, but the conversation of their people, might be the seals of their office, as St. Paul said the Corinthians were to him.

The Bishops proceed against those who desire a reformation.

A great faction was now formed against all reformation, either in doctrine or worship; and those who favoured it were ill used by most of the Bishops. A great instance of this was seen in Barlow, who was made prior of Haverford-West in Pembrokeshire by Queen Anne's favour. He set himself to preach the pure Gospel there, and many were desirous to hear him, upon which account he was daily in danger of his life. Rawlins, Bishop of St. David's, set on a friar there to accuse him; but he appealed to the King, and was preserved by Cromwell's favour. But the Bishop's officers having found upon one of his servants an English Testament, with expositions on some parts of it, charged the Mayor of the town to put him in prison as a heretic; and sought by all methods for witnesses against him; but finding none, were forced

to let him go. Upon this Barlow complained to Cromwell of the danger that all faithful subjects, who desired to live according to the laws of God, were in; that among all the monks, and friars, and priests, that were in great number in that country, none preached the Gospel sincerely, and few favoured it; that enormous vices, and heathenish idolatry, were supported by the Clergy there, of which he offered to make full proof; and withal desired leave to remove thence, for that he could not be safe there without a special protection. This Barlow was that year made Bishop of St. Asaph, and the next of St. David's, then of Wells, but driven out by Queen Mary, and afterward made Bishop of Chichester by Queen Elizabeth, in which he lived ten years.

Cromwell seeing this secret opposition which the Bishops made to a reformation, sent his agents up and down to observe all men's temper and behaviour. Legh was sent to York, and, by the King's order, enjoined the Archbishop to preach the word of God, and to set forth the King's prerogative; and likewise to bring up to the King all the foundations of his see, and all commissions granted to it. There seems to have been a design at this time of calling in all the Pope's bulls, and the charters belonging to the several sees, and regulating them all; but perhaps this was put off till the monasteries were once suppressed, for fear of alarming the secular clergy. Yet the bulls were now generally sent up. Tonsal wrote on this occasion to Cromwell, telling him that he had sent up his bulls to the King, but did not understand why they were asked; he hoped the King did not design to turn him out of his bishopric, and ruin him and all his servants; and that he would use him as well as the other Bishops, since he had obtained his bulls by him, and renounced every thing in them against his prerogative. Tonsal might have been the more apprehensive of the King's displeasure, because he had opposed his being declared Supreme Head in the Convocation at York; and had firmly

The Archbishop of York suspected.

BOOK
I.

1535.

stuck to the lawfulness of the marriage with Queen Catharine. For with his proxy which he gave to the Bishop of Ely, he had written to him before that Parliament met, desiring and requiring of him to consent to nothing that should be any ways prejudicial to the marriage, but expressly to dissent to any such thing. But when the Parliament condemned the marriage, no opposition was made either by the Bishop of Ely, or Bath, whom he had made his second proxy; but the act passed without either dissent or protest; and Tonstal took the oath enjoined by it. However this came to pass, the King had a very particular regard to him; and he was after this in all things compliant, till the end of King Edward's reign.

Complaints
of the
monks and
friars.

The many complaints which now came up from all parts of the kingdom against the monks and friars, especially the Mendicants, of their disposing the people to a revolt, determined the Court to the resolution of proceeding against them all by degrees: so they began with the smaller houses, not exceeding two hundred pounds a year, and, after several fruitless visitations and injunctions, swept them all away; and with that got rid of all the Mendicants who were their most industrious and dangerous enemies.

The Arch-
bishop of
York clears
himself.

The Archbishop of York, to clear himself of suspicious, expressed great zeal for the King, upon the act for granting him all the lesser monasteries. He ordered his archdeacons to warn those houses within the act, to embezzle nothing in their houses, and if they had, to restore it; and to warn all other people from receiving any of their goods or plate. This he did himself likewise to the mayor of York, and the master of the mint there. He interceded with Cromwell, that two houses, St. Oswald's, and Hexham on the borders of Scotland, might be preserved; but whether he obtained his petition does not appear. He likewise forbade any preachers to be suffered that preached novelties, and sowed dissension; and proceeded against some who did not obey his orders.

Upon many complaints of preachers of all sorts, King Henry wrote a circular letter to all the Bishops on the twelfth of July, telling them that, considering the diversity of opinions about religion, he had appointed the Convocation to set forth articles of religion; but ordering that, in the mean while, no sermons should be preached till Michaelmas, except by the Bishop, or in his presence, or cathedral, where he was to provide such as he could answer for; and that every Bishop should call in his licences for preaching, and publish this order in the King's name; and to imprison all that disobeyed it; and suffer no private meetings or disputes about these matters. There is added a direction to pray for departed souls; and all curates are required, when they shall receive the articles of religion, to read them to their people, without adding or diminishing, excepting such as shall receive power under his seal to explain them.

1535.
All preaching (for some time) prohibited.

Nix, Bishop of Norwich, who had been condemned in a *præmunire* on the statute of provisors; and Stokesly, Bishop of London, who was charged with the breach of the same statute, were now pardoned. All this while Cromwell carried no higher character than that of Secretary of State; but it seems all ecclesiastical matters passed through his hands.

As the King took care to keep things quiet at home, so he endeavoured to strengthen himself abroad, by cultivating a close friendship with the Princes of the empire of the Augsburg Confession. The King of France had been courting them, pretending that he was only for a limited primacy in the Church, and not for the divine or unbounded authority which the Pope assumed. King Henry, hearing that he had sent for Melancthon, dispatched Barnes to Germany, if possible, to stop his journey, since the King of France was then persecuting those who opposed the Pope's usurped authority; and to persuade him to come to England. If Melancthon was gone, Barnes was ordered to go on to the Princes in Germany, and engage them to

A treaty with the Lutheran Princes.

BOOK
I.

1535.

continue firm in their denial of the Pope's authority, and to assure them, they might depend on the King's steadiness in that matter; and to put them on their guard as to the French King, and assure them that both he and his council were altogether Papists.

Some likewise were sent secretly to Sir John Wallop, the King's ambassador in France, who, if Melancthon was there, were privately to dissuade his staying there long, or altering his opinion in any particular. Sir John Wallop was ordered, if it was true that the King of France was set on maintaining the Pope's supremacy, to represent to him, how much it was against his honour to subject himself to the Pope, and persuade others to do the same, and to put him in mind of his promise to maintain the King's cause, and not to do any thing so contrary to it, as to study to draw the Germans from their opinion in that matter. Melancthon's journey to France was stopped in a great measure, no doubt, by the King's interposing. But indeed the French ministers were against his coming; for as they thought only of a civil league with the German Princes to embroil the Emperor's affairs, but were against meddling in points of religion; so they were afraid if Melancthon came to France, it might occasion differences to arise between the German and French Divines, which would alienate the German Princes yet more from the Court of France. So Melancthon did not go, but sent them the heads of their doctrine; on which the French made some amendments. But all came to nothing, for the Germans would not in the least depart from the Augsburg Confession; and the French were against meddling with doctrinal points, and only for entering into a league with the Princes of the Empire, with relation to their temporal concerns. So the King was delivered from this fear.

A treaty
with the
Princes of
Germany.

Fox and Heath were sent over to negociate with the Germans, and had many conferences with the German Divines at Wirtemberg. Fox assured them the King would agree with them in all things, hav-

ing already abolished the Babylonish tyranny : on the other hand they insisted on the abuse of the mass, and the marriage of the Clergy, and said the King took away some smaller abuses, but left the greatest. Amongst these Divines was Melancthon, who had dedicated his Commentary on the Epistles to the King, and for whom the King had expressed a particular esteem. But all this did not please the King, who, esteeming himself the learnedest Prince in Europe, thought they should submit to him, and not he to them. They, knowing the advantage of his protection, courted him much ; and made Luther ask his pardon for writing against him in the manner he did ; and offered him the title of Defender or Protector of their league, and to enter into a close confederacy with him.

Fox pressed him to approve of all the King had done with relation to his divorce, and of his second marriage. But they excused themselves till they were better informed. They added, (which Fox suppressed,) that though they thought that law against marrying the brother's wife ought to be observed ; yet since the Jews were sometimes dispensed with as to that, they thought the bond of matrimony was stronger. Luther was much against declaring the issue of that marriage infamous. And on Queen Catharine's death, they earnestly pressed their restoring the Lady Mary to her honour : so much truer were they to their principles, than to what seemed at that time to be their interest. The King's ambassadors gave the Princes notice that the Emperor had (in a passionate discourse with Wiat his ambassador in Spain) called both the Elector and Landgrave his enemies and rebels. But the Elector did not entirely depend on all that Fox said to him. He thought the King only designed by this negotiation to bring them to depend upon him, without having any sincere intentions about religion ; so he being resolved to adhere to the Augsburg Confession, and seeing no appearance of the King's agreeing to him, was very cold in the prosecution of it.

BOOK
I.

1536.
The Smal-
caldick
league,

But the Princes and States of that Confession met at this time at Smalcald, and settled the league which goes by that name. By it, the Elector of Saxony, and his brother, three Dukes of Brunswick, the Duke of Wirtemberg the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Pomeran, four brothers, Princes of Anhalt, and two Counts of Mansfield, with the deputies of twenty-one free towns, all bound themselves and their heirs to stand by one another; and if any of them were violently assaulted on the account of religion, or on any pretence, where the rest should judge religion was the true motive, the rest were to defend him who was so assaulted; and in such case none were to make any agreement or truce without the consent of the rest: and they declared that this was not in prejudice of the Emperor their lord, or any part of the empire, but only to withstand wrongful violence. They resolved likewise to admit to this confederacy all who desired it, and received the Augsburg Confession.

And this was to last for ten years, and at the end of those ten years it might be lawful to prolong it further: but if any war should be begun and not ended within those ten years, then the league was to continue till that war was brought to an end. And they gave their faith to one another to observe this religiously, and set their seals to it.

The demands
of the
German
Princes.

On the same day the King's answer to the demands the Princes had made was offered to them. Their demands were, that the King should set forth the true doctrine of Christ according to the Augsburg Confession, and defend the same at the next General Council, if it be a free and truly Christian Council; that if such a Council should be called, it should not be refused: but that neither the King, nor any of them, should agree to any Council summoned by the Bishop of Rome; but if such a one should meet, without the agreement of the King and the Princes, they should oppose it, and protest against it, and neither obey their decrees, nor suffer them to be obeyed in their dominions; that the King associate himself to their league, and accept

BOOK
I.

1536.

the name of Defender or Protector of it; that none of them ever allow of the Bishop of Rome's having any pre-eminence or jurisdiction in their dominions; that they enter into a league with one another on these grounds; and in case of any war against any of them, that they assist not those that make war upon them; that the King lay down one hundred thousand crowns, and they as much more, for the use of the confederates; and in case of urgent necessity, two, they laying down as much; and if the war be ended before the money be spent, the remnant shall be restored: they assure him that they will apply the money only to the defence of the cause of religion: they likewise desire to know the King's mind about some points, that his ambassadors were disputing with their learned men about; and then they will send their ambassadors with a learned man to confer with the King about the articles of doctrine, and the ceremonies of the Church. To these demands the King sent two answers one after another. The first was, that the King would set forth and defend the true doctrine of Christ, but that he could not think it meet to accept at any one's hand what should be his faith, or his kingdom's; the only ground of which being in Scripture, he desired they would not be grieved at this, but would send over learned men to confer with him, that there might be a perfect union in faith: he would join with them in all free General Councils, for the defence of the true doctrine of the Gospel; but he thought ceremonies (they being indifferent) ought to be left to the governors of the several dominions; he agreed against any General Council, but by mutual consent; but that if such a free one was held in a safe place, it should not be refused. He did not think fit to accept the title they offered him, till they were thoroughly agreed on the articles of doctrine. He agreed to their demands of money for the future, but did not care to bear any share of the wars already past, (which it seems they mentioned secretly to him.) But, upon further considering of their demands, he sent

The King's
answers to
them.

BOOK
I.

1536.

them a second fuller answer, wherein having first complimented them highly, he explained some little things in the former answer; and lets them know, that it was not on any private account of his, that he came into the league; for by the death of a woman (Queen Anne he meant) all quarrels with the Pope or Emperor, or any other Prince, were at an end. But, that they might know his affection to them, he would contribute the sum they desired, upon their terms; only he demanded of them, that if any Prince invaded him on the account of religion, that they should furnish him at their expence with 500 horsemen, or ten ships fitted for war, as the King should choose, to serve for four months; and that they should retain (at the King's charge) what horse and foot the King should need, not exceeding 2000 horse, and 5000 foot, or, instead of the foot, twelve ships in order, with all things necessary, which the King might keep as long as he pleased: and last of all, that they promise to defend in all Councils, and every where, the opinion of Dr. Martin Luther, Melancthon, and some other of the Divines, concerning his marriage. This negotiation sunk upon Queen Anne's fall; for as he thought they were no more necessary to him, so they saw there was no succeeding with him, unless they would allow him a dictatorship in matters of religion. Yet after this, in the year 1537, the Elector and the Landgrave wrote to him, upon Pope Paul the Third's summoning a Council to meet at Mantua. They told him, that the Emperor had sent them notice of it, and required their appearance there, either in person, or by proxy; but that they saw the Pope would not allow the restoring of the true doctrines, nor the correcting of abuses, (which they had always desired a Council for,) to be treated of there, but would have their doctrine condemned without examination, and oblige all by a bull to extirpate and destroy the doctrine they professed; which since they could not agree to, they answered the Emperor, that they looked on the bull as unjust and pernicious, and

They write
to the King.

BOOK
I.

1536.

could not accept of it. They did not doubt but the Pope and his party would misrepresent their actions to the King ; so they thought it necessary to justify themselves to the King and all other Princes on this occasion. They sent to the King with this a full vindication of themselves, which they desired him to read ; and they desired him to consider not only the present danger they were in, but also the common concern of the whole Church, in which all good discipline was lost, and abuses received which great and worthy men had much wished might be amended ; and therefore they recommended to his care the cause of the Church, and their own.

The next year they sent ambassadors into England, the account of which was given in the former volume, of their representations, and the paper they offered to the King. There is a letter from Cranmer to Cromwell on that occasion, in which he complains of the backwardness of the Bishops ; that the ambassadors had been desired to stay a month, that their book might be considered ; but when he pressed them to treat about it, they said they knew the King had devised a book in answer to them, and therefore they would not meddle with the abuses complained of : but they desired him to go on to treat about the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction, knowing the Germans would not agree with them, except only in matrimony ; by which he saw they only sought an occasion to break their concord, and that nothing would be done without a special command from the King : he complained the ambassadors were ill lodged, and desired that a better house might be offered them. The King treated them with particular civility, and often wished Melancthon might be sent to him. Cromwell and Cranmer used them with all possible kindness. Cranmer wrote by them to the Elector, exhorting him to continue firm for the truth and purity of the Gospel. But for all these shews, they knew the King's heart was turned from them. He wrote by them to the Elector, in terms full of esteem for their ambassa-

1536.
Ambassadors sent to
the King.

BOOK
I.

1538.

dors, not doubting of the good effects of these conferences; but that the matter, being of the greatest importance, should be maturely considered; and desired Melancthon might be sent over to treat with him about these matters promising to do every thing as became a Christian Prince. During this embassy, an Anabaptist was seized by the Landgrave of Hesse, by whose papers they found he had followers in England, and hopes of great success there, and was going thither, but the spirit stopped him. Of all this they gave the King an account, and of the Anabaptists of Germany, that they were spread through Frisia, and Westphalia, and the Netherlands, chiefly where their preachers were not tolerated. The not baptizing infants was the mark of their party; but with that they condemned magistracy and all punishment, as being revenge forbidden by Christ, and oaths; were for a community of goods; seemed to be Manicheans, despised the Scriptures, and pretended to illuminations, and allowed polygamy and divorce at pleasure, and wherever they increased, broke out into sedition and rebellion. They wrote this to the King, to put him on his guard against them, and to let him see how far they were from favouring such corruptions. Here this negociation ends, which though it runs out beyond this year, yet is all laid together here; and it does not appear there was any further commerce between them.

Queen
Anne's
fall.

1536.

The unlooked for accidents that happened in England had wrought on the King's temper; and he still retaining a bias to the old opinions, the Popish party watched and improved all advantages, of which a very signal one happened here to their great joy. A little after Queen Catharine's death, the tragedy of Queen Anne followed. The matter broke out the first of May, 1536, but seems to have been concerted before; for a Parliament had been summoned the April before. Meteren, who writes the history of the wars of the Netherlands, gives an account of this matter from a relation writ by one Crispin, a French gentleman, then at Lon-

don, who he says wrote without partiality. He tells, that it began at a gentleman who was blaming his sister for some lightness he observed in her: to whom she answered, the Queen did more than she did; for she admitted some of her court into her chamber at undue hours; and named Lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton the musician, and said Smeton could tell more: all which was carried to the King. When this broke out on the first of May, the King, who loved Norris, promised him, if he would confess the things the Queen was charged with, he should neither suffer in his person nor estate, nor go to prison. But he said he would die rather than be guilty of such a falsehood, and offered to justify it by combat with any one: so he was sent to the Tower with the rest. The confession of Smeton was all that was brought against the Queen, and his single witness was declared sufficient. It was thought he prevailed on to accuse her, but he was condemned contrary to the promise had been made him, on pretence that he told his suspicions to others before the King. The Queen was tried in the Tower, and defended her honour and majesty in such an humble manner, as to soften the King, and favour her daughter. She was allowed no advocate. She looked cheerful, and was civil to her judges, and seemed without fear, behaving herself as if she had still been Queen. She spoke little, but the modesty of her countenance pleaded her innocence more than the defence she made; so that all who saw and heard her believed her innocent. The magistrates of London, and several others present, said they saw no evidence against her, only it appeared they were resolved to be rid of her. She was made to lay aside all the characters of her dignity, which she did willingly. And when she heard the sentence, that she was to be beheaded or burnt, she was not terrified, but, lifting up her hands, appealed to God of her innocence; and turning to her judges, said to them, she would not say their sentence was unjust, nor prefer her opinion

BOOK

I.

1536.

to all their judgments; that she believed they had reasons to condemn her, but they must be other than those produced in court against her; for she was entirely innocent of those accusations, and could not beg God pardon for them. She called God to witness, that she had been a faithful and a loyal wife, though she had not perhaps shewed that humility and reverence which she ought to the King. She said not these things to prolong her life, which she knew they could not do, but only to justify her honour and chastity. As for her brother, and those unjustly condemned with him, she could die many deaths to deliver them; but since it pleased the King they should die, she must bear with it, and would accompany them with an assurance of leading an endless life with them in peace. Having said this, and a great deal more, she rose up with a modest air, and took leave of them all. Her brother and the others died first. He exhorted them to die without fear. He confessed he deserved punishment for his other sins, but not from the King, whom he had never offended; yet he prayed God to give him a long and a good life. Mark Smeton only confessed, that he had deserved well to die, which gave occasion to many reflections. When the Queen heard all this, she broke out into some passion, and said, Has he not then cleared me of that public shame he has brought me to? and said she feared his soul was now suffering for his false accusation; but she doubted not but that her brother and those others were in the presence of God.

This gentleman, it seems, knew nothing of the judgment at Lambeth annulling the marriage; for it was done secretly. It could have no foundation but from my Lord Percy's addresses to her: but he purged her of that; for being examined now upon oath by the two Archbishops, and receiving the Sacrament upon it before the Duke of Norfolk and some of the King's Council in spiritual law, he assured them upon his oath, and by the Sacrament, that there was never any contract or promise of

marriage between him and her. This shews she was prevailed upon by fear or hope to profess a pre-contract, without naming the person. This French gentleman agrees with the other writers as to the manner of her death, and her speech; but in the other particulars he relates some things which none of our writers take notice of, and that seem very credible. Thevet, a Franciscan friar, confirms her innocency in his *Cosmography*, when he says, that many English gentlemen assured him, that King Henry expressed great repentance of his sins at the point of death, and among others, of the injury and crime committed against Queen Anne Bullen, who was falsely accused and convicted. This friar, though otherwise of no great credit, yet being of that order that suffered so much for adhering to Queen Catharine, is not to be suspected of much partiality for Queen Anne.

BOOK
I.

1536.

This turn, no doubt, gave great joy to the Pope and Emperor, nor were they sorry that Queen Catharine's death had freed them from the obligation of protecting her. On the first news of Queen Anne's disgrace, the Pope sent for Cassali, and expressed much pleasure upon it, and spoke honourably of the King, and said, he hoped now matters might be brought to an agreement, and that the King might, by reconciling himself to the Court of Rome, become the arbiter of Europe: he excused naming Fisher to be a Cardinal, that he was pressed to it, and desired Cassali to try how any messenger he might send to the King would be received. All which Cassali wrote to the King.

At the same time the Emperor told Pace, who was the King's ambassador at his Court, that though he could not in honour forsake his aunt, yet he had ever abhorred the Pope's bull for deposing him, and had suppressed it in his dominions, nor had ever encouraged the King of Scotland (as was suspected) to execute it. He imputed the breach between him and the King to the King of France, who, he said, was ready to forsake him, and even to renounce God. He was ready to return to his

The Emperor desired to be reconciled to the King.

BOOK
I.

1536.

old friendship with the King, and did not hearken to the intimations of the agent of France, that he had poisoned his aunt. He pressed the legitimating the Princess Mary; which he said may be done without owning the marriage lawful, since it was a marriage in fact, and made *bonâ fide*. Pace gave the King an account of this, and pressed the legitimating the Princess. The Emperor went to Rome, and Pace followed him thither. It is plain he pressed the King much to think of being reconciled to the Pope. He begged that Cassali might not be joined with him in his embassy, as the King intended, saying, he was a base and perverse man. While he was at Rome, the King sent him a dispatch, telling him of the motion made him by the Emperor's ambassador, of returning into friendship with his master, and of some overtures he made towards it: that the Emperor would reconcile him with the Court of Rome; that he hoped for the King's aid in the war against the Turks; and expected the King should assist him, pursuant to an old defensive league between them, if the French King invaded Milan, as he seemed to design.

The King
answered
coldly.

To all which, he tells him, he had answered: that the interruption of their friendship came from the Emperor, who had made him ill returns for the services he had done him; that he had made him King of Spain, and then Emperor, and had lent him money; and in return he had contemned his friendship, and had set on the ill usage he met with from Rome. But such was his nature and zeal for concord, that if the Emperor would desire him to forget what was past, and purge himself of all unkindness to him, and first make a reconciliation without any conditions, he would return into friendship with him, and answer all his reasonable desires.

And refuses
any treaty
with the
Pope.

As for the Bishop of Rome, he could not depart from what he had done, having proceeded not on slight grounds, but on the laws of God and nature, and with the concurrence of his parliament;

that he had already rejected a motion made by that Bishop for a reconciliation, and would not take it in good part if the Emperor insisted in that matter: when there was a general peace among Christians, he would not be wanting against the Turks; but till the friendship was quite made up between the Emperor and him, he would treat of nothing concerning the King of France; when that was done, he would be a mediator between them. He ordered Pace, if he talked with the Emperor on this subject, to seem only to have a general knowledge of the matter, but to talk suitably to these grounds; and to encourage the Emperor to go on, and to extol the King's nature and carriage, how easy he was to satisfy his friends, when he was not too much pressed. And he was likewise to find a way of speaking with Grandvil about it, that he might represent to the Emperor the advantage of the King's friendship, that he should not clog it with conditions, but trust to what the King may be afterwards brought to, since it was the King that had received the injury. Thus that matter was put in a method; and, in a little time, the friendship seemed to be quite made up.

The King, in the mean while, went on to reform things in England. The Convocation met this year, and Cromwell came and demanded a place in it, as the King's Vicar General; and the Archbishop gave him that next above himself. The Archbishop laid before the House the sentence annulling the King's marriage with Queen Anne, which, Cromwell desiring it, they approved, and sent down to the Lower House, who likewise approved it; and both Houses afterwards subscribed it. The prolocutor offered the Upper House a book, reciting many ill doctrines that were preached in the province; and the Bishop of Hereford brought in a book about the Articles of Faith, and the Ceremonies, which was signed by both Houses, and likewise by the Archbishop of York, and Bishop of Durham. The Bishop likewise brought a book, with the reasons why the King ought not

Proceed-
ings in
Convoca-
tion.

BOOK

I.

1536.

Cardinal
Pole writes
against the
divorce.

to appear at the Council which the Pope had summoned to meet at Mantua; which was also agreed to, and subscribed. No Convocation sat this year at York.

The Pope by these steps losing all hopes of gaining the King, resolved to give him what trouble he could: and so Pole writ his book against the King, and was made a Cardinal. He had before writ over his opinion of the marriage, being commanded by the King so to do. The King sent it to Crammer before he was sent out of England: who, in a letter to the Earl of Wiltshire, commends much the wit and eloquence of Pole's book, and seems to be very apprehensive of the effect it would have, if it came abroad.

Pole's chief design in it was to persuade the King to submit the matter to the Pope. He set forth the danger of falling again into such troubles as were caused by the wars upon the titles of Lancaster and York. That he could not be for the divorce, since it destroyed the Princess's title, and accused the King of having lived in incest; and would increase the people's hatred against priests, to find that called unlawful which they had so long approved of. He sets the opinion of the King and Queen's father, and their council, the Pope and his council, in opposition to that of the Universities, which he said was gained with great difficulty. He said the Pope could not, without raising seditions, condemn his predecessor's act, or abridge his own power. He represented the Emperor's strength, and the weakness and faithlessness of France; the danger and ruin of losing the trade of the Netherlands. So at this time Pole only argued on political considerations. But afterwards, when the breach was made with Rome, Cromwell wrote to him, by the King's order, to declare his opinion of the King's proceedings. Upon this reason only he wrote his book, as he himself says in a paper he sent the King; in which he tells him, that if it had not been for that, he had never meddled in the matter, seeing little hope of

success. He complains that the books sent him on the other side suppressed some things, and coloured others over. He said, that what had followed being grievous in the sight of God, and the rest of Christendom, and being like to have ill effects as to the King's honour, and the quiet of his realm, he resolved to employ all his talents to set forth the truth, and expose those ill opinions, hoping that what he should write would satisfy all that would examine it, and by the goodness of God might bring the King back from the evil way he was then in. And as David, when in a state of sin, was brought to repentance by a prophet, so he hoped to be an instrument of bringing the King to a better sense of things. He excused the vehemence of his style, which might make him be thought the King's enemy, by those who did not consider his intent; which was only to awaken the King, by representing to him the danger he was in, both from his own people, who hated innovations in religion, and from foreign princes, whose honour obliged them to defend the laws of the Church: that, to make the King sensible of this, he had, as in his own person, brought out all such reasons as might provoke people or princes against him. The book being too long for the King to read, he desired Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, might read it, and any other learned and grave man, and give his judgment of it upon oath; and he promised his book should never come abroad till the King had seen it. In the paper he mentioned a book, concerning the King's marriage, which he had sent him; but in that he had been disappointed of his intent. But now she who had been the occasion of his error being detected, he hoped the King would take it as a warning from God to return to the unity of the Church. He was sensible nothing but the hand of God could effect that; but if that was done, it would be the greatest miracle had happened for some ages, and a signal mark of God's goodness to him; and would deliver him from the dangers that must follow upon the

BOOK
I.

1536.

meeting of a General Council; and no Prince would appear there with more honour than he; even his fall would prove a blessing to the Church, and tend to the reformation of the whole, and the honour of God. With this he sent likewise a private letter to Tonstall. When his book against the divorce came first to England, he wrote to in the King's name to come over, and explain some things in it; but he excused himself, pretending the love of retirement, and of the noble and learned company he lived with.

Tonstall
writes to
him,

Tonstall being thus provoked by Pole, and commanded by the King, wrote to him; owning the receipt of his letter and book, which the King, according to his desire, had given him to read. He complains of his vehemency of style, and his misrepresentations. He wished he had rather written a private letter to the King, than enlarged himself in a great book, and sent it stupidly so far by one who might have lost it; and so the book have come abroad, to the slander of the King and kingdom, and most of all to his own, for his ingratitude to the King, who had bred him up. As to what Pole had said against the King, he shewed that the King, by taking the title of Supreme Head, did not separate from the Church. He did not take on him the office of the priesthood, which was to preach the Word of God, and administer the Sacraments. He only designed to see the laws of God, and Christ's true faith, observed in his kingdom, and to deliver his Church from the usurpations of the Bishops of Rome, and reduce it to the state in which all Churches were in the beginning, and which was conformable to the ancient decrees of the Church, which the Bishops of Rome promised to observe at their creation, naming the eight General Councils. These he might see at Venice in Greek, and were now published in Latin; by which it appears the Bishops of Rome had not that monarchy they have since usurped. If the Scriptures he had quoted proved it, the Council of Nice erred, which decrees the contrary, according to

the Canons of the Apostles, which Damascen reckoned holy Scriptures. He likewise appeals to the actions of the four General Councils, and to the practice for above a thousand years after Christ, when probably the Scriptures were better understood, and better customs prevailed, than since ambition and covetousness crept in. Authority in temporal affairs could never be proved from Peter's primacy in preaching the Word of God; for which he refers him to Cardinal Cusa's second book. He said, the King did not alter but establish those laws which the Pope professes to observe; and other Princes not doing the same, ought not to hinder him from doing his duty. He assured Pole, that he was mistaken in thinking the people were offended at the abolishing these usurpations; they had felt the advantages of it so sensibly, that it would be the difficultest thing the King had ever attempted to restore them again. Because Pole had blamed him for not dying for the Pope's authority, he assured him, that from the time he read ecclesiastical history, he had never thought of shedding one drop of blood in that cause. He told him, he would do what he could to cool the King's indignation, which his book had raised against him. He desired he would not fancy, from what he saw in Italy and other places, that it was so from the beginning. The Councils, which were called by the Emperors, would shew him, that the Bishops of Rome came by their dignity, not for Peter or Paul's sake, but because he was Bishop of the chief city in the empire, Constantinople was ranked next, because it was called New Rome, and placed before Antioch, where Peter was Bishop, and Alexandria, and even Jerusalem, where Christ preached, and the College of Apostles after him, and where James, the brother of our Lord, was Bishop, and which was called the mother of all Churches. This preference of Constantinople was settled in the Council of Chalcedon by six hundred and thirty Bishops. He desires him to search farther, and he would find none of the Greek Fathers, nor any

BOOK
L

1536.

of the old Fathers, mention these late usurpations of the Bishops of Rome. He tells him what trouble he had given all his family and kindred, by engaging against his King and country. He refers him to Gregory the Great, who wrote against the Bishop of Constantinople, pretending to the like monarchy, and to St. Cyprian, and to the third Council of Ephesus, who affirmed, that all the Apostles were of equal dignity and authority. He begged him to search further, and not to trust too much to himself; and that he would burn all his papers, and then he hoped to prevail with the King to conceal what he had sent him; and concluded with some very kind expressions. By this it appears, Tonstall was a good-natured and generous, as well as a very learned man.

1537.

Pole's vindication of himself.

It does not appear that Pole answered this; but he wrote a long letter next year, it is uncertain to whom, in vindication of himself: in which he protested his affection to the King, and complained of the methods the King had used to get him into his hands to destroy him; that, contrary to the law of nations, he had desired the French King to deliver him him up, being there an ambassador and legate; he said, this, if he had borne the King but a small degree of love, might have quite extinguished it, and his resentment might have tempted him to do the King all the mischief he could in return; but on the contrary he did all he could for the King's honour and worth. He owns he sent the Bishop of Verona to France, to intimate to the Court, that the Pope had committed to him some affairs (for the good of Christendom) to treat with the King about. The design of the legation, he says, was for the King's honour, as the Bishop had informed the Bishop of Winchester and Mr. Brian, meeting them on the road, who, though they had no communication with him, yet sent their Secretary to him, when he had declared the effect of his legation, as it related to the King; and the Secretary had thought that the King's anger against him was raised by false reports, and that when matters

were cleared, the King would change his mind. All which the Bishop of Verona telling him at his return, he had desired him to go over to the King, and inform his Grace of the whole, telling him that the Pope thought him the fittest man to be employed in gaining the King, considering the merits he had on the King, and being counted the best Bishop in Italy, and therefore bound him to go; which he readily obeyed out of his zeal to God and the King's service, and resolved to try how he could get access to the King. So having now explained himself, he hoped it would not be thought he had those designs, which the King's proceedings against him shewed he was suspected of having, *viz.* to animate the people to rebel. He said he had not taken the methods of rebels; he had always given the King an account of his actions; he had procured the suspension of the King's censures, by keeping them in his hands to that hour, and keeping out of the way of those who had authority to call for them: he had offered the King his assistance, and animated the chief of his kindred to be faithful to him. If what he had done, and what the Bishop of Verona had said, did not justify him, he would take no more pains to clear himself: he thought he had been too negligent on the other side, and had been reflected on for it. This letter is dated from Cambray; for on the King's message to the King of France to demand him, though Francis could not hearken to that, yet he ordered him to go out of his dominions; and he retired to Cambray. The King had a spy upon him; but the spy seems to have been faithfuller to Pole than the King, and took his part with the King. He wrote over, that he believed his book would not be printed till he came to Rome. Pole was ordered by the Regent to retire out of Flanders, so he went to Liege; whence he was sent for to Rome, and named legate to the Council that was to meet the first of November; but it did not meet till some years after this. The King's indignation at his advancement and book, drove him to do

BOOK
I.

1537.

The King
was reconciled to the
Emperor.

many unjust violences, which are the great blemishes of his reign.

The King was now quite reconciled to the Emperor. Wyat was ambassador there. The King pressed the Emperor to call a Council, as the ancient Emperors had done, by his own authority, and not suffer the Pope to do it; and he proposed Cambray to be the place: but seeing that was not like to be done, he only insisted on a promise from the Emperor, that nothing should be done in the Council against him or his kingdom.

Wyat complaining likewise that our merchants had been threatened by the inquisition for owning the King's supremacy; the Emperor promised they should not be any more disquieted on that account. He likewise refused to allow Pole to affix the Pope's bull against the King in his dominions. The King was very uneasy, and sent over Bonner and Hains in conjunction to the Emperor's Court; the one being fittest to deal with the Papists, the other having great credit with the Protestants.

Dr. London's violence in suppressing monasteries.

They were now suppressing the monasteries; and great wickedness came out, which had been practised among them: many of them seeing the designs against them, ran beyond sea with their plate and jewels: but the visitors gave a great character of the Abbesses and Nuns of Polesworth in Warwickshire. Dr. London, who afterwards proved a furious persecutor of the Protestants, was now officiously zealous in the matter, even to the pulling down shrines, though that was not their commission; which made the other commissioners desire a new commission to be sent them, antedated for that purpose. London endeavoured to frighten the Abbess of Godstow into a resignation. Upon this she complained to Cromwell of his violence, and the charge they had been put to; and that none of the King's subjects had been handled like her, though she had always maintained the honour of God, and all obedience to the King: she said, she would never resign her house, unless the King would command her to do it, and then she would

BOOK
I.

1537.

Cheats in
images dis-
covered.

be ready to do it. The cheats in images and relics that were discovered contributed not a little to their disgrace. The most enormous of them was the crucifix of Boxley in Kent. It made motions with its head and eyes and body, to express the receiving or rejecting of prayers. Such a miracle drew great offerings. One Partridge, suspecting the fraud, removed the image, and discovered that it was moved by several springs within. It was brought to Maidstone, and exposed there; and then carried to London, and shewed to the King and all the Court; and then ordered to be exposed at St. Paul's; and, after a sermon preached by the Bishop of Rochester for that end, it was burnt.

Prince Edward's birth gave a better face to things, there being now an undoubted heir to the crown. But his mother's death much abated the joy, for as the King loved her the best of all his wives, so she was of so sweet a temper, that she was universally beloved; and she appeared so little in business, that she had no enemies on that account. It was not to her that Queen Elizabeth wrote that letter mentioned in the other volume, but to Queen Catharine, when (after King Henry's death) she was with child by the Lord Seymour.

The King had (by the Lord Cromwell) sent injunctions to the Clergy in the year 1536, as he did afterward in 1538. In 1536, a circular letter was likewise sent to all the Bishops, requiring them to execute an order, abrogating some holidays. The numbers of them, it says, were so great, and by the people's superstition were like to increase, to the encouragement of idleness, and great loss to the public: so, it says, the King, with advice of Convocation, had settled, that the feast of Dedication in all churches was to be kept the first Sunday in October; but the feasts of the patrons to be no more observed. All feasts from the first of July to the twenty-ninth of September, and in term time, were not to be kept any more, except those of the Apostles, and the Virgin, and St.

Orders
about holi-
days.

BOOK
I.

1527.

Injunctions
given by
Lee, Samp-
son, and
Shaxton.

George, and those days on which the Judges did not sit, and the four quarter days.

These are all the public injunctions about this time. But after the first of these, it seems, the Bishops sent likewise injunctions to their Clergy, of which three are remaining.

The first was Lee's, Archbishop of York. He begins with the abolishing the Pope's, and declaring the King's supremacy. He requires his Clergy to get a New Testament within forty days, and to read it daily, and study to understand it; as likewise a book to be set forth by the King, of the institution of a Christian, and to explain it to the people. They were to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and Ave Maria, and the Creed, and Ten Commandments in English, and make the people repeat them after them; and to admit none to the Sacrament at Easter that could not repeat them. All parishes were, within forty days, to be provided of a great Bible in English, which was to be chained to some open place in the church. Priests were forbidden to haunt taverns and alehouses, except on necessary occasions, or play at prohibited games. They were to discourage none from reading the Scriptures, but to exhort them to it in the spirit of meekness: and they were to read the Gospel and Epistle in English. Rules were given for frequent preaching, according to the value of livings; generally they were to preach four times a year, but not to preach without licence from the King or Archbishop. They were not to worship any image, nor kneel or offer gifts to it; only they might have lights before the Sacrament, and in the rood loft, and at the sepulchre at Easter. They were to teach the people that images were only as books to them; and that they were not to think that God, because he was painted like an old man, had a body. All images to which any resort was made were to be taken away. They were to teach, that God was not pleased with our obeying the traditions of men, and neglecting his commands;

that we are saved only by the mercy of God, and merits of Christ: and to open the two great commandments of Christ, *To love God, and our neighbour*; to live in love with all people, and avoid dissension. The rest relates to the King's injunctions.

At the same time Sampson, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, gave his injunctions to his diocese. He charges his Clergy to instruct the people of the King's supremacy by the Word of God, and of the Bishop of Rome's usurpations; to get a whole Bible in Latin, and another in English, to lay in the church, by next Whitsuntide. As to reading the Scriptures, and preaching, he says the same with Lee. He bids them preach purely, sincerely, according to the Scriptures. He requires them, in the King's name, to teach the people to say the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, and the Creed in English, and four times a quarter to declare the seven deadly sins, and the Ten Commandments. And because some used in Lent to go and confess to Friars, either to hide their lewd lives, or out of neglect of their Curates; he forbids any to be admitted to the Sacrament, till they confess to their own Curates, unless he or his deputies grant them a special licence otherwise. He orders, that none go to alehouses or taverns on holidays in time of divine service; and that the Clergy go in such decent apparel, that they be known by their habit.

Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, gave out his injunctions likewise about the same time. He begins with provisions about non-residents, and their Curates, and orders, that no French or Irish priest that cannot speak English perfectly should serve as Curates. They were to read the Gospel and Epistle in English at high mass; and to set forth the King's supremacy, and the Pope's usurpations.

He gives the same rules about sermons as the former; adding that no Friar, or any in a religious habit, be suffered to perform any service in the Church. The Clergy were to read the New Testament; and all that had cure of souls were to be

BOOK
I.

1537.

able to repeat without book the Gospels of Matthew and John, the Acts, and Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, with the canonical Epistles; and to read every quarter the twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy instead of the General Sentence. About images, pilgrimages, and other superstitions, and of teaching the people the elements of religion in English, he says the same with the others; only he leaves out the Ave Maria. He requires the Curates to exhort the people against swearing and blaspheming. He dispenses with all lights before images; and orders, that a Bible be provided for every church. He complains of the false relics that were put upon the people, and of the abuse of those that were perhaps true ones: he commands them to bring all these to him, with the writings relating to them; and promises, when he has examined them, to restore those he finds true relics, with instructions how to use them. He also forbids the tolling any more the Ave and Pardon bell, that was wont to be tolled three times a day.

Gresham's
letter to the
King for
putting the
great hospi-
tals into the
hands of
the city.

As to the dissolution of the monasteries, there is nothing to be added to the former relation given of it, but a letter of Gresham, then Lord Mayor of London, the father probably of him who was the great benefactor to the city; but by this letter his father procured them a much greater benefaction. In it he represents to the King that there were three hospitals near or within the city, St. George, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and the New Abbey on Tower-hill, founded and endowed for helping the poor and impotent, but now filled with canons and monks, who lived in pleasure, and neglected the poor, who, lying about the streets, offended all that passed. He therefore prayed the King to put the disposition and rule of those hospitals, and the lands belonging to them, into the hands of the Mayor and Aldermen of London; which would provide for many poor and infirm persons, and for physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, to attend them. He says this would raise his character above

all his progenitors, and give him the title of *Protector and Defender of the Poor*. The doing this pursuant to Gresham's advice has been of wonderful service to the city, and has been the occasion of great particular bounties, which have annually amounted to much more than the stated revenues of those places.

BOOK
I.

1538.

The state of matters began to turn about this time. The King seemed to expect from his subjects an entire resignation of their reason and conscience to him, and was equally offended at those who still adhered to the Pope, and those that were for reforming beyond his allowance. So in the end of the year 1538, he put out a proclamation, prohibiting foreign books, or any printed at home without license; condemning the Anabaptists and Sacramentaries books, appointing those who vented them to be punished; and threatening death or loss of goods to any that argued against Christ's presence in the Sacrament; and ordering all those who disused any rites not yet abolished to be punished, though they were not to observe them with superstition, but only as remembrances, and not to think salvation was to be obtained by them; and he orders all married priests to be deprived, and further punished at the King's pleasure. He orders the Bishops to be more diligent than they had been, and to preach in their own persons the Word of God sincerely and purely, and to declare the difference between things commanded by God, and the ceremonies commanded only by a lower authority; and to require their Clergy to do the same, and to exhort the people to read and hear with simplicity, and without arrogance and contention, under pain of being punished at the King's pleasure. He adds, that it appearing clearly that Thomas Becket, some time Archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstood the laws established by Henry the Second against the enormities of the Clergy, and fled to France, and to the Bishop of Rome, to get those laws abrogated; from which great troubles arose in the kingdom: that his death (falsely

The King grows severe against the reformers.

An account of Thomas Becket by the King.

BOOK
I.

1538.

called by them his martyrdom) happened upon a rescue made by him, in which he abused the gentlemen who advised him to leave his stubbornness, and not stir up the people, and pulled one of them almost down to the pavement of the church; upon which one struck him, and he was killed in the fray: the Bishop of Rome had canonized him; but the King with advice of his Council finding nothing of sanctity in his life, but that he ought rather to be esteemed a traitor, commands that he be no more called a saint, nor his festival observed; that his images be every where put down, and that the service for him be rased out of their books; adding, that the other festivals, already abrogated, shall be no more solemnized, nor his subjects any longer blindly abused to commit idolatry, as they had been in time past.

A circular
letter to the
Justices of
Peace.

Soon after this, the King understanding what malicious reports were spread round the country about him; that they were to pay taxes for every thing they eat; that the registers of births and weddings were ordered, that the King might know the numbers of his people, and make levies, and send them to foreign service: he sent a circular letter to all the Justices in England. He commends them for having done their duty in suppressing sedition so well, that till of late there had been no disquiet; but that now he understood there were some malicious persons, who by lies had studied to seduce the people; that among these some Vicars and Curates were the chief, who endeavoured to bring them back to darkness, and read the Word of God and the King's injunctions so that none could understand them; and had wrested the King's intentions in them to a false sense: that whereas the King had ordered registers to be kept, for shewing descents and the rights of inheritance, and to distinguish legitimate from bastard issue, and whether a person were born a subject or not; they went about saying, *He did this to take away their liberties*; for the preserving which, they pretended Thomas Becket died. And he gives much the

same account of Becket that was in the former proclamation. He adds, that by those and other seditious devices, the people were stirred up to sedition and insurrections, to their own utter ruin, if God had not given him force to subdue them, and afterwards moved him to pardon them. The King therefore requires them to find out such Vicars and Curates, as did not truly declare his injunctions, and mumbled the Word of God, pretending they were compelled to read them, and persuading the people to keep to the old fashion. They were also to find out all spreaders of seditious tales, and keep them in prison till the Justices came about to try them, or till the King's pleasure was known. They were likewise to take care that the injunctions against Anabaptists and Sacramentaries were duly executed.

There is a letter written, in March 1539, to Bullinger, by some who had studied under him, and were now entertained by the King, or Cromwell, in which they give an account of the state of affairs then: they write that many of the Popish ceremonies were still kept up, but with new significations put on them; as that holy water puts us in mind of our being cleansed by the blood of Christ, and the Pax represented our reconciliation to God through him: these visible things were thought fit to be retained, to prevent commotions, which satisfied some, though others preached freely against them, even before the King. They tell of the executions of the Marquis of Exeter, and the Lord Montague, and Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Cary; which last had been a zealous Papist, but when he came to suffer, exhorted the people to read the Scriptures, and said the judgments of God were justly come upon him, for the hatred he had borne to the Gospel: that the King had been threatened with a war from the Emperor, the French King, and the Scotch at the same time; but he seemed to despise it, and said to his counsellors, when he heard of it, that he found himself moved to promote the Word of God more than

New signification put upon the old riter.

Many executions in England.

BOOK
I.

1539.

The project
of endow-
ing the
church of
Canter-
bury

Disapprov-
ed by Cran-
mer.

ever. He had likewise news of the three English merchants being burnt in Spain, and that an indulgence was proclaimed to all such that should kill an English heretic. Cranmer was very busy in instructing the people, and preparing English prayers.

The foundation of the new bishoprics was now settled, and the next thing was the new modelling some cathedrals. Cromwell sent a project for the church of Canterbury to Cranmer: there was to be a provost, twelve prebends, six preachers, three readers for humanity and divinity, two readers for civil law and physic, twenty students in divinity, ten to be at Oxford, and ten at Cambridge, sixty scholars to be taught the languages and logic, and a schoolmaster and usher for them; eight petty canons, twelve singing-men, and ten choristers, with their master, a gospeller, an epistler and two sacristans; with two butlers, two cooks, a caterer, two porters, twelve poor men, a steward and an auditor, in all one hundred and sixty-two. Their salaries, with one hundred pounds to be distributed yearly to the poor, and as much for reparations, and forty pounds for mending the highways, amounted to about 1900 pounds a year. Cranmer, in his answer to Cromwell proposes the altering the prebends to something more useful. He says, prebends were generally idle, and only good vianders, but neither learned, nor given to teach; that they looked to be chief, and bear rule, and by their ill example they corrupted the youth. He says, when men were advanced to that post, they desisted from their studies, and from the exercise of preaching and teaching; therefore he wished their name might be struck out of the King's foundations: their first beginning was good, and so was that of religious men, but they had both left their first estate, and so it was fit they should perish together. He says, it was an estate which St. Paul did not find in the Church of Christ, and thinks it would be better for the Christian religion, that in their stead there were twenty divines at ten pounds apiece, and as many students of the tongues at ten

BOOK
1.

1539.

marks; if there were not such a number there, he did not see what the lectures were for; for the prebends could not attend, for making of good cheer, and the grammar children were to be otherwise employed. He particularly recommends Dr. Crome to be Dean.

At this time the King had thrown off all commerce with the Lutherans in Germany, and seemed secure of the Emperor's friendship. The King's old ministers of the Popish party kept up his zeal for transubstantiation, and prevailed on him to set up the six Articles, which they said would quiet all men's minds. Upon the carrying those Articles, the Popish party were much exalted. The King had disputed in Parliament himself on that side, together with the Bishops of York, Durham, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwich, and Carlisle; and all the temporal Lords were of the same opinion. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's, defended the contrary side, yet they all came over at last, except Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury.

The design
of the six
Articles.

Upon this act there were three burnt in Southwark, for denying transubstantiation, and after that one Collins, a crazed man, by Gardiner's procurement.

Cromwell, though he complied with the King, yet studied to fix him in such an alliance, as would separate him from the Emperor, and unite him with France, on design to support the Princes in Germany against the Emperor, on whom all the Popish party depended.

The King
marries
Anne of
Cleves.

Upon this, Mount was sent to Germany to press a closer defensive league against the Pope, and any Council he should summon. The Princes objected the act of the six Articles, and the severities upon it; and Mount confessed to one of the Elector's ministers, that the King was not sincere in point of religion; and therefore he proposed a double marriage of the King with Anne of Cleves, and of the Duke of Cleves with the Lady Mary; for he said

BOOK

I.

1540.

the King was much governed by his wives. The Elector of Saxony, who had married another sister of Cleves, had so bad an opinion of the King, that he was not for any alliance with England; but he yielded to others, who thought that alliance would be very advantageous. So Cromwell, with the concurrence of France, carried matters so, that the marriage with Anne of Cleves was made up; which proved the occasion of one of the most unjustifiable steps of all this reign.

The King
in love with
Catharine
Howard.

About Midsummer this year it began to be whispered that the King intended a divorce with Anne, who had been married to him about five months. It was observed, he was much taken with a young niece of the Duke of Norfolk's, (whom he afterwards married.) He had many meetings with her at Gardiner's palace, not without suspicion of an ill commerce between them.

Cromwell's
fall.

Cromwell was newly made Earl of Essex, Bourchier dying without heirs; and all that fell to the crown by that, the King granted to Cromwell: yet he did not enjoy this long, for in the beginning of June he was sent to the Tower. The cause of his fall was not known, but generally believed to proceed from his being against the divorce. Some thought that his late advancement was only an artifice to make people think he was guilty of some very black crime, to be so disgraced, after such high favour; and that the King restored to his son (who was almost a fool) much of his estate and goods, only to make the father more silent.

The mat-
ters first
charged on
him, from
which he
clears him-
self.

Upon Cromwell's imprisonment, the Comptroller was sent to him, and ordered him to write to the King. Upon which he wrote a long letter to the King; in which, he first thanks the King for what the Comptroller had said to him. He was accused of treason, but he protests his innocence and love to the King, and prays God to forgive his accusers. He says he never spoke with Baker and Throgmorton together but once, and he was sure not of any such matter; (as it seems was informed against him.) The King knew what Throgmorton was,

with relation to all his proceedings, and what an enemy Baker had always been to him, and had often warned him of them. He trusted only in God and the King. He had only considered the King in all his service, and did not know that he had injured any one. If he had heard of conventicles or other offences, he had for the most part revealed them, and punished them; but he had meddled in so many things, he could not answer for all: he was sure he had never wilfully offended, and where he had offended, he humbly begged pardon. He denies to have ever revealed the King's secret, as the Comptroller told him he had: he had indeed, upon the King's ordering him to go to the Queen, and declare his mind freely to her, spoke to her Lord Chamberlain (not naming the King) to deal with the Queen to behave herself more pleasantly towards the King; and had said the same thing to her Council, when they came to him on some occasion: but both these were before the King had trusted that secret to him, which it seems was his design to have the marriage dissolved, but after that he never spoke of it to any but the Lord Admiral, and that by the King's order. He heard it was charged on him that he had more retainers about him than the laws allowed; but he never retained any, except his servants; but against his will, being pressed by his friends to keep their children or friends about him, and they maintained them themselves. In this, God knows, he had no ill intent, but begs pardon if he had offended, for this was called gathering force about him; and so he concludes, indeed with too much abjectness.

These were all the particulars charged on him upon his first imprisonment: other matters were afterwards added to throw more load on him; but it seems they were not thought of at first. It was thought, they had once designed to burn him as a heretic, and that those considerations made him so humble. Cromwell had possessed many offices in his person; for besides his being Lord Vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, he was Lord Privy Seal,

BOOK
I.

1510.

What passed
in Con-
vocation.

Lord Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, what was more, he was Chief Minister, and had the King's confidence for ten years together, almost as entirely as Cardinal Wolsey had it formerly. It appears how diligent and exact a minister he was, by those many memorandums which remain of his upon all affairs, which he was to lay before the King, though they are too short to give great light into affairs.

No Convocation had sat for two years, for the book, called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, was prepared by a particular commission. A Convocation sat this year in May; to which Abbots and Priors were summoned, and the Abbot of Tavistock sat in Parliament this year. Both provinces were summoned to a national synod, to judge of the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves. They annulled the marriage, which was not so much to be wondered at, because the Romish doctrine of intention in sacraments still prevailed; pursuant to which doctrine, marriage being a sacrament, and two parties the ministers of it, without a true intention, which the King affirmed he had not, the marriage was no sacrament, and consequently null: so that the shame of that scandalous decision falls chiefly upon that shameless doctrine. When the news of it came to France, Francis asked the King's ambassadors upon what grounds it went; upon which they wrote to know what to answer; and the Council ordered them to say, that the Queen affirmed that King Henry had never touched her person; that a learned Convocation, in which it was well known there were great clerks, had judged the matter; and that all persons ought to be satisfied with these proceedings, since the Queen herself was.

Exceptions
in the act
of grace.

There was an act of grace this year, in which, besides particular persons, all Anabaptists and Sacramentaries were excepted, and all that affirmed a fate. There was a design at this time against Dr. Crome, whom Cranmer had recommended to the Deanery of Canterbury, and given a great charac-

ter of him in a letter to Cromwell; which without doubt raised him many enemies. He got notice that he was to be searched for; upon which he went to the King, and begged him on his knees to stop those severities, and release those that lay in prison on the account of religion. The King had such a regard for him, that he complied with his desire, and gave orders accordingly. Yet after the Parliament was dissolved, three priests suffered for denying the supremacy; and at the same time Barns, Gerrard, and Jerom were burnt together; but seemed to die without any pain. They were not condemned by any form of law, nor was it well known upon what pretence they were burnt: they were attainted by act of parliament, without being brought to make their answers. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Wilson, were excepted out of the general pardon, for nothing else but having sent alms to one who was condemned for denying the supremacy, and was lying in prison in the extremity of misery. Yet Sampson had hitherto entirely complied with all that had been done, and flattered the King highly in a dedication to him; and inveighed severely against the Bishop of Rome and Cardinal Pole. Crome came into trouble again for a sermon he preached on Christmas day against masses for the dead: it was his way, when he saw a storm rising, to preach with more than ordinary zeal against the prevailing corruptions; he said, that, if masses were necessary for the dead, the King and Parliament had done wrong to destroy the monasteries endowed for that end. These with other complaints being carried to the King, Crome was commanded to answer them: he explained and justified what he had said. But the King, having no mind to carry matters further against so eminent a man, passed a sentence, that Crome having confessed, the King out of his clemency, and to quiet the people, had appointed him to preach at St. Paul's, and repeat the articles against him, and read the judgment which the King gave upon the matter; which was, that private

BOOK
I.

1540.

masses were sacrifices profitable both to the living and the dead; but yet that the King with his Parliament had justly abolished monasteries: and the sentence concluded, that if he fell again into the like offence, he was to suffer according to law. Upon this Crome preached, and after sermon read the King's order, but said not one word upon it; whereas the King expected that he should have applauded his judgment, and extolled his favour to himself. So an order was sent him to preach no more, as had been before sent to Latimer and Shaxton.

The Popish party, now Cromwell was fallen, and the Duke of Norfolk exalted by the King's marrying his niece, broke out into their usual violence; which probably was set on by Bonner, who was now Bishop of London, and had changed sides immediately on Cromwell's fall; and, from acting a forced part with heat enough, came now to act that which was natural to him.

Prosecu-
tions upon
the six Ar-
ticles.

There were five hundred informations found by one jury in the city of London, upon the statute of the six Articles; but by means of Audley, then Lord Chancellor, they were all dropped. There were likewise several informations against Papists. Bonner's Chaplains were sent by the Council to be examined by Cranmer; and he was ordered to send one Dr. Benger to the Tower. Goodrick Bishop of Ely's house was searched, and his servants examined, upon a letter of Melancthon's, against the King's proceedings being printed in English. Many were brought into trouble for words; and a great many printers were prosecuted for bringing books into England against the King. Hains, Dean of Exeter, was examined and tried by a commission of four Bishops, and was sent to the Fleet, for lewd and seditious preaching, and sowing erroneous opinions; but was afterwards dismissed with only a reprimand, and under a recognizance of five hundred marks, to appear, if called for, any time within five months.

1542.

In 1542 it was moved and agreed in Council,

BOOK
I.

1542.

A conspi-
racy against
Cranmer.

Cranmer being present, that, if the King should
so content, a commission should be sent into Kent,
to examine all abuses of religion in general, and
with certain special articles. This was laid to ruin
Cranmer: but there is no further entry in the coun-
cil-book relating to this affair. But Mr. Strype
gives this account of the conspiracy against him.
While Cranmer was visiting his diocese, there were
many presentments made to him; some against
those who were still for the old superstitions, and
the Pope's authority; others against those who
taught contrary to the six Articles, and the rites
still practised. This created a great confusion in
that country; and the blame was cast on Cranmer
by his enemies, as favouring the new learning too
much. A plot was contrived by Gardiner, with
the help of Dr. London, and Thornden, who had
lived in Cranmer's house, and was raised by him,
and several others who had been preferred by his
favour, and had pretended zeal for the Gospel; but
on Cromwell's fall, they reckoned if they could
ruin Cranmer, that would quite crush all designs of
further reforming. So they went to work, and ga-
thered several articles out of the sermons and pri-
vate discourses of the prebends and preachers of
Canterbury; and they said, these were the men
encouraged by Cranmer; and that all who were
not for this new learning, he used very harshly and
severely: and thus they represented him as the
principal cause of all the heats and divisions in Kent.
These articles, after some demur who should pre-
sent them, came to the King's hands; the King
shewed them to the Archbishop, telling him in jest,
that he had now found out who was the greatest
heretic in Kent. The Archbishop desired the
King to send a commission, and examine the mat-
ter. The King gave the commission to himself;
and, notwithstanding all he could say to decline it,
obliged him to go and examine the matter himself;
and though the Archbishop pressed it, the King
would add but one with him in the commission.

Upon the Archbishop's coming down into Kent,

BOOK
I.

1542.

the conspirators were struck with fear, and some begged pardon, and were put in prison. But afterwards Dr. Legh was sent down, and he discovered the whole train. Some of the Archbishop's own servants were in it, Thornden in particular. They wept and confessed. The Archbishop was so gentle as to forgive them, and never after was seen to change his countenance or behaviour towards them. Several were imprisoned on the same account, but were afterwards released on a general pardon. It appeared how much the King loved Cranmer by another instance: when Sir John Gostwick had charged Cranmer with heresy in the House of Commons, the King called him varlet, and commanded him, under pain of his displeasure, to ask Cranmer's pardon; which he did; and Cranmer mildly forgave him, and went to the King, and with some difficulty obtained his favour for him.

Some steps
made in
setting out
true reli-
gion.

This year the book, called *The necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man*, was finished and published. The King had examined and corrected it himself. He seemed desirous of being thought infallible, and that his subjects should believe just what he thought fit.

Catharine
Howard's
disgrace.

The King went his progress with the Queen, who had now withdrawn from her uncle, and become his enemy: she began to have great influence on the King; but her life was now discovered, which ended fatally to her, as was told in the former volume. It appears by Cranmer's examination of her, that they had a mind to fix upon her a precontract with Derham: but she positively denied any such thing, though she confessed a lewd commerce with him before she was married to the King: but she persisted to the last in denying that there was ever any thing of that sort after the marriage.

A negotia-
tion with
the German
Princes.

Upon her disgrace, one was sent over to treat with the German Princes, to excuse the best he could, the divorce with Anne of Cleves, and to renew the proposition of a league, for supporting their common interests. They stood on this, that they could enter into no alliance with him, unless they agreed

in religion: they insisted particularly on private masses, denying the cup in the Sacrament, and the celibate of the Clergy; and proposed a conference on these heads. The King answered, he would examine what they laid before him, and complained that their learned men had misrepresented him and his proceedings. Cranmer likewise wrote to the Elector, that since the King had abolished the Pope's power, the monastic state, and the idolatry of images, he hoped they would bear with his differing still from them in some points; and he hoped the propositions they had sent over would be well considered.

Lord William Howard was now ambassador in France, but was recalled on his sister Queen Catherine's disgrace, and Paget sent in his room. There had been a report that the Emperor and King of France were in a treaty, and were to join in a war upon the King; but it was solemnly denied by the French King. A proposition was set on foot for a marriage between the Lady Mary and the Duke of Orleans; and objections being made on her being declared a bastard, it was promised, that, when all other things were agreed, she should be declared legitimate. Paget sent over an account of a conversation he had with the Admiral, who was then in high favour, upon this subject.

Negociations with France.

He gave the Admiral an account of his instructions. The Admiral answered, that the King of France would enter into some confederacy or other, and that he most desired one with the King, and would think of no other till he refused it. This he thought their interest, though no marriage were in the case; but he thought that would fix and strengthen it. But he insisted on more than 200,000 crowns, which he thought but a mean offer, and that would discourage the Duke of Orleans, who was a Prince of great spirit. They might have had vastly more with the daughter of Portugal. Paget set forth the love his King had for the French King, that all the occasions of suspicion which had been given could not alienate him from

BOOK

I.

1542.

it. He owned the Duke of Orleans' merit, but endeavoured to shew the proposal was not unreasonable; that Lewis the Twelfth had not much more with the King's sister, and the King of Scots but half as much with the other. He said likewise, that 800,000 crowns that France owed the King would be forgiven, and the yearly pension of 10,000 crowns. The Admiral said, the remitting the debt he counted for nothing, and they should be at as much charge to maintain her court, as the pension amounted to. Paget insisted on the justness of the debt, as having been lent in an extreme necessity; and that it having been long owing, did not make it nothing. The Admiral said the 800,000 crowns was nothing to the King, they not being able to pay it; so he wished the thing had never been spoke of. He then turned the motion to the Lady Elizabeth, and proposed a league against the Emperor; and that what was got from the Emperor should be the King's in lieu of the pension during life. He knew the Emperor was practising with the King, and with them at the same time; but it was only to divide them; for he knew he never would unite with the King, unless he would return to the Pope; so the Nuncio told the Chancellor, who told it again to the Queen of Navarre. He offered them, that the Duke of Orleans should be King of Naples, and to give Flanders to France: if, in lieu of that, they would renounce Milan and Navarre, and restore Piedmont and Savoy; so to separate the father and the son, that he might drive the son out of Naples when he pleased; and that he had endeavoured to gain the Duke of Cleves by offering him Guelder, if he and his wife would renounce Navarre. Paget said, he knew nothing of these matters; but believed vice and virtue may be as soon reconciled, as the King to the Bishop of Rome. Upon which the Admiral railed at the Bishop of Rome, and said he hoped before long to see his confusion, and the abbeyes given to laymen, and a patriarch in France: he said, an union, and, if it may be, an interview, between the two Kings,

would be the happiest thing could befall Christendom; but he believed many of the King's Council leaned too much to the Emperor. The Emperor, he said, valued nothing in the world but the satisfying his own insatiable desires. He suffered his two brothers-in-law to perish for want of 50,000 crowns; first the King of Hungary, and then the King of Denmark. He said, now he was low, so they would do well to fall on him before he took breath, and pressed Paget to urge these things to the King; and how unreasonable it was for the Emperor and his brother to ask aid of the King against the Turk, while they kept his own dominions from him. Paget writ all this to the King, with a humble submission if he had gone too far. He told him, the French believed the Emperor was treating with the King for the Lady Mary; and that Bonner was sent to Spain for that end, whom they looked upon as thoroughly imperial. Paget added a postscript, in which he told the King, that the Admiral the next day entered into further discourse with him; and said, it was not 100,000 or 200,000 crowns could enrich his master, or impoverish the King: so he proposed upon the marriage to enter into a league to make war on the Emperor, to regain all their territories; that the King should send 10,000 foot and 2000 horse into Flanders, and pay 5000 Germans; that the French King should furnish the same, only 1000 more horse; that they should fit out an equal number of ships on both sides; that the King should have Gravelines and Dunkirk, and all about Calais; and endeavoured to persuade Paget of the justness of a war, upon the debts the Emperor owed the King, upon the breach of his leagues with him, and upon his practising with France to join with the Pope and him to drive the King out of his dominions; and ended with desiring that the war might begin that year, the Emperor being very poor. Paget excused himself from entering on such matters, and desired the French ambassador at London might propose it to the King; yet being pressed by the

BOOK
I.

Admiral to it, he laid all this before the King with much submission.

1542.

The King's Council answered, that they trusted the Admiral, but not the King of France, whom they suspected to mean nothing but to draw money from the King; for the French ambassadors still insisted on 600,000 crowns to be paid down: so this matter fell. But to go on with this Prince's story.

1543.

The Duke of Orleans promised to declare himself Protestant.

The Duke of Orleans in the year 1543 sent to the Duke of Saxony, and Landgrave of Hesse, and the other Protestant princes, that though, out of regard to his father the King, and the Dauphin his brother, he did not order the Gospel to be preached in his duchy of Orleans, that being under their obedience; yet he would see it should be preached in the duchy of Luxemburgh, and in all places that should belong to him by right of war. He desired to be received into their alliance; not to be aided by them against any Prince, but only on the account of the Christian religion, the increase of which he desired above all things; and he thought his being so allied to them would be a great means of propagating it into other dominions, and into the kingdom of France. He desires this alliance may be made as soon as he shall order the Gospel to be preached in Luxemburgh; and he offered them not only all his own force, but the whole force of the King his father, who had authorized him to employ it, as he should judge proper for their welfare and freedom. Certainly he did not make these overtures without his father's leave; and they shew that he was sincerely a Protestant, or at least designed openly to profess himself so. But Luxemburgh being retaken, this proposition ended. But it seems the Emperor feared his heat and spirit; for in 1544 he offered him an alternative of his eldest daughter, with the ancient inheritance of the house of Burgundy, the two Burgundies, and the Netherlands; or his brother Ferdinand's second daughter, with Milan. Upon this he met the Emperor at Antwerp, and stayed some days with him. But all ended with his

life in the year 1545; for about the end of that year he died of the plague.

The Convocation, as appears by their minutes, never meddled with the book called *The Necessary Erudition*. But it seems, when that doctrine was settled, there was a design to reform further. In 1541 a Convocation was held, and the Archbishop brought them a message from the King, to consult concerning the reforming of errors, and delivered to them some books to be examined, but of what sort does not appear.

1543.
Proceed-
ings in Con-
vocation.

In 1545 an order of Council was published, to take away shrines and images, and commissions were granted for executing it. The Archbishop moved the Convocation in the King's name to make laws against simony, and to prepare Homilies, and a new translation of the Bible. The Bible was parcelled out, and assigned to several Bishops to translate; but it came to nothing during this reign, though the persons were named for the translation. Cranmer had some years before given the old translation, in the same manner to be revised and corrected, to several Bishops and Divines; but it was then much opposed. Stokely refused to do the part assigned him, saying, that the liberty of reading the Scriptures would but infect the people with heresy, which he would never be guilty of promoting. Yet Cranmer published a more correct New Testament in English; but now he designed a new translation for the whole Bible.

The Convocation went on to treat about simony, and about translating the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments, into the vulgar tongue; and about leases, that none should let them beyond twenty-one years; about many of the rituals of Thomas Becket, the adorning images, and reforming comedies. The Archbishop told them from the King, that it was his pleasure, that the translation of the Bible be revised by the two Universities: but the Bishops did not agree to this. The Lord Chancellor exhibited to them an act, to allow Bishops' chancellors to marry; to which the Bishops dis-

BOOK
I.

1543.

sented: some other matters were proposed, but all were referred to the King. Some Homilies were likewise offered them. The Archbishop told them, that the King would have the offices used in churches examined and corrected; and would have a chapter of the New Testament read both at Mattins and Vespers, in every parish. Some petitions were offered by the Clergy: one was for making a body of ecclesiastical laws. There was a body of them drawn up, probably the same with that prepared in King Edward's time. The persons had been named, and a commission granted some years before; but it seems to have been forgotten for some time; but now was revived, and the book prepared. But how it came to be dropped during this reign, is hard to account for, since it must have mightily strengthened the King's supremacy to have all the ecclesiastical courts governed by a code authorized by the King.

Bell, Bishop of Worcester, resigned his bishopric.

This is all put together that could be collected from the only ancient copy that remains of the minutes of the Convocations in those times. Bell, Bishop of Worcester, resigned his bishopric, but why does not appear. He lived to the year 1556: so if he withdrew because he desired a further reformation, it is likely he would have been taken notice of in King Edward's time; or if it was because he disliked the reformation that was made, probably he would have made some figure in Queen Mary's reign.

1544.
Audley, Lord Chancellor, died.

Audley, who had been Chancellor ever since Sir Thomas More left the post, fell sick in 1544, and sent the seal to the King; the King gave it to the Lord Wriothesly, and made him Lord Keeper, with authority to do all that the Lord Chancellor could do, during Lord Audley's infirmity. So during Lord Audley's life, out of regard to him, Lord Wriothesly had not the title of Lord Chancellor with the seals; but upon his death he was made Lord Chancellor. This is the first instance of a Lord Keeper, with the full power of a Lord Chancellor.

For the remaining part of this reign there are not materials to carry on a thread of history ; so we must be contented with such loose passages as occur. The Emperor with the Popish party here were forming the breach between England and France ; so the King, to prevent all danger from Scotland, entered into an agreement with the Earl of Lenox and Glencairne, and the Bishop of Caithness, the Earl of Lenox's brother. They promised, that the Word of God should be truly taught in their countries, and to continue the King's friends, and to prevent the Queen's being secretly carried away, and to help the King in seizing some castles on the borders ; and the Bishop of Caithness was given as a hostage. The King was to send forces to Scotland, to make the Earl of Lenox Governor of Scotland, and give him his niece in marriage. There was afterwards a fuller agreement made, whereby the Earl of Glencairne was to have two hundred and fifty pounds, and his son one hundred and twenty-five pounds pension during life ; and in this some of the castle of St. Andrew's were included, and private agreements were made with other people.

At this time the Germans began to have some hopes again of the King. Mount was sent to offer an alliance with them. He excused the King's late proceedings against Cromwell and Barnes, and blamed their ambassadors for disputing with the King in writing ; and wished Melancthon and Bucer had managed those matters. Bucer seconded Mount's motions, and magnified the King. But the Elector of Saxony had no good opinion of the King, and thought him an enemy to their doctrine, and that all his design was to get a tyrannical power in the Church. The French King moved the Elector to undertake a mediation between the King and him ; but he referred that to a general meeting of those engaged in the Smalcaldic league. The German Princes saw how a quarrel between the two Kings would leave them exposed to the Emperor, so they sent some to try whether they could prevent the war, and mediate a reconciliation. When they

Mount sent
to Ger-
many.

BOOK

I.

1544.

A war with
France.

delivered their message to the King, he complained to them of the injustice of the French King, and doubted their interposition could have no effect; yet he expressed a great confidence in them.

The Emperor and King Henry had agreed to march directly to Paris with their whole army, which they reckoned would amount to 90,000 foot, and 20,000 horse; whereas if the King had landed in Normandy, according to the advice of his Council, he would have carried that whole dutchy. But the Emperor drew the King into the other scheme, and took Luxemburgh, and some other towns, and obtained his own ends, and then made a separate peace with France, and left the King to make war by himself. So the King, finding the Emperor's main army was not like to join him, sent the Duke of Norfolk to besiege Montreuil, and he himself sat down before Boulogne; which was much weakened by a considerable part of the garrison that Marshal Bies, Governor of Boulogne, had thrown with himself into Montreuil, that being thought the more important place. The French sent an army to raise the siege of Montreuil, upon which the Duke of Norfolk raised the siege, for fear of their cutting off his communication with the King's army. Boulogne however was taken; and that small conquest was much extolled, though the place was scarce worth keeping, or the vast charge they had been at to take it.

Boulogne
taken.The King is
forsaken by
the Empe-
ror.

Though the Emperor had betrayed the King, yet the intercourse between the two Courts was not discontinued. The Emperor was necessary to him in one point, and that was, to prevent the Council which was to meet at Trent from intermeddling between him and the Pope, which the King much apprehended, because Pole was named one of the legates to preside in it; but the Emperor promised to hinder it, and he kept his word to him in that. The King of France offered to hinder the Council's meeting, if the King would join with him; but the King would not trust his fluctuating temper, and he knew how great an interest the Emperor must have in that Council. However, the King, upon his first

BOOK
I.

1544.

disappointment, sent the Earl of Hertford and Gardiner with a letter, in which he expostulated severely with him for his perfidy. The Emperor had the gout, and would not see them; and his ministers, after much chicane, at length, when they demanded a positive answer, told them that the Emperor could not carry on the war any longer against France, but offered to mediate a peace. But this mediation likewise was managed deceitfully; for the Emperor feared that if the two Kings were at peace, they would prevent his designs on Germany, which were now ripe; and would not sit still, and see him make himself master of Germany, under the pretence of a religious war; so he studied to keep up the war between France and England.

Before the King went out of England, a Litany in English to be used in processions was set out by his authority, with a preface exhorting the people to prayer, and to use their mother tongue when they prayed in private. In the Litany after the word *conspiracy*, this is added, *from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities*. It is much the same with the Litany now in use, only there is an invocation of the Virgin and the angels and saints to pray for them. To this are added some exercises of devotion, taken out of the Scriptures, chiefly the Psalms; and a paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer.

Prayers set
out in Eng-
lish.

The King on October 15, 1545, sent a mandate to Bonner to publish the English Procession (that was the name of the book,) which was done next day. But so fickle and unstable was the King in his proceedings, that ten days after he ordered Cranmer to set up an image again, which had been taken down by his injunctions; and ordered another to be taken down because of the idolatry that was committed about it, and the use of holy water at St. John's tide to be abolished.

At this time great indulgences and other such favours were sent to Ireland from Rome, and the King's supremacy was generally rejected in that kingdom; yet several there were put in prison for

BOOK
I.

1546.
The King
neglects the
German
Princes.

denying the presence in the Sacrament; and Tindal's and Coverdale's New Testaments were forbidden by a proclamation.

Thirleby was sent ambassador to the Emperor, and afterwards Secretary Petre was sent to that Court. Mount continued there, but acted without a character. He often warned the King of the Emperor's design to force all the empire to submit to the Pope and Council then sitting at Trent. The German Princes applied to the King to protect and intercede for Herman, Bishop of Cologne, and gave him a great character; but it does not appear that the King interposed in that matter. The Emperor insinuated himself much into Thirleby; and endeavoured by him to make the King believe that the King of France was making great levies with a design against the King: but this was found to be false, and only an artifice of the Emperor's to keep up a jealousy between the two Courts. The Emperor likewise prevailed on Thirleby to assure the King, that he did not design to enslave Germany, but only to repress the insolence of some princes, and to give justice its free course: so Germany was abandoned by both Courts. Yet the King often complained by Thirleby to the Emperor of the hardships his subjects met with in Spain from the inquisition, and the other courts of justice, on pretence that the King and all that adhered to him were heretics; but it does not appear that any thing was done upon these representations.

The last message the King sent to the Germans was in 1546, by Mount and Butler. The German Princes had prayed him to insist against the Council of Trent, assuring him that the Pope would suffer no reformation. The Elector of Saxony was against having any thing to do with the King, as being a man that only pursued his own ends, and intended out of the two religions to form a third, only for enriching himself, having condemned their doctrine in his Parliament; but the greater number of the Princes of the union were of another mind.

BOOK
I.

1546.
Ferdinand
discontent-
ed with the
Emperor.

At this time Ferdinand, on some disgust from the Emperor his brother, sent to the King, setting forth the claim he had to Spain, by the agreement of the marriage between Ferdinand of Arragon, and Isabel of Castile, that whenever there should be a second son issuing from that marriage, Castile and Arragon should be again separated. He pretended likewise to the Netherlands, as his share of the succession of the house of Burgundy, in lieu of which rich provinces he was forced to accept Austria and the provinces about it, which lay exposed to the Turks, and were loaded with debts. Our Court returned an answer secretly; but being then in a good understanding with Francis, communicated the matter to him; upon which he writ to Ferdinand, encouraging him to stand by his claim, and promising him his assistance. But Ferdinand not caring to trust the Court of France, sent this letter to the Emperor; so this matter ended there.

The Duke
of Norfolk's
imprison-
ment.

The last important transaction was the fall of the Duke of Norfolk, and his son the Earl of Surrey. Upon their imprisonment, which was about the end of the year 1546, letters were writ by the Council to all the King's ambassadors, giving an account of this matter much aggravated, as if some dangerous conspiracy had been discovered. Particularly Thirleby was ordered to represent it to the Emperor; but the Emperor being ill, and refusing all audiences, a Secretary was sent to receive his message, to whom Thirleby set forth the whole matter in the most odious characters, which the Secretary promised to report to the Emperor. After such black representations, great matters might be expected; but a letter, which the Duke of Norfolk writ with his own hand to the Council, gives a very different account of that matter, with relation to himself. In it he says the Lord Great Chamberlain and Secretary of State had examined him on divers particulars: the first was, whether he had ever a cypher with any man, but such as he had for the King's affairs, when he was in his service? which he denied. There was likewise a letter of his found.

His letter to
the Council.

BOOK
I.

1546.

among Bishop Fox's papers, about which he was examined: he remembered it was about the talk of the northern people, after the commotions there; but it was only against Cromwell, and not against the King; and he did not remember whether it was in cypher or not. Then he was asked, if any person had talked to him about the Pope's breaking by his dispensation any peace that might be made between the King, the Emperor, and the French King, and whether he had inclined that way? He answered, that he remembered no such thing; but declared himself against the Bishop of Rome's usurpations, and said he had upon all occasions spoken against them. He was asked likewise, if he knew of a letter from Gardiner and Knevet, the King's ambassadors at the Emperor's Court, about a reconciliation with the Pope, which was brought to the King at Dover, he being there then. He said, he had never been with the King at Dover since the Duke of Richmond's death; nor had ever heard of such an overture; only that it had been said in Council, when Sir Francis Bryan was like to die, that he had reported the Bishop of Winchester to have said, that he knew a way to set all right between the Pope and the King; upon which Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Sir Francis, to ask the truth of it; but Sir Francis said he had never heard any thing of it. These were all the questions they put to him, and these his answers. He therefore prayed the Lords to intercede with the King, that his accusers might be brought to him face to face, and that he might have the same favour Cromwell had; whom he hoped they did not compare him with; and he did not doubt but it would appear he was falsely accused. He said, he believed some false man had laid some great matter to his charge. He protested his fidelity to the King, and was ready to confess if he knew wherein he had offended him. He tells what great enemies he had always had; first Wolsey, and then Cromwell, with many others. He counts his services to the King, and wonders how any could think him unfaithful to the King, having received such

favours of him, and being his near kinsman. He prays them to lay all this before the King, and ends with such submissions as he hoped might mollify the King.

By this it appears he was to have been destroyed only upon suspicions and old stories; but the King's death prevented his execution.

King Henry had certainly a greater measure of learning than most princes used to have; and especially in matters of divinity. But as this gave occasion to much flattery, so his strength of mind was not great enough to withstand it; and it both corrupted his temper, and disfigured his whole government. It was by this method that Cardinal Wolsey governed him for so many years; though otherwise he was a wise minister, and always pursued the true interest of England, in maintaining the balance of Europe, by favouring Charles or Francis the First alternately, as the one seemed to rise in strength, or the other sink. One great occasion of flattering the King was his book against Luther. It was a master-piece in Wolsey to engage the King to own the book: if any assisted him in the composing it, as probably there did, the secret was well kept. Whether King Henry was sincere as to his scruples about his first marriage, can be only known to God; though the great expence he was at in the suit for many years, and all that while abstaining from any unlawful commerce with Anne Bullen, which appears from her being with child so soon after her marriage, seem favourable circumstances.

It does not appear how Wolsey deserved his disgrace, unless the commission given to the two legates empowered them to act separately; and even then, he being trusted by the Pope, scarce deserved so severe a correction, for acting according to his instructions. Nothing else material appeared against Wolsey; but it seems the new flatterers falling in with the King's passion, outdid and ruined him.

More was the glory of his age: he thought the King's cause just, and favoured it as long as it was prosecuted at the Court of Rome; but when he saw

1547.

A recapitulation of King Henry's reign.

Wolsey's ministry.

BOOK
I.

1547.

a breach with that Court like to follow, he withdrew from the great post he was in; and the carrying matters against him so far as was done, is the greatest reproach of that reign. His superstition indeed seems contemptible, but his constancy of mind was truly wonderful.

Cromwell's
ministry.

Cromwell in his ministry did great things, by his constant flattery and submission. Pulling down the papacy, and setting up the King's supremacy, and rooting out the monastic state in England, with so few convulsions and disturbances, and in so short a time, shew him to have been a great master in business. But an unfortunate marriage to which he persuaded the King, and a suspicion the King took up, that he was backward in the design of breaking it, and that he had betrayed that secret which he had trusted him with to Anne of Cleves, worked his ruin.

The Duke of Norfolk, after Cromwell's fall, grew to be first in favour; but was at last to have been sacrificed to the King's jealousy, who feared he would be too great, and, being the head of the Popish party, might be an uneasy competitor with the Seymours, during his son's minority.

The King's
inconstancy
in religion.

The King was all his life fluctuating in matters of religion; sometimes making steps to a reformation, sometimes returning back to his old notions. For though, when he first threw off the Pope's yoke, the reformers flattered him; yet, being too hasty in reforming, and not paying that deference to his judgment which he expected, as if the infallibility of the Popes had been transferred to him with the supremacy, he turned against them; and the adherers to the old opinions flattering him again, seemed for some time to have brought him back: but he still perceived the old leaven of the papacy working in them, so that he was always wavering between those whom he found unwilling to submit to his infallibility, and those whom he suspected were averse to his supremacy. Perhaps the apprehensions of the Council that was to meet at Trent might be one restraint upon him, from proceeding to any further

innovations in religion, especially in that received doctrine of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, which he himself too had defended against Luther.

But whatever his faults were, he was a great instrument in the hand of Providence to open a door for letting in the truth of the Gospel upon the nation, and to deliver it from blind and implicit obedience, and from the terror of the ecclesiastical courts, to put the Scriptures in the hands of the people, and to render this Church an entire body within itself, and free it from all dependence on any foreign power; and lastly to destroy the monasteries, which had always been the strong holds of Popery; and thus to open a way for all that came after.

So that while we observe the folly and weakness of man in all his personal failings, at the same time we see the justice, wisdom, and goodness of God, in making him, who was once the pride of Popery, become its scourge; and in directing his pride and passion so, as to change about, under the dread of his unrelenting temper, a change, that a milder reign could not have compassed, without great convulsions, and much confusion; and in rescuing us by his means from a vain and heathenish superstition and idolatry, into a greater simplicity of belief, and a greater purity of worship.



AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

*Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended
in the Second Book of the Abridgment of the His-
tory of the Reformation.*

BOOK
II.

Vargas's
letters con-
cerning the
Council of
Trent.

THE former account of King's Edward's reign is so full, that there are few things to be added; yet there are some gleanings that may not be unacceptable.

The Council of Trent, the second session of which was in this reign, being the most important foreign transaction that happened at this time, it is not improper to make a digression, in order to give an account of a great discovery lately made, with relation to that affair, which confirms all that Padre Paulo says of that Council in his history of it. It is a parcel of letters in Spanish, writ to Cardinal Grandville, Bishop of Arras, and chief minister to Charles the Emperor, by Vargas and others. Vargas, the chief writer of them, was one of the greatest geniuses of the time, and was employed

1547.

by the Emperor in both the sessions as the chief of the Council, for his ambassadors, in divinity matters that required either civil or canon law. They fell into the hands of Sir William Trumball, the grandfather of the present gentleman of that name, while he was King James the First's envoy at Brussels; but probably under a promise of secrecy, and so lay concealed till lately, when by means of his grandson they were published in English by Dr. Geddes, and more fully in French by M. Le Vassor.

They give a just idea of that Council, of the fraud and insolence of the Legate, and of the method in which matters were carried there.

The fraud and insolence of the Legate.
Oct. 7.

In one letter he tells, that the Pope and his ministers dreaded the Protestants coming to the Council; that they were not themselves, nor in condition to treat upon that point; that whoever offered any thing not grateful to the Legate, was immediately said to *speak ill*, and *think worse*.

In another he mentions a letter from the Emperor to the Pope, promising that nothing should be done in the Council but what the Pope had a mind to, and that he would make the Prelates hold their tongues, and not oppose him; Vargas says, this was only writ to induce the Pope to grant the bull, and was not to be understood so literally (judaeically he says) as to suffer the Pope to ruin all, but only to do reasonable things: he says, the liberty the Pope took looks like fury and madness.

In another he says, the Legate never acquaints the Prelates with matters, till they are just to be pronounced, and then they pass them without more ado; and that all that the Pope aims at is to authorize his own pretensions by the Council; the Canons of reformation, he says, are so trivial, that several were ashamed to hear them.

Oct. 12.
The Bishops knew not what they did.

In another he writes, he does not see how either Catholics or Heretics can be satisfied with what is done here; for all is done by the way of Rome.

Oct. 28.

In another he writes, the Legate goes on in his old way, consuming time in disputing about doc-

Nov. 12.

BOOK
II.

1547.

Nov. 28.
The pride
and impu-
dence of the
Legate.

trine, that produces something in a hurry to look plausible; so that they have neither time to read nor understand what they are about: he thinks both God and his Majesty were like to be much dishonoured by what would be done there; and that if things went on so, the Church would be left in a worse condition than she was before.

In another he says, there are not words to express the pride, the disrespect, the shamelessness with which the Legate proceeds; nothing but a miracle can prevent the success and end he had foretold this synod would have; human means could not; and that the Emperor tired himself in vain negotiating with the Pope and his ministers; that the Legate had hammered out such an infamous reformation, as would make them a jest to the world; that the Prelates resented it highly, and many thought they wounded their consciences by holding their tongues, and suffering things to be carried thus. He says, this Council will deceive the world, and convince them, that by reason of the management of Popes, no reformation is ever to be expected from a General Council. He hopes that nothing in which the Pope has pretensions will be handled in this Council; for it cannot be done here, says he, but to the detriment of the whole Church, who have at present neither strength nor courage to resist; and unless God remedy it, he does not see when it will. He says, the Legate does whatever he has a mind to, without either numbering or weighing votes; hurrying and reserving things which ought to be well weighed and digested to the last minute, so that the major part do not know what they are a doing till it is done. He says, every body is glad that the Council is drawing so near an end, there being many that wish it had never met; he owns he did, and would be mistaken if they did not leave things worse than they found them.

In another letter, he complains that the decree of doctrine was not finished till the night before the session, so that many Bishops gave their assent

No good to
be expected
from Coun-
cils.

to what they could not understand. The divines of Louvain and Cologne, and some Spanish divines, publicly declared themselves much dissatisfied. He says, if this matter becomes public, it must quite ruin the credit of all that has or shall be done, and prevent the Council's being received either in Flanders or Germany. He tells, that the Bishop of Verdun called the Canons of reformation a pretended reformation, unworthy of the synod: upon which the Legate gave him very rude language, calling him a boy, and an impudent raw man, and told him he knew how to have him chastised, and would not suffer him to speak in his own defence. Thus, says he, the matters of God are handled, and none have the courage to speak in his behalf, but are like *dumb dogs, that cannot bark*.

In another he tells, that the divines were employed in correcting some particulars in the decrees that were passed. So the infallibility, it seems, was removed from the Council to the divines the Legate employed.

In another he says, it had been happy if the Council had never met, by reason of the many mischiefs it had already done, and is still doing; he despairs of any good ever coming from a General Council; and expresses some fear of the Council's dispersing itself.

In another he writes, this synod must end tumultuously and ingloriously.

In another, that the Legate had foisted some things into the doctrine of orders, which must ruin all. He says, the Legate seems to be given over to a reprobate sense.

In another he says, all they drive at is to get the Pope's pretensions established under the doctrine of order, which will ruin all; those being matters never yet so much as proposed or disputed of in the Council; nor indeed, as things stands, fit to be meddled with in this synod.

The decree of order, on which the Legate had set his heart, was this; *That as the old Jerusalem, the pattern of this new and heavenly Jerusalem, had*

Nov. 28.

Dec. 19.

1548.
Jan. 10.

Jan. 19.

Jan. 20.

The decree concerning the Pope's authority

BOOK
II.

1548.
proposed,
but not
passed.

different orders under one chief governor, so the visible Church of Christ has its chief Vicar, the only and supreme Head on earth; and by his dispensation offices are distributed so to all the other members, that in the several orders and stations in which they are placed, they may execute their functions to the good of the whole Church, with the greatest peace and union. A deputation of twenty was named to consider of this; the Legate and the two Presidents were three of them. It was severely attacked by the Bishop of Guadix.

The last of
February.

In his last letter Vargas writes, that the Legate would one way or other bring about the dissolution of the synod; because, if they can get their clauses determined, they gain their desire, and will never need any more Councils to serve their pretensions; and if they cannot carry those points, to rid themselves of all fear, when they find they cannot bring the Council to do what mischief to the Church the Pope and his ministers would have them, they will then perplex and confound all.

This is the opinion this great statesman expresses of this session of the Council: nor had he a better of the former one under Pope Paul, as appears by the directions he gives concerning the government of a Council, and the office of an ambassador, which he drew up before the second meeting of the Council; in which he affirms the Council of Trent had none of the essentials of a Council, but was managed so as to destroy all the liberty and authority of Councils, and to take away all hopes of having abuses redressed, or ever seeing any good come from Councils. The Legates, he says, managed matters so, that nothing was done but what they had a mind to, and in the manner too they had a mind to. Their talking of liberty, he says, was all cheat and banter; even the Pope's pensioners had not the face to deny it. The clause they put into the Canons of reformation, *saving in all things the authority of the Apostolical See*, was plainly saying, that what the Pope does not like shall signify nothing. He tells the methods the

Legates used in negotiating with people to change their minds, which every body took notice of. The Legates, when they proposed any thing, told their opinion first; and in the middle of voting, if they saw any one not vote as they would have him, they would speak before another was suffered to vote, sometimes in soft, sometimes in harsh and railing words, letting others understand how they should vote. He says, the common method was to assemble the Prelates in a general congregation the night before the session, and read to them the decrees they had formed; so that many not understanding them, and others being afraid, and others tired with the length, they were passed. The Legate's drift was to canonize all the abuses of the Court of Rome, and manage things like the compounding of a law-suit, representing the Pope as gracious in granting any thing, as if all had been his own: in which courses, says he, it is certain the Holy Ghost did not assist. They would often split abuses, and so render perpetual that part which the synod approved; and as for the other part, they will find ways, according to their custom, to defeat its condemnation. He says, nothing could be so much as put to the vote without the Legate's consent; who, though he was always sure of the majority, (by the number of the Pope's pensioners,) yet used strange tricks in the conduct of the Council. They had made their own creatures the Secretaries, Notaries, and Officers of the Council, so that it was a body without soul or strength in it; whereas the Council should have named all those. Thus the Council was employed rather in struggling with the Pope and his Legates, who would engross all to themselves, than in reforming and remedying the evils of the Church. He calls it a convention of Bishops, and not a Council: and concludes, it had been better not to have celebrated a council at this time, than to have celebrated one after this manner, with so little fruit, to the sorrow of Catholics, the scorn of Heretics, and the prejudice of the present and all future Councils.

BOOK
I.

1548.
Malvenda
and others
make the
like com-
plaints.

Oct. 12.

There is a letter of Malvenda, one of the Emperor's divines there, in which he complains that the decrees, especially of doctrine, were communicated to them very late; so that though the decrees may be found, (and it is well if they are,) yet passing them on the bare hearing them read, on the eve of a session, must lessen the authority and majesty such matters used to have. He owns nothing should be done without the Pope's consent; yet he says that should be kept secret, lest the Lutherans should reflect on the liberty of the Council, which might safely enjoy more without prejudice to his Holiness.

Nov. 22.

In another, he wishes this Council may not do more harm than good, especially to the Germans that are here, who, seeing how it is under the dominion of the Legate, cannot have such respect for it as is convenient.

Oct. 12.

The Bishop of Oren writes in the same strain: in one he says, if the Emperor does not set himself in earnest to obtain of the Pope and the Fathers a reformation, we shall have our wounds only skinned over, and they will corrupt again quickly. He says, the Prelates are all much troubled to see how ill people that say any thing of a reformation are heard.

Nov. 28.

In another he writes, they discover here little or no inclination to do any thing that deserves the name of a reformation: he prays God may remedy these things; and says, unless his Majesty and your Lordship labour very hard, there will be no remedy left for the Church. He tells the same story of the Bishop of Verdun that Vargas does, and farther, that the Bishop threatened, since there was no liberty, to go, having got leave of the Emperor. The Legate told him he should not go, but do what he commanded him. He says, it will be a great reproach to the Bishops, from whom the world expected a reformation, that they could give them nothing but what the Legate pleased; and, says he, it will be just for the people to stone us.

when we come home, if we take no better care of
their interest.

BOOK
II.

These are the sentiments, concerning the Council of Trent, of those that were far from being favourers of the Reformation, but who were in the secret of affairs, and wrote thus to the Emperor's chief minister. It is hoped this digression may be of use, to shew how vain a thing it is to hope for a general reformation from any General Council; and how weak their prejudice is against our reformation, that we separated from the rest of the Church too soon, and would not wait till, by the concurrence of other Churches, a reformation might be agreed and settled in a General Council; which if we had done, it is plain by the management of this Council of Trent we should till this day have remained in our old superstition and idolatry.

1548.

But to turn to the affairs of England; Thirlby was now ambassador at the Emperor's Court, and writ over to the Protector, warning him of the designs of the French against England; and likewise gives an account of the Interim, approving it, and calling it a high act of supremacy. By it all the doctrines of Popery were mollified, the sacrament was allowed to be given in both kinds, and married Priests were suffered to officiate: but this was only a connivance, to last till the Council should be re-assembled, and settle matters finally.

Thirlby
writes of the
Interim.

The Protector recalled Thirlby, either mistrusting him, or that he might assist Cranmer at home in carrying on the Reformation, and sent Sir Philip Hobby in his stead, who had been put in the Fleet in King Henry's time as a favourer of the new learning, as it was then called. He was now therefore sent over as one on whose advices the government here might depend, as to the affairs of Germany.

Hobby sent
to the Em-
peror.

When he came there, he wrote over an account of the Emperor's quarrelling with his Confessor. The Confessor would not give him absolution, unless he would recall the decree of the Interim, and extirpate heresy. The Emperor said, he would

BOOK
II.

1548.

The perfidy
of the
French
King.

do no more against the Lutherans than he had done, and if the Friar would not absolve him, others would; so the Friar left him. A proposition of marriage between the Lady Mary and the brother of Portugal was at that time made by the Emperor, who seemed to think her not safe in England; but the Council rejected it. The Council, in one of their letters to Sir Philip, tell him of two persons whom the French King had corrupted to betray one of their forts to him; and, that though he had promised their ambassador, on the faith of a gentleman, he would make no war upon them without giving them warning first, yet, hearing the commotions in England, he began hostilities against Boulogne three or four days after.

The progress of the
Reformation.

Cranmer was now delivered from a great subjection, in which he had lived, to King Henry; to whom he submitted in many things he himself seemed to think wrong, either out of gratitude, or hopes of gaining on the King, or else a fearfulness of temper. Perhaps he thought that the example of the Apostles, especially St. Paul's complying with the Jews in order to gain them, might justify him. Now he was delivered from that servitude, he resolved to set about a farther reformation. He studied to gain Gardiner, either to assist him, or at least not to oppose him. He thought from his complying always with King Henry, he could not be very scrupulous in his own thoughts. He first set about preparing a book of Homilies to be read in churches, to give the people a farther measure of knowledge; and he added to them Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament, as the most unexceptionable book of that sort, he having writ against Luther, and died in the Roman Communion, and having been much favoured in England. Cranmer told Gardiner his designs, and shewed him the draught of the Homilies: but Gardiner was resolved to set himself at the head of the Popish party, and so rejected all the offers Cranmer made him; and insisted that all should be kept quiet, and no changes made during the King's minority.

But as Cranmer had the perverseness of the Popish party to deal with, so it was not easy to restrain his own side, whose heat sometimes carried them to great disorders, some insulting the priests as they were officiating, others talking irreverently of the Sacrament. This occasioned two proclamations this year; the first, November the twelfth, against insolence towards priests; and the other, December the twenty-seventh, against irreverent talkers of the Sacrament, and those who in sermons went to define any thing one way or other about the Presence. The Visitors went about with their injunctions; and Gardiner was put into the Fleet for refusing to obey them.

The Convocation that sat this year agreed unanimously to an order for receiving the communion in both kinds, which the Archbishop sent them down: and a proposition being offered to them for annulling all laws or canons forbidding marriage upon any vow of priesthood, chastity, or widowhood, the proposition was agreed to, and subscribed by fifty-three, twenty-two only dissenting; and a committee was named to draw the form of an act for the marriage of priests; and it was remarkable, that several of those who agreed to it did never marry, while some of those who dissented now, did yet afterwards marry.

Proceed-
ings in Con-
vocation.

Cranmer went on, writing and labouring to root up the old superstition; but it had taken too deep root to be easily removed, especially in the Universities, where they adhered so obstinately to the old doctrines, that they would not so much as suffer disputations upon them. Under all this opposition Cranmer expressed a wonderful mildness to those that were even insolent to him; and when it was said to him, that if they should get the power into their hands, they would shew him no favour; he answered, *Well, if God so provide, we must abide it.*

The Popish clergy were generally at the head of the rebels that rose in 1549; and many of them were found to have compiled and subscribed the

BOOK
II.

1549.
The Lady
Mary de-
nies that she
was con-
cerned in
the risings.

new book. Very few of the clergy shewed any great zeal against them.

Upon information that some of the Lady Mary's servants were active in those commotions, the Protector and Council wrote to her about it. In her answer she expresses her dislike of those revolts, but denied that any of her Chaplains or servants were there; and assured them that they were all good subjects to the King: her proceedings in matters of religion could not encourage the rebels, as they said, since the rebels near her had not touched upon religion. She wished their alterations and unlawful liberties were not rather the occasion of such assemblies. In suppressing these tumults, the Protector espoused the people's interest against the Lords, and blamed them for their oppressions, which made him much beloved by the people. But he trusting to that, took too much upon him, and often opposed the whole Council, which at length ruined him, together with his brother, the Lord Seymour's father, which lay heavy on him, though that Lord had almost compassed his design of marrying the Princess Elizabeth.

As for the entertaining of foreign troops, which he bore the blame of, it is certain the whole Council concurred with him in it; for they found the bulk of the English still tainted with the old superstition, so that they could not be depended on; whereas the Germans were zealous for the Reformation, and were safely to be trusted. However, this was called ruling by strangers, and being generally laid on the Duke of Somerset, shook him very much in his popularity.

The Papists were very active in the change that followed: Bonner's being removed was not much resented, few loving or esteeming him; and Ridley being the most esteemed man of all the reformers. But falling on Gardiner, who was in greater esteem, though not more loved than Bonner, alarmed the whole party both at home and abroad; upon which the Council writ over a very severe character of him to the Court of France.

The Papists expected to be more favourably dealt with upon the Protector's fall, they having been assisting to the pulling him down; but they soon found themselves deceived: and though they had hopes given them of better usage, things went worse with them than before.

In February next year the Duke was set at liberty: but confined within four miles of Schene, or Syon, under a recognizance of 10,000*l.* and bound not to come into the King's presence, unless called by the King and Council. Some days after his friends were likewise dismissed from the Tower, upon their recognizances, after having been examined.

1549.
The Popish party deceived in their hopes on the Protector's fall.
1550.

They were now endeavouring to set afoot again the match that had been proposed between the Lady Mary and the Prince of Portugal, and Hobby was sent to prosecute this matter at the Emperor's Court. Whether this flowed from the Earl of Warwick's ambitious designs to send her out of the way, or the Council's uneasiness at her persisting in the old religion, is not certain; but it is plain they had a mind to get rid of her. Hobby was also to represent to the Emperor that they had connived at her mass, in hopes that she would conform herself to the laws, which were so strict in that point, that no licence could be granted in opposition to them; but that she abused the King's favour, and kept as it were an open church in her house: that they hoped the Emperor would give her good advice in that matter. But it seems the Emperor had little regard to this; for soon after he forbid our ambassador to have the English service in his house. Upon which in England the Council forbid the Emperor's ambassador having the mass in his house. The Emperor complains of this as a violation of the dignity of that character: but the Council stood firm, and would not recall their order, till the Emperor recalled his. It seems the carrying on the Reformation was still cordially espoused at that board.

BOOK
II.

1550.
Proceed-
ings against
Gardiner.

Gardiner's being kept so long a prisoner, without being proceeded against, raised a great outcry. The Duke of Somerset and others were sent to offer him the King's favour if he would submit, and study to advance his proceedings. He insisted on having his liberty first, and then he said he would speak his conscience. However he at last signed six Articles in the presence of the Council; that the Common Prayer was a godly book, fit to be used by the King's subjects: that the King was a full and entire King, and to be obeyed notwithstanding his age: that the statute of the six Articles was repealed: and that the Kings of England had full authority in their dominions to correct abuses, and alter rites for the edification of their people, so long as alterations were not contrary to the laws of God. But they resolved to carry his submissions further, and so drew up twenty new Articles, condemning celibacy, and all monkish vows, all images, relics, and pilgrimages; condemning all masses as superstitious, and fit to be taken away; affirming, that the Eucharist should be received in both kinds, and should not be adored; that the Scriptures contained all things necessary to salvation; and approving the book of Homilies, and ordinations, and Erasmus's paraphrase, which was ordered by the King to be put in all churches. And in a preface to this he was to declare, that he had encouraged the King's subjects, by his example, to repine at his proceedings; that he was sorry for it, and had been justly punished for it, and now thanked the King for his clemency to him; and did of his own will, without any compulsion, subscribe the following Articles. He refused to subscribe this preface; and said, he had never offended the King, so he desired his trial, not asking mercy, but justice: as for the Articles, he said, it was not reasonable that he should subscribe them while he was in prison. So he was brought before the Council, and refusing there to subscribe the Articles, he was sequestered, and threatened that, if he did not conform within three months, he should be deprived; and they resolved

to keep his house and servants till that time, in hopes that he might yet be reconciled before that time; and the matter till then was to be kept private.

The distractions which were raised all over the nation, by the contradictory sermons of those that were for the old doctrines, and of the reformers, gave occasion to a proclamation, prohibiting all preaching, except with the King's or Archbishop of Canterbury's license. But this being cried out against, as if it had encouraged ignorance and dissoluteness, the Bishops were ordered to appoint their Chaplains, or others at their discretion, to preach in their dioceses, notwithstanding the proclamation.

1550.
Preaching
forbidden
but by li-
censed per-
sons.

There were at this time likewise twelve appointed by the Council to devise an order for the creation of Bishops and Priests, as they call it. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, was one of them. So the order was drawn up, and brought to the Council, signed by all but Heath. He said, he would obey, but not sign it; and, persisting in that resolution, he was sent to the Fleet. And some time after, being called again before the Council, and required to subscribe the book, and told that he might still recover the King's favour, if he would do that; he acknowledged they had used him very gently, but still said the same he had said before. So they argued with him, and offered him more time to consider. He said, he knew he could never be of another mind, nor could he consent to other things, as the taking down the altars, and setting up tables in their room.

Heath and
Day in
trouble.

The matter ended with a charge to subscribe, under pain of deprivation. About the same time Day, Bishop of Chichester, was sent for by the Council, for not obeying their order to remove altars, and set up tables in their stead. He said he could not obey the order, and the best reason he could give, was that passage in the Hebrews, *We have an altar*; though they shewed him that Christ was meant by that altar, and that in Origen's days the Christians had no altars, as he himself says: all did not prevail, and he said he would lose all he

BOOK
II.

1550.

Scandals
given by
many.

had, rather than obey their order. So he was sent to the Fleet; and about the end of the next year Heath and he were deprived by a commission; and they were afterwards delivered to the Bishops of Ely and London, to be maintained by them. Probably they foresaw the change of doctrine in Sacrament coming on, and so resolved to take the first opportunity of breaking off their compliances.

There was at this time a very scandalous practice of selling of all offices and employments: people said, King Henry made endowments; but now, for all the wealth that had been seized on, no schools or hospitals were yet founded. Ridley writ very warmly to Mr. Cheek, on an order from Council to forbear collating Grindal to a prebend in St. Paul's, because the King would keep that prebend for his stable; begging him either to speak himself, or to shew his letter, and let that speak.

Another thing that gave great scandal was a complaint against Holgate, Archbishop of York, for taking and keeping away a man's wife from him. The Council upon it wrote to the Archbishop not to come to Parliament, and ordered the matter to be examined; but what became of it does not appear. He was a covetous man, and a reproach to the Reformation. Probably it was on such accounts that King Edward said, as is reported, of the Bishops in his time; some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government. At this time there was also a commission made out to enquire again after the Anabaptists, and to judge them.

Gardiner
deprived.

Now Gardiner was brought to his trial; and Cranmer, with some others, were appointed to try him. He behaved himself very unreverently to the King, and slanderously to the Council, and abused his judges, calling them heretics: so he was deprived, and the Council ordered him to be removed to a meaner lodging in the Tower, and his books and papers to be taken away, and neither pen, ink, nor paper to be allowed him, and none to be admitted to him. These severities both raised him to

be the head of the Popish party, and moved the compassion of all the people. Gardiner had some time before sent a challenge to Hooper, to dispute publicly on the doctrine of the Sacrament, and promised to submit to the laws if he did not clearly carry the victory: Hooper accepted this, and the day was fixed; but when the time drew near, Gardiner said, he must first be set at liberty; so it all came to nothing.

BOOK
II.

1550.

There was a new contention unhappily raised at this time, on the account of Hooper, who was a zealous, pious, and learned man. He had been in Zurich, during all the heats in Germany about the Interim; which was thought by some to be designed as a means to bring the people back to Popery, by keeping up the outside of it in the rites and ceremonies, and therefore was violently opposed by them; of this sort the reformed generally were, and refused to comply: on the other hand, those who were for submitting, who were mostly of the Lutherans, said, rites and ceremonies, being things indifferent in their nature, might lawfully be complied with, and consequently subjects were in duty bound to observe them when commanded by the magistrate. Those of Switzerland, who apprehended much a design of restoring Popery by this means, joined with the reformed of Germany, and were zealous against any compliance with the Interim, or the use of the rites prescribed by it. Hooper came from Zurich in the heat of this debate, and with this tincture in his mind.

He went through Flanders in his way to England, and was a witness, as he writes to Bullinger, of the violent oppression of the Spaniards: he heard of rapes, adulteries, and robberies in every place. He was at the Duke of Saxony's house at Brussels, but the Spaniards would not allow the Duke, though he desired it, to speak with him. He had no hope of his liberty, but continued firm in his religion, and hoped yet to see it revived.

The Landgrave was kept at Oudenard, and was very uneasy and inconstant in his mind; sometimes

BOOK
II.

1550.

he was for submitting to the Emperor, and going to mass; sometimes he railed at him, and at the Interim. The Pope and the Emperor, he says, were now in very ill terms; the Emperor would not consent to the Council's sitting at Bologna, and threatened to break with the Pope if he did not bring it back to Trent. He understood the Emperor had some design of breaking the peace of Switzerland. He wished they would fear God, lead holy lives, and fight bravely; and God would protect them. The Emperor's army, he says, lay near Bremen; and the cities made no submissions, but were furnished with stores for five years.

When Hooper came to England, he applied himself much to preaching, and was so much followed, that his fame came to Court: so he was appointed to preach at Court every Wednesday in Lent, and Poinet, Bishop of Winchester, on Fridays. Hooper writ from time to time to Bullinger of the affairs here. He tells him, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Bath, agreed in all things with the Helvetic Churches, and were sincerely for advancing the purity of doctrine; only he thinks Cranmer too feeble. He commends particularly the Marquis of Dorchester, and the Earl of Warwick, after Duke of Northumberland, who put on such a shew of zeal, that Hooper thought him the best affected to the Word of God.

In another letter Hooper tells him, that he was named to be Bishop of Gloucester, but that he had declined it, both for the oath, which was foul and impious, and for the Aaronical habits; and had given the King freely his reasons, upon the King's asking them of him. He commends him as the wonder of his age; and his sister Elizabeth, as both very zealous, and very knowing: she read Greek and Latin, and few could dispute with her, especially about religion.

Upon this, some from hence pressed those of Zurich to write to the King to drop all ceremonies, and seemed to blame the Bishops here, as being so

earnest in this matter, only because they would not have that blamed to which they had submitted themselves.

But those of Zurich were too modest to interpose in such a manner; only Bullinger writ about it to Cox, the King's Preceptor; who answered him, that he wished all pomp might be removed from the Church, and that every thing there might be pure and simple; but excused himself on his low station, and that he could do nothing but speak to the Bishops; he gives likewise a wonderful character of the King, as to learning, judgment, and zeal for religion, as indeed they all do.

When Hooper was named to be Bishop of Gloucester, Cranmer was desired by Dudley not to charge him with the oath of supremacy, which he could not in conscience take; and the King wrote to him, freeing him from all penalties he might incur on omitting those rites which Hooper excepted against, but leaving the matter wholly to the Archbishop's direction. The Archbishop would not on that letter venture to act against the laws, so they endeavoured to get Hooper to comply. But Hooper was very warm in this matter, and expressed so much bitterness in his sermons on this head, that the Council commanded him to keep his house, and not to preach or read till he had license. But he writing and printing a book after this on that subject, the Council ordered him into the Archbishop's custody, to be reformed or punished by him; but the Archbishop not being able to work upon him at all, he was at last sent to the Fleet. What he excepted against in the oath of supremacy was, *swearing by God, the saints, and the holy Gospels*, saying, that God only was to be appealed to in an oath. While he was arguing on that before the Council, the King with his own hand struck out those words, saying, that no creature ought to be sworn by. The King and Council were very willing to dispense with the habits likewise; but Ridley prevailed on the King not to dispense with them, saying, since they were indifferent things, the laws ought to be obeyed.

BOOK
II.

1550.

This matter hung in suspense nine months, all which time Hooper seemed resolved not to yield, reflecting severely and indecently on those that used the habits. Cranmer was for yielding to him: but Ridley and Goodrick stood firm to the law, owning that they wished that distinction of habits were abolished, but saying that they could not consent to so bad a precedent as that of breaking the laws. At length Hooper submitted, and was consecrated after the established form, by which he lost much of the popularity he had gained. When he came to his diocese, he found it overrun with ignorance and superstition. He took great pains there, preaching twice, sometimes thrice a day. He found the greatest opposition to him rose from the Prebendaries of his Church, and he made great complaints of it. And indeed all the Bishops that were for the Reformation, met with most opposition in their own cathedrals.

The last and most eminent of the Popish Clergy, that fell into trouble during this reign, was Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. The account of his matter, as appears in the Council-book of that time, is this. One Marnvil charged him with consenting to the conspiracy in the north; and he had a letter of the Bishop's, which was the main of his evidence; which letter had been put into the Duke of Somerset's hands, who had kept it, either out of kindness to Tunstall, or to keep him in awe. This letter was now found, upon his last apprehension, among his papers: upon which Tunstall was sent for, and, not denying it to be his hand, was sent to the Tower, where he lay till Queen Mary set him at liberty; and there he writ his book for the corporal presence in his seventy-seventh year. It seems the evidence did not amount to a consent to a conspiracy, for he was only charged with misprision of treason; and even that seems to have been a stretch, by Cranmer's protesting against the bill for attainting him for misprision, and by its being lost in the House of Commons.

The Parliament not having passed the bill against it, a commission was given to the Lord Chief Justice and others to determine the Bishop's case. The Bishop was brought before them, and desired counsel, and time to make his answer; but both were denied him. He was charged as a conspirator against the King and realm. He protested against every step of their proceedings, and at last appealed to the King. However, they deprived him of his bishopric, but did not attain him of misprision of treason; and he was kept in the Tower. This was one of the violent effects of the Duke of Northumberland's ambition.

But to look back to some matters that passed during those proceedings: some were complained of to the Council, as being irregular in the worship of God; they confessed that they met to confer about the Scriptures, and had refused to receive the Communion above two years, and held (as that Council-book says) diverse other evil opinions, worthy of great punishment: five of them were sent to prison; and seven gave bond to appear when called for. These were probably some of the Anabaptists, though they are not expressly accused of that.

The great point then most canvassed in the Universities was the presence in the Sacrament. Peter Martyr in a letter to Bullinger tells him, that the King had ordered him to be present at the public disputations in divinity, which were held once a fortnight; and that he moderated in a disputation that was held in the college where he was placed. He was in a perpetual struggle with the most obstinate adversaries. The business of religion did not go on as he wished, though better than he had expected. He complains of the vices and human policy of the reformers, who were not for purging religion, but altering outward things as little as might be, for fear of disorders in the state; whereas, he says, the Church has been so corrupted, that it can never be reformed, but by bringing matters back to those pure fountains, and to the first sound principles of religion; and preserving the relics of Popery will

BOOK
II.

1552.

make the return to it the easier. He commends the King wonderfully for his zeal, his learning and prudence, and gravity at that tender age. He says, many of the nobility were well inclined, and of the Bishops some good ones, among whom he makes Cranmer the standard-bearer.

He rejoices at Hooper's being made a Bishop, and extols Coverdale's labours in Devonshire. He tells him, the peace with France gave them hopes; but the Pope's designs of bringing his Council together again gave them great apprehensions; but they still trusted in God.

1551.

In another, he laments the death of the young Duke of Suffolk, as having been the most promising youth they had, next to the King. He commends likewise Hooper's labours in his diocese, and wishes there were more Bishops like him.

Upon the death of the two young Dukes of Suffolk, Grey, Marquis of Dorchester, who married their sister, was made Duke of Suffolk. He had three daughters, but no son. His eldest, the Lady Jane, was the wonder of her age, both for her learning, strength and sweetness of mind. Ailmer, afterward Bishop of London, was her tutor. She made great progress, and seemed to love knowledge.

There was nothing done during these two years, pursuant to the Act passed in 1549, for making a new body of ecclesiastical laws. When it passed, the two Archbishops, and Bishops of Ely, Durham, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester, and St. David's, protested against it; perhaps because only four Bishops were made necessary to be of the number of the thirty-two. The thing slept for two years; and now in October, 1551, the Council wrote to the Chancellor to issue out the commission. Peter Martyr gives Bullinger an account of this in March next year. He says, the King pressed the Bishops, that since the Papal authority was abolished, their decrees ought not to be of any authority in the Bishop's Courts; but another body of laws ought to be compiled for them. He commends the greater number of the thirty-two

1552.

appointed, as learned and pious men: but seems to apprehend some difficulty in obtaining a confirmation in Parliament, when they shall have prepared the work. Thirty-two was found too great a number to do such a thing; so a new commission was made for eight to draw it up; and the draught was accordingly prepared, but it all came to nothing.

There is a letter from one here to Bullinger, giving him an account of some new particulars relating to the Duke of Somerset's fall. He tells him, that, when the Duke was found guilty of the conspiracy against the Earl of Warwick, the Earl said to the Duke, that though he was to die by the law, yet, as he had formerly saved him, so he would still endeavour to serve him, how little soever he expected it from him; and therefore desired him to fly to the King's mercy. Upon this the Duke petitioned the King; and it was hoped he would be preserved, and those two great men reconciled. But probably this was only an artifice in the Earl, to cover himself from the odium of the people, by seeming to act in his favour, and delay his execution, which was not till two months after his sentence; whilst at the same time he employed some that had credit with the King, to give him such an ill impression of the Duke's temper, as determined him to let the sentence be executed upon him.

In the same letter there is an account of Bishop Hooper's impartiality in discharging his function in his diocese. As he was censuring some inferior people for their scandalous lives, one said to him, *The poor must do penance, while rich men are overlooked*: upon which he promised to proceed against any person, how great soever, that they could prove guilty of adultery. So in a few days Sir Anthony Kingston being accused of adultery, he cited him into his court. He at first refused to appear; at length coming, while the Bishop was charging his sin upon him, he gave him ill language, and struck him: upon which he was presently fined in five hundred pounds, and forced to do penance. This mightily raised the Bishop's character and authority

BOOK
II.

1552.

The Duke
of Somerset's fall.

Hooper's
impartial
zeal.

BOOK
II.1553.
The Articles
of Religion
prepared.

in his diocese; where he laboured indefatigably, preaching thrice, sometimes four times a day, and great crowds came to hear him.

It remains to give some account of the Articles of Religion. The old doctrine had still the law on its side, so new Articles were much wanted. The reason why they had been delayed so long, probably was the pupillage of the King, which it was thought would have lessened the credit of them, if they had been published during it. So it was deferred till his sixteenth year. They appeared first with a title, as if they had been agreed to in the synod of London, with a Catechism before them: but it is certain they never were offered to the Convocation; or at least not to the Lower House. Cranmer being in Queen Mary's time examined about this, owned them to be his doings; but denies that he knew of the title; and when he saw it, he says, he complained to the Council, who told him it had that title, because it was set forth in time of Convocation. Philpot being charged with the same thing by the Prolocutor in the next reign, confessed that the book was never brought before the Convocation. Cranmer's reason probably for not bringing it before the Convocation was, that he observed many ready to obey orders when they were made, who yet would not concur in making them.

Published
by the
King's au-
thority.

So they were published by the King's authority. A mandate was sent to Cranmer, a few days before the King's death, to publish the Articles, and cause them to be subscribed. This was done in pursuance of Cranmer's motion to the King and Council, that Bishops might have authority to make all their Clergy subscribe those Articles; which he trusted would procure such concord in religion, as could not else be looked for in many years.

When the mandate came to Cranmer, he called together his Peculiars in London, and exhorted them to subscribe the Articles, but compelled none, as he affirmed afterwards, when he was interrogated by Queen Mary's commissioners. But it does not appear that any thing was done upon this; so it is

likely the time allowed for the subscribing ran farther than the King's life.

The mandate for the Bishop of Norwich, which is still extant, dated June the ninth, in the seventh year of his reign, sets forth, that the King, in order to have an uniform doctrine, and to avoid dangerous opinions and errors, sends him these Articles, gathered by learned Bishops and sundry of the Clergy, which he required him to sign, and observe, and cause them to be subscribed by others; and to give an account to the King and Council of such as shall refuse, and preach contrary to them; and admit none to any benefice or cure, without their subscribing them; and if the person was ignorant, and did not understand them, to instruct him, to grant him six weeks to examine them by the Scriptures; but then if he did not subscribe, to reject him.

There follows an order to receive the Catechism, and see that all masters of schools teach it; and the Bishop is required to report to the Archbishop of the province how these orders are obeyed. This was so readily executed, that about fifty of the Clergy subscribed it. The mandates to the other Bishops are probably the same with this, though they are not left on record. There was likewise a mandate sent to the University of Cambridge, which is still extant, dated June the first, 1553, from their Visitors, the Bishop of Ely, Sir John Cheek, Mayo, and Wendy, setting forth with what pains and judgment of good and learned men these Articles were compiled; and that now they being promulgated by the King's authority, they, by their visitatorial authority, did enjoin, that all Doctors and Bachelors in Divinity, and all Doctors and Masters of Arts, should before their creation swear to them, and subscribe them; and if they refused to do so, be denied their degrees: and the form of the oath was added.

It seems by this way of proceeding, without the Lower House of Convocation, as well as by a chapter in his *Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws*, that Cranmer had some design of putting the government out of the common way of Convocations, into pro-

BOOK
II.

1552.

King Edward's
scheme of
succession.

vincial synods of Bishops only, to be called by the Archbishop with the King's license; for he saw that the Convocations now in use, formed of Deans, Archdeacons, and Chapters, and a small proportion of the inferior Clergy, had no foundation either in Scripture, or in the practice of the first ages of Christianity; but arose from that second model of the Church, set out by Charles the Great, and built on the feudal law, which vests a right of giving subsidies, in all those who held such tenures as qualify them to support the state.

King Edward was for some months under a visible decay; and he was much troubled at the danger he saw religion would be in if his sister Mary should succeed. So he drew up a device for the succession with his own hand; by which he excluded all females from succeeding to the crown. It was by that to go to his own issue male; in failure of which, to the issue male of his issue female; then to the issue male of the Lady Frances; in failure of that, to the heirs male of her three daughters; or to the first issue male of any of their daughters.

At eighteen the heir male was to enter upon the government; till then his mother was to govern with the advice of six out of a Council of eighteen, that he himself would name by his last will; or if she were not, eighteen of the Council were to govern, provided that when the issue male was fifteen, all matters of importance should be opened to him. He added some clauses, providing that in case there should be no heir male, the females should only be governesses regent till an heir male should be born: but this was thought such a change of the constitution, that the King was prevailed on to strike it out; as he altered a great deal of this scheme besides. This was put in form by the judges, and superscribed in six places by the King's hand. There was another paper subscribed by twenty-four counsellors and judges, by which they obliged themselves, by their hands and seals, and oaths and honours, to observe every article in that writing, and whatever the King should declare by his last will touching the

limitation of the crown, to defend and maintain it to the utmost of their power, and to prosecute and punish to their uttermost any that should depart from it.

BOOK
II.

1553.

Cranmer opposed this much, and argued with the King against it, and in the Council, pleading the legitimacy of the Lady Mary: he said, he could not without perjury subscribe it, having sworn to observe King Henry's will. The judges and lawyers told him, that the King being in possession, might dispose of the crown as he pleased; yet he held out till the King required him to set his hand to his will, and said he hoped he would not resist him more than all the rest of his Council: so at length his love to the King made him yield, and he signed the will.

Opposed by
Cranmer.

A little before the King's death an odd thing happened in Ireland. Goodacre and Bale had been sent over to promote the Reformation in Ireland: the former was made Primate of Armagh, and now being invited to a Popish Lord's house, was poisoned by a draught which a monk drank to him first of; so that they both died of it.

The Pri-
mate of Ire-
land poi-
soned.

The death of King Edward seemed a just judgment on those who pretended to promote a reformation, but whose lives were a reproach to it. The gross scrambling for the wealth that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying any part of it to the relieving the poor, instructing the youth, or any other good purpose, made people think it was robbery, not reformation, that warmed their zeal. The ill lives of those who professed the Gospel, and even the Clergy on that side, took off the prejudices of the people against Popery, and gave them kinder thoughts of it, as if the looseness of morals had been the consequence of forsaking confession and penance and those ceremonies. There were indeed some shining lights among them, who had kept up the honour of the Reformation by their lives, as they did afterwards by their deaths; but they were few against many bad; and many of the Clergy who complied

A character
of King Ed-
ward's
Court.

BOOK
II.

1553.

in this reign hated all that was done, and set the people against it, because it took away all the gain they used to make by their masses, and other practices of that nature. All the good men of that time often complain bitterly of this in their letters one to another; their only hope of any good seemed to be placed in the King, from whom they expected every thing. In one thing God still seemed to watch over the Reformation, that as when in the beginning of this reign it was almost ruined in Germany, it flourished in England; and now that it sunk here, it revived in Germany; so that those who were persecuted on that account never wanted a sanctuary to fly to for protection.

AN
 ABRIDGMENT
 OF THE
 THIRD VOLUME
 OF THE
 HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
 OF THE
 CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

*Of Matters that happened in the Time comprehended
 in the Third Book of the Abridgment of the His-
 tory of the Reformation.*

THE Queen, upon her first coming to the Tower of London, sent for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and told them, *That though she was fixed in her religion, yet she would not compel others.* BOOK III.

1553.

These soft words were soon forgotten, as appears from the severities that followed in this reign, of which there is now found an authentic account in the original Council-book of that reign, from August the seventeenth, 1553, to the end of the year 1557. Coverdale and Hooper were immediately ordered to repair to the Court. A Parliament was summoned to meet in November. The Convocation writ was sent to Cranmer, August the fourteenth, but was executed by Bonner, Bishop of London. An order was sent to the Bishop of Norwich, to let none preach without a special license:

The Queen's words soft, but her proceedings severe.

BOOK
III.

1553.

the same was intimated to the Lord Mayor of London; and was, no doubt, universally both ordered and executed. August the second, the Guards were ordered to defend the preacher at Paul's Cross, upon what had happened to Bourn. Few came, it seems, for the Lord Mayor was ordered to make the ancients of the companies resort to sermons, that the preacher might not be discouraged by a small audience. August the twenty-third, Gardiner was declared Lord Chancellor. His appointments were about 1100*l.* per year, out of which he was to maintain his servants, and the Masters in Chancery. One John Melvil, who is called a Scot, and a seditious preacher, was sent next day to Newgate. And the same day an order was sent to the Mayor of Canterbury, to set two in the pillory for seditious words, and to apprehend Symonds, and send him up, and to punish all seditious talkers at their discretion: but Symonds was afterwards ordered to be released upon his repentance. Cranmer was called before the Council in the beginning of August, and severely reprimanded, and confined to his house; probably for signing King Edward's will, which many that were then sitting at the Council had done, and so were ashamed to proceed further against him, who had opposed it so much. Hooper appeared before the Council August the twenty-ninth, and, for all the zeal he had shewn for the Queen's right against the Lady Jane, was sent to the Fleet. Coverdale being a stranger was ordered to attend till farther orders. On the fourth of September, Latimer was summoned to appear: and several others were sent for. September the fifth, all the strangers were ordered to depart that had settled at Glastonbury, in order to set up a manufacture there, and had formed a congregation. The tenth, a letter of thanks was ordered to the Cornwall gentlemen, for choosing honest Knights for the Parliament; and there being some debate between the Sheriff and them about it, he was ordered to accept the election, and not trouble the county for any alteration. The thirteenth, Latimer was sent to the Tower a

close prisoner, for his seditious demeanor, as it is entered. And next day, Cranmer in the Star-chamber, for his treason against the Queen, and for moving tumults by spreading seditious bills, was ordered to the Tower, and referred to justice. October the fourth, the Archbishop of York was sent to the Tower; and Horn, Dean of Durham, was summoned, but he was gone beyond sea in time. Nothing gave more offence than promoting petitions for retaining the doctrine and service settled in King Edward's time: those of Maidstone were accused of this; and this is often mentioned in the Council-book.

BOOK
III.

1553.

Though the government thus made haste to overthrow all that had been done in King Edward's reign, yet the Popish party run faster than them; for they broke into the churches, where those that favoured the Reformation met frequently to prayers and sacraments, foreseeing what was coming upon them, and endeavouring to prepare themselves for it; and disturbed their devotions, and insulted their ministers, and laughed at their worship; and charged them with many false stories; in many places set up their altars and the mass by force, before the Parliament met to change the laws.

The Duke of Northumberland shewed such abjectness as might have been expected from so insolent and guilty a man; he begged his life, that he might do penance all the rest of it, if it were in a mouse-hole. He sent for Gardiner, who could give him no hopes of life, but advised him to see to his soul, for he thought he must die. The Duke desired a learned confessor, for he said, he had always been of his religion, and had complied out of ambition in King Edward's days, for which he prayed God to forgive him, and promised to declare it at his death. The Bishop wept, and was so concerned for him, that he had almost prevailed with the Queen to spare his life: but the Emperor, who was then designing the marriage, and foresaw what struggle there might be against it, and what mischief such a man as the Duke might do, writ to the

The Duke of Northumberland begs his life, but in vain.

BOOK
III.

1553.

Queen, positively advising his death; so he was executed. Gates and Palmer suffered with him, though they had tried to save themselves by going to mass in the Tower, and receiving the Sacrament in the Popish manner; but when they came to die, spoke general things only; and Palmer, though he saw two die before him, shewed great firmness of mind in suffering.

A Convoca-
tion meets.

When the Convocation met, Weston was chosen Prolocutor; and the Queen sent them a message to dispute about religion. The account of this disputation is in the Abridgment. It seems Philips, who was one of the five that refused to subscribe, afterwards recanted and subscribed. The Convocations during this reign did nothing worth mentioning, only took up again all the old notions, even before they were enacted. Yet this Convocation and the next were summoned by the Queen's writ, with the title of *Supreme Head of the Church*.

There was at this time an infamous story spread of the Queen's being with child by Gardiner; but the innocence of her past life, as to such things, and the other's great age, was enough to justify her, and make them despise such an idle report: but the Earl of Sussex, in his officious zeal, traced it through eight or ten hands, till at last one was indicted for having reported it; though it would have looked better to have neglected it. The same Earl examined several about a design of an insurrection, on the arrival of the Prince of Spain.

1554.

A treaty of
marriage
with the
Prince of
Spain.

In the beginning of the next year, the Emperor sent over Count Egmond and others, to treat of a marriage for his son with the Queen. And the Queen gave a commission to the Lord Chancellor and others to treat with them: and Prince Philip of Spain sent full powers from Valladolid to the same effect. What quickened the treaty was, an account of a vast treasure come over from the West Indies to Seville. They wanted money to manage the Parliament, and they saw where only it was to be had. This is the first hint we find of corrupting Parliaments. All was agreed; and the condi-

tions were much to the advantage of the nation. Philip was much disgusted at it, and desired to marry more suitably to his age; and the nation shewed so much aversion to the marriage, that the Count of Egmond with the others that were sent to treat of it saw themselves in such danger, that they fled away to avoid it. A Parliament was to be called, to approve the conditions of the treaty.

Wyat's rising and principles.

Sir Thomas Wyat had been often employed in embassies, particularly in Spain; where he had seen so much of the subtilty and cruelty of the Spaniards to all that came under their yoke, that he could not but be concerned for the misery that he saw his country like to fall under. He was the Duke of Northumberland's kinsman; yet he would not join in Lady Jane's business, but proclaimed the Queen at Maidstone, before he knew that any other had done it; for which she sent him thanks by my Lord Arundel, to whom afterwards he appealed for the truth of it, when he was in the Tower. Nothing moved him to rise but his zeal for his country; he did not pretend religion in the case: and many Papists joined him. When he passed Charing-Cross, he did not turn down to Whitehall, which he might have easily forced, for it was but ill guarded, which shewed he meant no harm to the Queen's person. His marching into London was to engage the city to join with him in a petition to the Queen against the Spanish match. The Queen was so well satisfied of his intentions, that she intended to pardon him, had not a message from the Emperor determined her to cut off his head. He never accused the Lady Elizabeth; but on the scaffold fully cleared her, and referred himself to the declaration he had made to the Council, of her innocence as to that matter. The Queen, to shew a signal act of mercy, pardoned all that had been engaged in this rising. Only it gave a colour to the severity against the Lady Jane Grey and her husband. The Lady Jane was a wonderful woman, and was then learning Hebrew; she often wrote to Bullinger in Latin, with great respect and submis-

BOOK
III.

1554.
Severities
against the
married
Clergy.

sion to him, and a singular zeal for religion, but with a great deal of modesty.

The government now finding all things under their feet, began their severities against those that adhered to the Reformation. Commissions were sent every where, to proceed, as on other points, so particularly against the married Clergy; which were executed in the most unjust and arbitrary manner that could be. Some were deprived without being convicted, or so much as cited; and some cited, though they were in prison, and immediately deprived: some were deprived, though their marriage had been only before orders; some made to resign, with the promise of a pension, which yet was never performed; some deprived just before the half year's receipt, though they had paid tenths and subsidies to that time; and some deprived before they received the money that was to pay their first-fruits to the Queen, and yet left chargeable with them. By the best accounts that can be made, about nine thousand were deprived on this account. The married Bishops were thrust out of Parliament, and Deans and Archdeacons out of Convocation; many were put out of their livings, and others restored, without so much as form of law: churches were changed, altars set up, masses and dirges sung, before the law was repealed: by which we may easily suppose, when the laws were altered, with what vigour and speed they were put in execution.

The Queen
writes first
to King
Philip.

All matters about the marriage being settled, the Emperor sent a fleet for the Prince of Spain. The Queen was prevailed on to break through forms, and write the first love-letter to him. She tells him in it, that though he had not writ since their alliance had been treating, yet thinking herself obliged by his affection for her, confirmed by good effects, and by his letters to the Emperor's ambassador, could not refrain from letting him know the duty, in which she always designed to correspond with him; and she thanks him for all his good offices. She tells him, the Parliament had agreed to the ar-

ticles of their marriage, and thought them more than reasonable; and therefore she trusted his coming to England would be both safe, and agreeable to him. And so she recommends herself affectionately and humbly to his Highness, as his entirely assured and most obliged ally.

BOOK
III.

1554.

In the mean time, the Council was proceeding in matters of heresy. One Wotton was clapped in the Fleet for his obstinacy in matters of religion. Letters were sent to the Lord Rich and Sir John Wentworth, to punish some in Essex, that dissuaded the people from frequenting the divine service then established. Upon this many were committed, and others bound over to appear. March the eighth, the Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to deliver Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer to Sir John Williams, who was to carry them to Oxford. Others were ordered up from the country. Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells, fled beyond sea; but the man that carried him over was seized at his return, and sent to the Marshalsea, and those that seized him were thanked by the Council; so much they encouraged zeal.

Proceed-
ings
against
heretics.

The second Convocation of this reign now met. A Convocation. The Prolocutor Weston, with others deputed, were ordered to Oxford to dispute with the three Bishops there. As soon as they returned, they gave in their report of the conference, attested under the seal of the University, and soon after were dismissed; for the Parliament sat but about a month this year.

On the third of May, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were judged obstinate heretics; but Cranmer being attainted, was dead in law, and so not capable of any other sentence.

He was very earnest to have his treason pardoned; but that was, it seems, complied with, not out of any regard to him, but, on the contrary, only that he might be burnt as a heretic, which could not be done while he stood condemned of high treason; so that this shew of mercy was really at bottom the greatest cruelty. The twentieth, a

Cranmer's
treason par-
doned, that
he might
be burnt.

BOOK
III.

1554.

servant of Lady Elizabeth's was brought before the Council; but nothing is mentioned about it, but only he was ordered to attend. There were suspicions of her being concerned in Wyat's rising, as was before told; and it is alleged that Gardiner studied to suborn witnesses against her; and that it went so far, that a warrant came to the Lieutenant of the Tower for her execution; but he refused to obey it till he knew the Queen's pleasure. This was published in her reign, and not contradicted, as far as appears; only it seems to be denied in a declaration she herself made, when she was Queen, as shall be told in its place. The twenty-sixth, Sir Henry Bedingfield was sent with instructions from the Queen for the ordering the Lady Elizabeth. June the first, an order was sent to Bonner to send learned and discreet preachers into Essex to reduce the people there: it seems, he thought of no other way of reducing any, but by severity. Orders were given for the reception of the Prince of Spain, and to receive the Duke of Savoy at Dover. Several were ordered to be put in the pillory, and to lose their ears. In July, orders were given to punish those concerned in the imposture of the spirit of the wall. Some of the Lady Elizabeth's servants were committed for words: and two treaties for the marriage were delivered to the Lord Treasurer by the Lord Fitzwater, who had been ambassador in Spain.

The Council order severe proceedings.

The marriage, and the jollities on that occasion, put some stop to severities; but it was a short one: for, August the fifteenth, orders were sent to the Justices in Sussex to punish those that railed at the mysteries. And on the nineteenth, thanks were ordered for Tyrrell and others, for their care, and they were ordered to imprison all that did not come to divine service, and keep them there till their amendment: several were imprisoned in Huntingdonshire. On the twenty-first, orders were sent to examine into a conspiracy in Suffolk: and in September, an order was sent to the Lord Mayor and

Aldermen of London to punish the spreaders of false rumours.

BOOK
III.

But now came on the great affair of reconciling the nation to the See of Rome. The two former Parliaments could not be brought to this, though they yielded many things, and seemed willing to bring matters back to that state in which King Henry left them; and weakly thought by that compliance to save the rest. But nothing could satisfy the Court but a total reconciliation with the Pope; so when they were found to stick at that, they were sent home. The Queen was extremely solicitous to get a Parliament to her mind. She wrote to the Earl of Sussex; (and probably she wrote in the same strain to all those she confided in;) she told him, she had summoned a Parliament to the twelfth of November; she desired him to admonish the electors to choose men of wise, grave, and catholic sort, such as meant the true honour of God, and prosperity of the commonwealth, which she and the King her husband did intend, without the alteration of any man's possession, as the hinderers of her good purposes, and the favourers of heretics did falsely report. She bid him come up by the feast of All-Saints at the farthest, that she might consult with him about the matters that were to be treated of in Parliament: this was wrote the sixth of October. Upon this, the Earl wrote to the gentlemen of the county to reserve their voices for the person he should name; and he wrote to the town of Yarmouth for a Burgess.

1554.
The reconciliation
with Rome
designed.

When the news of the change of government in England and the Queen's intentions came to Rome, Pole was the only person that could be sent Legate, as well on account of his own merit, as the Queen's desire: so a bull was prepared and passed, declaring him Legate, some time before Commendone the Queen's messenger arrived at Rome; for it seems they took it for granted, on King Edward's death, that her right would take place, and that she would reconcile the kingdom to that See. Pole, who was now retired to an abbey about three hun-

Pole sent
Legate for
that end.

Writes to
the Queen
Aug. 13,
1553.

BOOK
III.

1553.

dred miles from Rome, on the Lake de Garda, as soon as he heard he was named Legate, he wrote to the Queen, expressing his joy at her exaltation, which he looked on as a singular work of Providence; and desires her to consider, that all the miseries of England came from her father's leaving the Apostolic See, and Catholic Church: he tells her what he had done and suffered on account of her mother's marriage, and her right; and that now he was more particularly concerned to know her mind as to religion, since he was named Legate to her, the Emperor, and the French King; and therefore sent one to know her mind, which though he did not doubt of, since it was on her account that so much outrage had been done to the Apostolic See, and yet before he would proceed in his Legantine function, he desired to know her pleasure more particularly.

The
Queen's
answer
Oct 10,
1553:

Upon this she answered him, thanking him for his kind expressions and good advice, and expressing her reverence and obedience to the holy See, and her concern that she could not yet declare her mind openly in that matter: she tells him, that as soon as it was safe for her to do it, she would let him know; for other particulars she referred him to his messenger: she was then crowned, and she hoped the Parliament would repeal all the bad laws, and that she should obtain the Pope's pardon for all her faults, and thanked him for the clemency he had already shewn her. With this she sent Ormanet back to him.

The bull that the Pope sent to Pole is a panegyric on the Queen; but as these bulls are things of form, so the powers and instructions are to be found in the breves. Many of these, with other letters and papers, have been found since the *History of the Reformation* was printed, in a part of Cardinal Pole's register, and, relating to a matter of great consequence, deserves a particular account to be given of them.

His first
powers.

The first paper is the breve the Pope sent him of his own motion, dated the eighth of March,

1554, empowering him to receive all heretics of what sex or rank soever, even Bishops and Archbishops, communities as well as persons, and to absolve them, how great soever their sins were, how long soever they had continued in them, and though they were such as were reserved immediately to the holy See; to pardon all irregularities, all bigamies of ecclesiastics, they first leaving their wives, so that they might continue in their functions, and be promoted; (all infamy being pardoned on their private confession and penance, and they excused from public shame;) to absolve communities from unlawful pactions, though confirmed with oaths; to dispense with Lent, and the vows of Regulars; to suffer any of the Clergy, except Bishops, that were married, upon their conversion, to live in that state, and to declare the issue lawful, only excluding them from ecclesiastical functions; to unite benefices; and, lastly, to agree with those that possessed any ecclesiastical goods, and to discharge them for all the profits they had wickedly received, and the movable goods they had consumed, (they restoring first the immovable goods that they unduly detained, if that seemed to him convenient,) and to apply what should arise from such agreement to the Church, or to schools and the advancement of studies: he was likewise empowered to delegate others under him for the performance of these things; and, because he was to stay some time in Flanders, to execute his powers without the kingdom to all belonging to it that should apply to him, especially as to orders unduly received, to confirm Bishops and Archbishops promoted by a secular nomination, during the schism, upon their returning to the unity of the Church, and to provide to all sees, upon any vacancy, such as the Queen should recommend, according to the customs of the kingdom, and to absolve and rehabilitate all Clergymen, notwithstanding all their past errors: and these powers were confirmed, all constitutions notwithstanding.

When Pole came to Flanders, he was stopped

BOOK
III.

1554.

Fuller
powers sent
to Pole.

by the Emperor till his orders were sent to England. When they were seen there, they were thought very short of what would satisfy the nation. So Pole sent Ormanet to Rome for fuller powers, who came back to him with two breves.

The first is of no great importance, only giving him a general and full power, because of some doubts about what faculties he was to use while he was with the Emperor, or with the King of France, to whom he had been sent Legate *a latere* to mediate a peace between them; and because several unforeseen cases might happen with relation to England, that could be comprehended within the powers given him, that therefore he might make use of all faculties sent to him, either by himself, or by one deputed from him, and do every thing that he might think would conduce to the glory of God, the honour of the holy See, and the bringing the Queen's dominions to the communion of the Church; and likewise giving him all powers of a Legate *a latere* while he was with the Emperor, for all his dominions; and the same while he should be with the King of France.

In the othere breve, the Pope says, that as he had made him Legate *a latere* in hopes of reducing the kingdom to the unity of the Catholic Church, out of which there is no hope of salvation; and as, by the progress already made, he hopes that work will go on more easily, the more indulgent and bountiful he shews himself, with relation to the possessions of the Church goods; and because he would not obstruct the salvation of so many souls by any worldly regards, he empowers him to treat with all the detainers of ecclesiastical goods, for whom the Queen should intercede, and to compound with them, that they might without scruple enjoy and detain the said goods; and to conclude every thing proper and necessary, with relation to them; saving always such things as for the importance of them it should seem fit to him to consult the holy See about.

This was dated June the twenty-eighth, and sent to Pole in July. A little before this, Cardinal

Morone had writ to him, that he had laid his letters before the Pope, who now began to despair of the affairs of England; the Pope said, he had given no cause to the Emperor, or any other, to use such extravagant words. It seems Pole had desired to be recalled; but the Pope answered, that that could not be done without a great disgrace to himself, to the See, to the Emperor, and to Cardinal Pole, and a great prejudice to England. The Pope said, he would write to the Queen, and to the Prince of Spain, and would send the letter by Ormanet, who was dispatched with every thing that he desired. He says, the Pope was unresolved, and spoke often very variously about the goods of the Church.

BOOK
III.

1554.

The Emperor being now at Valenciennes, the Cardinal sent Ormanet to him. He had an audience of the Bishop of Arras, who assured him of the Emperor's heartiness in matters of religion; but said, it was necessary, before any step were ventured on, to know the ply the affairs in England were like to take, and to consider whether the securing the Church's goods to the possessors should come from the Cardinal, or from the King and Queen; and he desired to see the Cardinal's powers. Ormanet pressed dispatch, where he said so many souls were endangered by delay, and that the honour of it might fall on the Prince, by the doing it on his first coming to England: he farther said, that all things necessary were committed to the Cardinal, but more particular resolutions could not be taken but on the place. The Bishop of Arras promised to lay all before the Emperor, and to do all good offices.

All laid before the Emperor.

The Bishop wrote to the Cardinal much to the same purpose, that the Emperor had sent an express to England; when he returned, he would be able to give him a positive answer: he said, he knew the King and Queen's zeal, but they must take care not to spoil all by too much haste. The Cardinal answered him, sending him a copy of his powers, and pressing his going to England as soon

The Cardinal yet put off by delays.

BOOK
III.

.1554.

as the express should return, and expressing his impatience of the delays, as much as in civility he could.

Philip, who was now at Winchester, sent over the Count of Horn to the Emperor, and by him a letter to the Cardinal, which the Cardinal answered with high compliments, and insisting earnestly for leave to come over. And a little after the Bishop of Arras wrote to him, that he had seen his faculties, and assured him that the Emperor pressed his dispatch, and did not doubt but it would be speedily accomplished. It seems, the Emperor's Confessor had written to him pressingly on that head, on which the Cardinal wrote to him like a man in a rapture, thanking him, and animating him to persist in his zeal for that great work.

The reason
of those de-
lays.

He was still put off with new delays, which probably was done on account of the elections that were then closely canvassing for all over England. They saw in the two former Parliaments who they were who could not bear the returning to their old servitude to the Papacy; and so till the elections were over, and the pulse of the majority was tried, they resolved the Legate should not come over, to give any umbrage to the people. Or perhaps it might be only an artifice of Gardiner's, to enhance his own merit, by making the difficulties appear the greater.

On the thirteenth of October, Pole wrote to the Pope an account of his conference with the Bishop of Arras, and with the Emperor himself. The Bishop assured him of the Emperor's good dispositions, but told him he must come to particulars, and consider the impediment, and how to remove them. He answered, that he had full powers, but desired to know from England what the impediments were. At his audience with the Emperor the impediments thought of were two; one was about the doctrine, in which he said, no abatement or indulgence could be allowed of; the other was about the church-lands, which frightened many that knew the severity of the church-laws against

such as usurped them. First, he said, the Pope was ready to discharge all the profits already received, and the censures incurred, and desire no part of them for himself, though he might justly have expected it, for all the damages he had sustained; but he regarded the service of God, the benefit of the kingdom, and the piety of those Princes, so much, that he had empowered him to grant such favours as they should intercede for, and to such as they should think worthy of them, and were capable to assist him in matters of religion. The Emperor thanked the Pope for his favour, and said he had granted enough: he said, he knew, by his own experience in Germany, that the lands were the things they stood most on: as for the doctrines, they believed neither one side nor the other; but he thought the lands, having been dedicated to God, should not be all yielded up to the possessors: he desired the Legate not to open the whole extent of his powers to any others than himself. The Cardinal still pressed, that it would be a great scandal to the world, if the reconciliation were not settled by this Parliament, especially now the Queen had received such a mighty assistance by her marriage. The Emperor said they must have some regard to the disposition of the people, who shewed yet a great aversion to the Papacy; he insinuated that the French would not be wanting to encourage tumults, and disturb them as much as they could. The Legate said, it would be endless to stay till all impediments were removed: but they said he must have a little patience, till the Secretary they had sent returned from England.

About the same time Mason wrote to the Queen, that the Cardinal began to despair of success in his legation, and, if he did not shortly see some more appearance of success, would go back to Rome a sorrowful man: he gives a vast character of the Legate.

At the same time, the Cardinal wrote to King Philip, telling him that he had been a year knock-

BOOK
III.

1554.

The Queen
sent to
bring him
over.

ing at the gates of the palace, but nobody opened to him, though he had suffered exile more than twenty years, because he was against shutting the Queen out of that palace: but he says, they shut out the Vicar of the great King and Shepherd, St. Peter's successor, or rather St. Peter himself, who had been so long driven out of England; and compares it to Peter's knocking at Mary's door, when he was delivered from Herod out of prison, and runs out on this allegory with an eloquence that seems little in so great a man on such an occasion.

At last the Queen sent Lord Paget and Lord Hastings to bring him over. They wrote on their coming to the Emperor, from Brussels, the thirteenth of November; and the Emperor, when he heard them give an account how matters were in England, roused himself in a cheerful manner, and blessed God for the state he now saw England in, and that he had rescued it from all the calamities it had fallen under; and that he had made the Queen the minister of restoring it to the wealth and dignity he had once seen it in: he rejoiced that God had given her so soon such a certain hope of succession, and promised them all assistance that they should need: then they went to the Cardinal, whom they extol beyond measure, calling him the man of God; and said he was so humble, that he would not come into England as a Legate, but in what manner the Queen pleased; and they assured the Queen, that all things should pass as to the possessions on the Pope's behalf, so as should content every one. Pole had taken leave of the Emperor, and was to go to Calais as fast as his health would permit, where every thing was ordered to be ready for his transportation.

The Queen
believed
herself with
child.

It seems, by this letter, the Queen believed herself with child, and it was thought that the grief and shame of the disappointment she met with in that, after she had published it to the world as being sure of it, had an ill effect on her health and life.

There was about this time an abusive libel pub-

lished, in form of a letter from Bradford to the Queen, intimating that the Queen designed to give the crown to the King, and reflecting on his lewdness. The printer was found, and condemned to lose his ears in the pillory; yet he was pardoned; why, does not appear; probably it was on his discovering some of those whom they were seeking out for the slaughter.

BOOK
III.

1554.

There is nothing to be added to the account formerly given of this Parliament, and the reconciliation made in it; only it appears that Pole carried his powers beyond the limits set him: for Pole, no doubt, desired the Queen to name those whom she desired should be confirmed in their possessions of church-lands, as his breve directed him; but they were afraid of making people desperate, if they made any distinction of persons. So Pole confirmed them all, whereas, according to his breve, he should have consulted the Pope first, it being a matter of great importance. So he made the Council sensible that it was necessary to have it confirmed at Rome, as appears by the message sent thither.

Pole carries his powers beyond the limits set him.

Mason writes from Brussels on the twelfth of December this year, that one of the Emperor's Council had told him that his master was displeased that a preacher had been beating the pulpit jollily for the restitution of abbey-lands; that if the Prince designed it, and thought it convenient, he did his duty; but otherwise he wonders how, in a well-ordered commonwealth, a subject should be allowed to raise storms by such unbridled sermons; that it was a thing to be spoken of to the Prince and Council, not to the people: he thought the man might well be silenced, being a monk, and having vowed poverty, and yet possessing a deanery, and three or four benefices. He said he had heard, from other ambassadors, of England's being returned to the unity of the Church; but as for their own ambassadors, it was their ordinary to know the least of the affairs of their own kingdom. A little

Some preach for restoring the abbey-lands.

BOOK
III.

1555.

The Arch-
bishop of
York set at
liberty.

while after he gave the Emperor notice of the Queen's big belly, and of the quiet state of every thing in England: upon which, the Emperor entered into discourse with him of the great difference between governing with rigour, and governing so that the Prince and people might naturally understand and love one another. This was good advice, but particularly now, that they were resolved to proceed unmercifully against heretics. The Queen seemed so sure of her being quick with child, that she ordered Bonner to have *Te Deum* sung upon it.

The Archbishop of York, at King Philip's request, was released, on a bond of 20,000 marks for his good behaviour: whether he complied, or not, does not appear.

No more mention being made of that complaint put in against him for keeping another man's wife, there is no reason to believe it: for at this time they would never have dropped so flagrant an instance against the married Clergy, in such a man, if there had been any proof of it. In January, Hopkins, Sheriff of Coventry, was put in the Fleet for ill religion; Miles Coverdale, being a Dane, was sent to Denmark, with a pass for himself and two servants: so much regard was had to him as a foreigner.

On January the twenty-ninth, Cardinal Pole gave deputed powers to the Bishops to reconcile all persons to the Church, pursuant to his first breve. All the Clergy were to be entirely restored, and confirmed in their benefices, and to be capable of farther favours, upon their doing the penance prescribed: those accused or condemned of heresy were only to be restored to the peace of the Church, for the quiet of their consciences: all irregularities were to be taken off: public abjurations and renunciations were to be moderated, or forgiven at discretion; and the Bishops were empowered to name persons to absolve, and reconcile all lay-persons to the Church. With this he gave rules for them and their officials: the most material of which

was, that they were to register all those that were reconciled, that so they might proceed against those that were not.

BOOK
III.

1555.

Now came on the burning of heretics. Many had been kept in prison above a year and a half, till a law was made against them; and now they were condemned on articles put to them, which, by the ecclesiastical law, they were obliged to answer. Gardiner ordered eighty of the prisoners to be brought before him, and tried to bring them over by promises and threatenings; but only two of them yielded, Barlow, who had been Bishop of Bath and Wells, and another.

It was resolved that Hooper should be the first sacrifice. He was brought before Gardiner in Southwark. He was styled only John Hooper, Clerk. He had been offered a pardon the day before by him, and others of the Privy Council, if he would confess his heresies, and return to the Church, which he refused: so now he was brought to answer certain articles; but first had the same offer made him again, which he again rejected. The articles were three. 1. That he being a Priest, and of a religious order, had taken a wife, and had by preaching and writing defended that his marriage: to which he answered, that he owned the fact, and was still ready to defend it. 2. That he had sustained that persons married might, for the cause of fornication, be so divorced, that they may lawfully marry again: he confessed it, and offered to defend it against all that would oppose it. 3. That he publicly maintained, that in the sacrament of the altar the true and natural body and blood of Christ were not present under the accidents of bread and wine, but that it was only material bread and wine: he answered, that the natural body of Christ is not really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar, and that the mass was of the Devil, and an idol. Gardiner tried to prevail on him by persuasions; but when that would not do, he gave sentence, and delivered him over to the secular arm. Upon which, the Sheriffs of London took him as

Hooper, the
first Bishop
that suf-
fered, bar-
barously
used.

BOOK
III.

1555.

their prisoner: but was resolved to send him to Gloucester. An order was sent with him to burn him there, and to call in some of reputation in the shire to assist the Mayor and Sheriffs of the city: and because he was, as all heretics are, says the letter, a vain glorious person, he was neither to be suffered to speak at large going to his execution, nor at it, for avoiding farther infection. But though they would not let his words be heard, his sufferings, which were very violent, and his constancy in them, had not the less effect. He had been a year and a half in prison very hardly used. He sent his wife out of England, to secure her from the ill usage many of the wives of the Clergy had met with. He wrote often to Bullinger, from his prison; many of his letters were intercepted. In those that remain he expresses a great constancy and patience: he was preparing himself for what he expected, to seal the truth with his blood. Bullinger sent him a circular letter, to encourage those that were in prison on that account, which he sent about to them all: he tells him in his answer, how they were troubled by the enemies of the Gospel, that they were kept from seeing one another, and treated with all manner of indignities, and daily threatened with the last extremities, which did not terrify them that were inwardly fortified, that knew in whom they believed, and were sure they suffered for well-doing. He sent him two books, one of true religion, the other of false, and dedicated to the Parliament, as an apology for the reformation; which he desired him to correct and print quickly, and not be frightened from doing it by the apprehension of any harm it might bring upon himself; for that he committed himself to God, who was his defence and guard, through Christ, to whom he had entirely dedicated himself.

March the eighteenth, some being to be burnt in Essex, an order of Council was sent to the Earl of Oxford and the Lord Rich, to be present at their executions. And the first of April, informations being brought that there were preachers at work in

several parts of the kingdom, a general order was sent to all Sheriffs to seize them.

BOOK
III.

May the sixteenth, persons were named to carry the news of the Queen's delivery to foreign Princes; the Lord Admiral to the Emperor, Lord Fitzwater to the French Court, Sir Henry Sidney to the King of the Romans, and Shelly to the King of Portugal: the twenty-ninth, orders were sent them to be ready to go at warning.

1555.

June the first, the Bishop of London was ordered to proceed against some suspected of evil religion. On the third, letters were sent to the Lord Rich, to assist at the executions of some heretics at Colchester, Harwich, and Maintree; and the Earl of Oxford was to send his servants to attend on the Lord Rich at those executions. They were either afraid of tumults, and that the people would rescue the prisoners out of the Sheriffs' hands; or it was only to grace those triumphs of theirs over heresy, as is now practised where the inquisition obtains.

June the ninth, letters were sent to the Lord North, and others, to torture such obstinate persons as would not confess at their discretion; and another to the Lieutenant of the Tower to the same effect. Whether this was for concealing heretics, or spreading false news, does not appear: but whatever it was, this putting people, not at all convicted of any crime, to the torture at discretion, because they were thought obstinate, was a large step towards the rigour of an inquisition. This month several were ordered to be burnt in Sussex and Kent, and the gentlemen of the county to attend at the executions; and those that attended received thanks from the Council for their zeal.

Orders for
torture at
discretion.

It was given out that the Queen had said, she could never be happily delivered, till all the heretics then in prison were burnt; and in all passports that were given to go beyond sea, it was put in as a condition, that they should avoid all heretics, or places infected with heresy.

The Queen
still looked
to be deli-
vered of a
child.

They seem to have had some practices in their heads at that time; for a woman declared before

BOOK
III.

1555.

witnesses afterwards, in the year 1568, to Fox, who relates it again, that she being delivered of a boy, near Aldersgate, on June the eleventh, 1555, the Lord North and another Lord came to her, and with great offers desired her child of her, and told her she need take no care for it, for it should be well provided for, if she would swear she never had such a child; and after some women came to her, one of whom they said was to be the rocker. But she would not by any means part with her child. This having happened at the very time that the Queen seemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give just suspicions of ill designs, and may shew us that it was no new thought in the Papists, some few years ago, to put an impostor upon us, for their own support and our ruin.

Plots pre-
tended.

In the beginning of July, an information being brought of a commotion designed in Sussex, judges were sent to proceed in it according to law, and twelve persons were brought up as guilty of a conspiracy; but the matter dropped. Bird, Bishop of Chester, who had been deprived for his marriage, thought fit to repent; and Bonner made him his suffragan, and appointed him to preach before him: he chose for his text those words, *Thou art Peter*; but, whether his conscience smote, or his memory failed him, he could go no farther than the text, so that the matter turned to the triumph of the other party.

July the ninth, the Bishop of London was ordered to burn three condemned heretics, and to proceed against the rest. At this time Pole thought it became him to write to Cranmer; but he writes with so much declamation and assertion, and so little proof, insulting the poor prisoner, though with a shew of tenderness, that the letter does but very little honour to his memory.

July the eleventh, there was a talk again of commotions, and the Sheriffs had orders to watch them; and informations were brought of a conspiracy in Essex and Suffolk, and of another in Dorsetshire; and on the sixth of August thanks were sent the

Lord of Oxford and Lord Rich, and Justices in Essex, for their care; and they were ordered to proceed in examining into the late intended conspiracy, and to bring the offenders before them: if it was treason, they were to suffer as traitors; or if it was not, they were to punish them according to the statutes.

August the twenty-eighth, notice was given to the Sheriffs and Justices, that the King was going to Flanders. In September, the ambassadors that had been sent to Rome came back, and brought with them a bull of the Pope's, erecting Ireland into a kingdom, and bestowing the title of King of Ireland on the crown of England; which bull was accepted here, and sent over to Ireland to be published there. It seems the insolent Pope would not give audience on powers from the King and Queen of England and Ireland, pretending that none could assume the title of King, but as derived from him; and our ministers knew too well the bigotry of the English Court to dispute the matter. But their main errand was to get a confirmation of the settlement of church-lands made in Parliament by Cardinal Pole; which was not only refused, but a bull published, that in effect repealed it all. It begins with setting forth how former Popes had condemned all alienations of church-lands on what pretence soever; and goes on, that many having possessed themselves of lands belonging to the Church, under pretence of alienations, and continuing in that possession, by which the incumbents are great sufferers, and the Popes, who used to supply poor strangers out of those lands, are no longer able to do it, and can scarce maintain themselves and their families; which is a great offence to God, reproach to the Clergy, and scandal to the faithful; therefore the Pope, by virtue of the fulness of the apostolic power, annuls all alienations or impropriations, or leases for lives, or beyond three years; or exchanges and farms of city lands, goods, or rights, belonging any ways to the Church, to and by whomsoever made, though by Popes or Cardinals, without the solemnities required by law; though

The Pope's
bull for re-
storing all
church-
lands.

BOOK
III.

1555.

Steps to-
wards an
inquisition.

confirmed by oaths, or established by long prescriptions: all these are made void by the apostolic authority, and the possessors of such lands are to be compelled to make satisfaction for all the mean profits received; and all judges are required to give judgment conformable to this bull. Dated July twelfth. All that the English ambassadors could obtain toward softening this matter, that England was not named, nor the late settlement fulminated against particularly. By this it appeared how frigidly that transaction for securing the abbey lands to the possessors was carried on.

Pope Paul pressed mightily the setting up of inquisitions every where, and it is probable that King or his Spanish ministers made the Court of England sensible that that was the only sure method of rooting out heresy. They had already set torturing at discretion, and now by another step they had brought the matter much nearer. March this year instructions had been given to justices of peace, to have one or more honest men in every parish, secretly to bring their information of the behaviour of the inhabitants. One of these was directed to the Earl of Sussex, who acted with a superlative degree of zeal. He sent up accounts of all his proceedings on those instructions; and as to this matter of the informers he answers, that it was agreed, that the justices of peace, in their several limits, shall secretly call to them one or more honest and secret men, as they think good, and command them by oath, or otherwise, as they see fit, secretly to search out such persons as behave themselves ill in church, or idly, or despise by words the King and Queen's proceedings, or go to make any stir, or unlawful gathering together of the people, or tell any seditious tales or news to excite the people; and that these informations shall be given secretly to the same justices; and the justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they are accused; and upon their examination shall punish them according to their discretion.

This is just the method of the court of inquisition, to have sworn spies every where, upon whose secret information persons are taken up; and are asked, first, why they are brought thither? and then tortured till they tell all that the inquisitors desire to know, either against themselves, or others, but are neither suffered to know what is informed against them, nor who the informers are. Arbitrary torture, and now secret informers, seemed to be two great steps to prepare the nation for a regular inquisition.

In September there were hopes given of the King's coming back, and Sir Richard Southwell was sent to attend him. A paper was cast into a house at Fulham, intimating some ill designs in Essex; which being brought to the Council, they sent order into that country to see what foundations there were for it.

September the twelfth, Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, Cardinal Puteo's sub-delegate, who was the Pope's delegate to try Cranmer, (it seeming indecent that Pole, who was to be his successor, should be his judge,) came to Oxford, with Martin and Scory, the King and Queen's commissioners, to demand justice against Cranmer, exhibiting articles against him. Cranmer made a long apology for himself, and among others, said, that the loss of his promotion grieved him not, but that he thanked God for it: but what grieved him most, he said, was to see all the pains and trouble that King Henry and himself had taken, to retrieve the authority of the Kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from the baseness and inconvenience of a foreign yoke, now lost; and to see the King and Queen in their own realm become his accusers before a foreign power: if he had transgressed the law, they had authority sufficient to punish him, and he should willingly submit to it. After examining him, they required him to go to Rome within eighty days to answer in person: he said, he was willing to go, if the King and Queen would send him.

Cranmer
proceeded
against.

October the sixteenth, Ridley and Latimer suf-

BOOK
III.

1555.

ferred martyrdom; and Gardiner, who was impatient till he heard the news, soon after he heard it was struck with an illness, of which he died, after languishing some time.

Cranmer was now to be offered up. The Court of Rome would not allow his see to be vacant by his attainder, till he was deprived by a commission from Rome. A mock process was carried on for eighty days at Rome against him, in which it was falsely said, that he did not care to appear; upon which he was judged contumacious, and then a formal sentence was given in the Pope's name, and he was judged an obstinate heretic, and deprived, and delivered over to the secular arm; and a commission came over to the Bishops of London and Ely to degrade him. His repentance and constancy to the last, and his holding his hand in the fire till it almost burnt away, are all mentioned by Thuanus, so that the truth of the facts cannot be disputed.

The Privy Council were concerned to see his paper of recantation printed, and ordered all the copies to be burnt. Pole, in his letter to Cranmer, owns his mildness and unblamableness of life; and though he throws off these characters as of no importance, yet his mentioning them shews they were true. Ridley, in a letter to Grindal, says, he shewed how well he deserved the great character of the chief Pastor and Archbishop of this Church. And if it had not been for his too feeble compliance in King Henry's time, and this last unhappy slip, he would have been one of the greatest patterns in history. His humility, meekness, and charity; his contempt of wealth and greatness; his labours in searching into all ecclesiastical authors, both ancient and modern, out of which he made collections on all matters of divinity, with his own hand, make him deservedly the admiration of all that know his character. All the vexations he went through, which were ended with a cruel death, he received at the hands of persons whom he had faithfully and effectually served: for he had both served the Queen, and reconciled her to her father; and had shewed

particular favour to Thirleby and others, that concurred now to finish this tragedy.

But to return to public affairs. The Convocation sat this year with the Parliament; and the Lower House were desired by Bonner to name eight or ten persons to hear some secret propositions from the King and Queen, and Cardinal, for the good of the kingdom and Church. Upon that they chose the Prolocutor and ten more; and to these the Bishop of Ely proposed to offer the Queen a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years, in return for the favour she had shewn the Clergy, in forgiving the first-fruits and tenths, and restoring the impropriations of benefices to the Church, that by the dissolution of monasteries had been vested in the crown. During this Convocation, the Clergy of York were joined with them, and so they made together a national synod; for which the Cardinal took out a license under the Great Seal. In this synod the Cardinal set himself with such zeal to remove abuses, that many of the Clergy wished him in Rome again.

1555.
Proceedings in Convocation.

There is a letter of Mason's, which gives an account of a treaty set on foot this summer, between the Emperor and King of France, in which the Queen was mediator, and Pole and Gardiner were sent over to Calais in order to it, and the Constable and Cardinal of Lorraine were to meet them; but the Pope's death made it necessary to send that Cardinal to Rome: what progress was made in the treaty does not appear. He tells of a design to convert Westminster into an abbey, which the Dean and Prebendaries mightily opposed, and chiefly Dr. Cele, who affirmed, that monks were not instituted by Christ, as he said Priests were: but the Court, he says, were resolved upon it. He says, that the Princes of Germany were much alarmed at Cardinal Morone's coming to Augsbourg; but that the Emperor had sent such powers to his brother Ferdinand, that his coming was like to be without effect.

Mason writes afterwards from the Diet, that mat-

BOOK
III

1555.

ters of religion had not been quite settled; but were to continue as they were till next meeting; and it was provided that all parties should live according to their own religion. The Emperor seemed resolved not to consent to this. He writes, that the marriage of the Bishops and Clergy had been earnestly demanded, but was utterly refused to be allowed of.

1556.

On the seventh of January, a letter was sent to the Mayor and Aldermen of Coventry, requiring them to choose some grave Catholic man for their Mayor that year; and three were named, one of which they were to choose.

On the fourteenth, a very singular kind of a letter was written to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London; ordering them to take care, that, when any heretic shall be hereafter executed, there be a great number of officers and others appointed, to see such as shall comfort, aid, or praise the offenders, or behave themselves to the ill example of others, and to apprehend and commit them to ward; and to give order that no householder suffer any apprentice or servant of his to be abroad at such time, other than such their master shall answer for. Philpot had suffered about a month before this with great constancy and heroic courage; and he being a man highly esteemed, it is probable that the people shewed a more than ordinary concern at his sufferings, which drew this inhuman letter from the Council; for they had none to execute at that time.

Charles the
Fifth's re-
signation of
Spain.

While these things were doing in England, the scene abroad was much changed by the resignation of Charles the Fifth to his son Philip. He first resigned to him all the dominions derived from the house of Burgundy, and then the crown of Spain, and all that belonged to it. And January the seventeenth, letters were written to all the states and cities in Spain, intimating this. He owns in these, what he had always denied to the Germans, that all his wars there had been undertaken on the account of religion, to bring all Christendom to peace and unity, and to settle every thing in a General Coun-

cil: but that he had been interrupted in this; the German Princes having been drawn into a league with the French King, against their oaths and fidelity to him, and attacked him both by sea and land; and the French, having procured the Turks to fall upon him in Hungary, where he was forced to bring an army, and keep the field so long, that it had brought upon him many painful infirmities: this had so destroyed his health, that he was not able to bear the weight of affairs any longer. And therefore as soon as he had settled his son's marriage, he brought him over to him, that he might communicate to him such things as were necessary for him to know, and then resigned to him the crown of Castile and Leon with all their appurtenances, which are more amply contained in instruments which he had signed of the same date with this letter. He trusted that he would govern them well, and that they would obey him faithfully, in the same manner as if God had taken him to his mercy, and as they had done to him during his reign.

Soon after this he retired to the place where he had designed to spend the rest of his days, and there is great reason to think he applied him to serious reflections on religion. He knew all the corruptions and tricks of the Court of Rome, and the artifice with which the Council of Trent had been managed; he knew all the grounds on which the Lutherans and the reformed in Germany built their persuasions: but business and interest, and the prejudice of education, had blinded him hitherto. But now that he was at full leisure, and passion and interest had no more power over him, there are great presumptions that he became persuaded of the reformed religion. All that had been about him in his retirement were soon after his death clapped up in the inquisition, and burnt.

Reasons to think he died a Protestant.

Augustin Casal, his preacher, was burnt at Valladolid, with thirteen more, in the year 1559. His Confessor, Constantine Pontius, was taken up likewise by the inquisition for being a Protestant. He died in prison, probably of the torture they put him

BOOK
III.

1556.

to; but his bones and effigies were burnt before King Philip at Seville. And so were the bones of the learned Egidius, who had been named to the bishopric of Tortosa by the Emperor Charles. At the same time eighteen more were burnt for being Protestants: and the history of the inquisition tells us, that if the holy tribunal had not stopped these reformers, the Protestant religion had run through all Spain like wildfire, people of all degrees and sexes being at that time wonderfully disposed to embrace it.

The most eminent of them all was Bartholomew de Caranza, a Dominican, who had been Confessor to King Philip and Queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the archbishopric of Toledo. He had assisted Charles in the last minutes of his life, and, some months after his death, was confined to his palace at Tor de Laguna by the inquisition, on suspicion of his being a Protestant: and after staying there seven years, he was carried to Rome, and kept ten years a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, and at last was condemned as one suspected of heresy. All this laid together makes it probable that Charles himself was possessed with that doctrine which was so much spread among those who were then most about him.

Mezeray tells us, that King Philip, on his arrival in Spain, caused many to be burnt for heretics in his own presence, both at Seville and Valladolid, and that, if reports may be believed, he intended to have burnt his father's bones for heresy; and was hindered only by this consideration, that, if his father was a heretic, he had forfeited his dominions, and had no right to resign them to his son.

The method
in which the
Queen put
her affairs.

But to return from this digression to the affairs of England. There are two papers without date, which shew in what method the Council was to proceed; which were probably written either at King Philip's going beyond sea, or at this time when he had the Spanish monarchy put in his hands. One of them is a memorial of what the Queen was to recommend to the Council, written in Cardinal Pole's hand.

She was to put them in mind of the charge the King gave them at his departure, which was to be rehearsed to them; and was perhaps the following paper: she was to desire them to attend at Court, the matters to be treated of being of great weight, and they were to send what was proposed to the King, to know his pleasure, before it should be executed: particularly they were to send over to the King that very day the resolution of the Council, concerning what was to be proposed in the Parliament. And since the King delayed his coming over, they were to consider whether it would be any prejudice to her affairs to delay the Parliament till Candlemas, and whether money would not be wanted, in the mean while, for setting out ships, both for the Emperor's passage into Spain, and for the King's return, and for paying the debts. She was to charge them to call in her debts, as the best way to clear what she owed to others; and was to offer them authority to do it effectually; and they were to inform her every week what was paid in, and what order was taken for the rest: and those who had any commission to execute any matter were at the end of a week to inform the Council what progress they had made; and the Council was to begin no new matter the second week, till they were informed of what was done the former week. Thus was the poor woman to be taught what she was to say; for of herself she seemed capable to think of nothing, but how to destroy heretics, and extirpate heresy.

The other paper is in Latin, and seems to have been that which the King left behind him. It appoints a select committee, to whom the special care of matters of state and revenue, and the weighty affairs of the kingdom, were to be referred; and they were constantly to attend, and were the same with what is now called the Cabinet Council. The persons named in it were the Cardinal, (in all great matters, and when he could conveniently come,) the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Earl of Arundel, Earl of Pembroke, Bishop of Ely, Lord Paget the Comptroller, and Petre the Secretary. They were

BOOK
III.

1556.

desired to lay aside all their differences and quarrels, and amicably to counsel such things as might tend to the glory of God, and the honour and good of the crown and kingdom; and they were to inform the Queen, at least thrice a week, of all their consultations and actings. Particularly they were to consider when the Parliament should meet, and what should be there proposed, and to put it in writing; and on Sundays they were to communicate to the whole Council such matters as they should think convenient to be laid before them. They were to take special care for the payment of debts, for the retrenching of expence, for the good management of the Queen's estate, revenues, and customs, and for the administration of justice. These were the orders; how they were observed does not appear. The Queen herself never came to Council, and the Cardinal very seldom: the Board was always very thin; often not above three or four were there.

Proceed-
ings against
heretics.

Now we return to give an account of what is found in the Council-book. In January thanks were ordered to Lord Willoughby and others in Lincolnshire. Upon the condemning of some heretics, the Council had been applied to, to see if a pardon should be offered them before execution; but they found so few inclined to accept it, that they would not expose the Queen's pardon to any farther contempt, and so they were ordered to proceed according to the laws without delay. Letters were likewise sent to several Sheriffs, ordering them, though the prisoners should be acquitted by law, yet to detain them in custody till they should hear from the Earl of Sussex.

In February the Council was alarmed with a play to be acted at Shrovetide, to which many were to come, and they ordered Lord Rich to examine into it, and stop it; and a little after he had thanks for stopping it: he had the actors in prison; but upon his giving them a good character, they were ordered to be set at liberty, and he was to have an eye on all such meetings. Several enquiries were

made at this time after seditious books; and several commitments made on that account.

BOOK
III.

This month an order was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to torture two persons at discretion; and a like order was afterwards sent him in the June following. It seems at this time they expected the King's coming over, for the first of June the Lord Admiral was ordered to attend him.

1556.

Wotton, who was then ambassador in France, wrote over that several heretics fled over into France, and were there well received; particularly that Henry Dudley and Christopher Ashton were plotting there against the Queen: upon which he was ordered to demand them to be seized, and delivered to her officers.

He wrote likewise that the heretics took great advantage from the new war that the Pope had engaged the French King to make on the King, after a truce of five years had been sworn to by both Kings. But the Pope sent a Legate into France, to persuade that King to begin the war, and dispense with his oath. This dispensing with the oaths of Princes gave such offence to every body, that it has not been publicly put in practice since that time. But the Protestant Princes in Germany believe that such a power is secretly lodged with the confessors of the Popish Princes, and therefore in their dealings with those Princes take their word, but never put any thing to their oath. For they seem to reckon themselves bound by their word as men, and members of human society; but they think their oaths, being acts of religion, belong to their confessors to tell them how far they were bound to keep them, and when they might lawfully break them. But we have had instances in our days of Princes professing the reformed religion, to the reproach of the Reformation, declaring themselves freed from their leagues and alliances, for no better reason than because they thought fit to declare so.

The Pope
dispenses
with the
French
King's
oath.

Pole was now in his synod endeavouring to bring the Clergy to their duty. In December they ex-

Pole's
national
synod.

BOOK
III.

1556.

mined *The Institution of a Christian Man*; and some were appointed to prepare a Book of Homilies; and a translation of the New Testament was ordered; and the seven Sacraments were treated of. The Cardinal sent an order to the Prolocutor, to intimate to the Clergy, that they should confirm no leases made of their benefices; probably in obedience to the Pope's bull, that condemned all leases for above three years.

In January propositions were made for having schools in all cathedral churches. Pole found that the taste of knowledge which had been raised in the nation was not easy to be extinguished; and therefore he seemed to think it best to allow them such a degree of knowledge as might be easily governed, and kept within bounds. This synod petitioned the Queen for maintaining their liberties and immunities; but on what account, or with what effect, does not appear. Pole prorogued the synod to the tenth of November, and thence to the tenth of May, that the Bishops might have time to make their visitations, in which they were to take an exact account of all ecclesiastical goods: from the tenth of May it was again prorogued to the tenth of November, on account of the great penury and dearth.

Prosecution
of heretics.

July the twenty-eighth, the Council, hearing of some naughty books concealed in the Duchess of Suffolk's house, ordered the Bishop of Lincoln to search for them, and send them up. The nineteenth, the Council was alarmed with reports of conspiracies in Suffolk and Essex; and orders were sent to enquire into them. August the twenty-first, thanks were ordered to the Earl of Sussex, for his diligence in apprehending the spreaders of seditious reports, with whom he is desired to proceed according to the laws; and a letter was ordered to the Bishop of Norwich, to apprehend and punish such lewd priests as were married, and repaired to their wives. The twenty-third, thanks were ordered to the Lord Darcy for apprehending such as used conventicles and readings about Harwich; and they were to be fined, and bound over

to appear before the Bishop of London, who was ordered to reduce them to the Church, or order them according to the laws. September the fourth, the Earl of Sussex having moved that offenders should be proceeded against by martial law, was thanked for his zeal, and told, that though they deserved such usage, yet it was thought best to punish them as the laws order; but that, after they had had their punishment, he should keep them in prison, and in irons, till they should know themselves, and their duty: and the fifteenth, he and the other justices of Norfolk were thanked for their diligence in punishing one Long.

At this time they were alarmed with the danger Calais might be in: so a state of the fortifications, and what was necessary to maintain the place, was laid before the Council; but the giving orders was delayed till the King's coming, which was then expected daily.

BOOK
III.

1556.

Calais in
danger of
falling into
the hands of
the French.

Privy-seals, to the number of one thousand, at one hundred pounds apiece, were at this time sent about every where for the loan of money; but it came in very slowly. October the sixth, a letter was sent to the Earl of Sussex at Calais, to search for some that had fled thither from England; probably they were heretics. The seventh, Lady Throgmorton begged leave of the Council to send some supply of money to her husband in France, which was granted for once, provided it did not exceed forty crowns: it seems the way of exchange was much beset, when so small a sum could not be sent without leave. November the seventeenth, the Bishop of London was ordered to take and punish a companion of him that was called Trudgeover; and they complain to him, that two persons charged with heresy had been released by him, and were now grown worse than ever. And in a book, that seems to be the minutes of the Council, it is entered, that twenty-four persons were discharged by him who were still rank heretics.

Our fleet was at this time so small, that 14,000*l*. being ordered for repairing, furnishing, and victual-

BOOK
III.

1557.

ling it, they reckoned 10,000*l.* a year afterwards would answer every thing that was necessary. On the nineteenth of February, one was ordered to be proceeded against for some detestable words, not fit to be heard; and only such part of them were to be opened as might serve for evidence to the jury. The twenty-first, complaints were made of a jailor that suffered heretics to go about freely. The twenty-fourth the Queen expected the King hourly, and the Admiral and others were ordered to attend him. An ambassador came at this time from Russia, and landed in the north of Scotland. Several orders are entered likewise about Lord Sturton and his servants, three of which were to be hanged in chains.

An account
of Lord
Sturton's
execution.

In the former history the Queen was commended for her firmness in not pardoning the Lord Sturton, for so heinous a crime as murdering a father and his son in his own house: but it seems the story, as it has been handed down by very old people in Wiltshire, is very different. The day before the execution was appointed, a report was set about, that a pardon was coming down; upon which the Sheriff came to the Earl of Pembroke for advice, who was then at Wilton. The Earl was much troubled at it; and fearing lest some such message might come from Court, shut his gates very early, and ordered them not to be opened till next morning. Lord Sturton's son came down with the order, but finding the gates of Wilton could not be opened, rode over to his father with the news. In the night the Sheriff came secretly to Salisbury, and when the son was gone to Wilton in the morning, where he thought the Sheriff still was, he brought his men together, and executed the Lord before his son could come back with his pardon. This is set down from those whose authors, upon the authority of their grandfathers, give an entire credit to it. It is not unlikely that so meritorious a man as Lord Sturton was, who had protested against every thing done in King Edward's Parliament,

should have many to plead for him in this his extremity.

The twentieth of March, the King came to England; and the gentlemen of Kent attended him, and provided him with post-horses. In April the Countess of Sussex, who was separated from her husband, was seized coming over with suspicious letters, and sent to the Fleet; and was ordered to be examined strictly. Particulars are not set forth, but referred to the minutes in the chest. It seems an invasion in Dorsetshire by the French was apprehended; so orders were sent to make musters in that country, and have them ready, either against an invasion, or a rebellion; and three hundred men were sent to Calais, with orders about the fortifications.

June the fourteenth, the Council was alarmed with a complaint of naughty plays: whether there was any thing in them relating to religion or the government, or they only feared such a concourse of people as they brought together, does not appear. June the twenty-ninth, 2000 men were ordered for Calais and the places about it: and soon after, 200 foot and 600 horse more were ordered in all haste to Calais; and assurance was given, that more should quickly follow. There were then great apprehensions of disorders in the borders of Scotland, which were wholly in the hands of the French.

Bonner at this time gave the city of London a A severe dismal spectacle; thirteen persons were burnt at prosecution. Stratford in one fire: he had condemned sixteen; but Pole hearing there was hopes of working on three of them, got an order to have them put in his hands; and he prevailed so on two of them, that they abjured, and he obtained their pardon of the King and Queen: their abjuring is called in the pardon that passed for them *a most extraordinary thing.*

But it seems the Cardinal was not always so mild towards heretics, for this year he had ordered the heretics to be proceeded against in his diocese, and

BOOK
III.

July the seventh sent a *Significavit* of some of them to be delivered to the secular arm.

1557.

Some of the writers of that time called him *the Whip and Executioner of the Church of England*. And the visitors he sent to Oxford were not only to restore the Pope's authority, but to enquire whether any neglected the Pope's ceremonies; and if they found the least suspicion against any, they were without delay to eject them. They raged against many in the University, and burnt in the market-place numbers of Bibles and other books. The same severities were used at Cambridge. The nation began every where to grow sick of these cruelties; and the great promoter of them, the Earl of Sussex, died in March this year.

The nation
disliked this
cruelty.

Complaints were brought against several Sheriffs and Magistrates of towns, that when heretics were delivered to them by the Ordinary, they had delayed the execution: so they were required to signify what it was that made them stop their usual proceedings. The Sheriff of Essex was afterwards fined ten pounds, because his deputy had respited an execution at Colchester.

August the third, thanks were ordered to Serjeant Brown for his proceeding with Trudge-over, and orders given how to dispose of his head and quarters. Many were ordered to be proceeded against for writing and spreading seditious books. The Lord Rich always continued to give the Council notice before any execution, and so laid the odium of the severity on them; so they wrote to him to proceed according to law, and not to trouble them any more on those occasions.

They were at this time very angry at the election of a bad Mayor at Calais, at so critical a time, and threatened them of Calais with bringing their charter in question for such an election.

August the fifteenth, upon the news of the defeat of the French at St. Quintin's, and on the second of September, when St. Quintin's was taken, orders were given to have rejoicings in the city.

August the twenty-fourth, letters were ordered to

the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol, requiring them to conform themselves in frequenting sermons, processions, and other ceremonies, and not to absent themselves as they had done of late, nor expect the Dean and Chapter to come with their cross and fetch them out of the city, which was unseemly. On the sixth of October, news came of the peace between the King and the Pope; and rejoicings were again ordered in the city.

The Council was now much taken up about the loans and privy-seals. Their cruelties to the heretics had so moved the compassion and turned the spirit of the nation against them, that they were afraid of calling a Parliament, though the state of affairs, and want of money, made it so needful: so they tried other ineffectual ways of raising money, which increased the nation's jealousy more than it added to the Queen's treasure.

Bonner was again quickened by another letter, to proceed against heretics: upon which, he sent Dr. Chedsey to Colchester; who tells him, in a letter he wrote to him, that he had found there heretics, Anabaptists, and unruly persons, such as the like was never heard. There is in the minute-book an account of one Benbridge, who offering to recant, the Sheriff had delayed execution; for which he was chid; and the Bishop of Winchester was ordered to examine whether his conversion was sincere or not. Here this Council-book ends; for the last passage in it relates to religion, (as indeed there is almost nothing else in it at all, but proceedings against heresy,) and is a letter to the Bishop of London, requiring him to proceed according to law against one John Rough, a Scottish minister, whom they had sent to Newgate.

Bonner
called on by
the Council
to be severe.

This cruelty, which shewed itself in all parts of the nation, with the haughtiness of the King, and the shameful loss of Calais, made the government be universally hated and contemned. A book published in Queen Elizabeth's time, corrected, if not written, by Burleigh, entitled, *The Executions for Treason*, counts four hundred persons that suffered

BOOK
III.

1557.

publicly in Queen Mary's days, besides those secretly murdered in prison; twenty of these Bishops and dignified Clergymen; sixty of them women, and more than forty children, some big with child, one child born in the fire, thrown in again and burnt.

It does not appear that the Bishops or Clergy shewed any great inclination to entertain Pole's project for reforming abuses; or took much pains to reduce the people by the way of instruction. All that is found this way is an instruction of Bonner's to his diocese in 1555; and another of Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, to his in the year 1558. Bonner in his did not think fit to leave out the second Commandment, as is done in most of the catechisms of the Church of Rome, because the people here had been used to hear so much of it; so he gave in his own way, and instead of the words, *nor worship them*, he gave it thus, *nor adore them with God's honour*.

The Pope hated Pole, and took all occasions to express his displeasure of him; all the Bishop's bulls in this reign run in the style of Papal provisions, that the Pope, by his apostolical authority, provided the person to the see, and set him over it; without any mention of the Queen's recommending, or of the Chapter's electing. Upon this the Bishop renounced every clause in his bull that was in any sort prejudicial to the crown, and so he had the custody of the temporalities given to him.

Proceed-
ings in Con-
vocation.
1558.

There was a Convocation in January 1557: Harpsfield was chosen Prolocutor. Bonner, as the Cardinal's commissary, proposed heads of reformation; and the Lower House desired leave to offer their propositions. In February they granted a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. Complaint was made of a want of Priests to serve the cures: to remedy this, it was proposed, that no Priest should be taken to serve in the wars; that the Bishops might unite small benefices, to be served by turns; that the parishioners of chapels of ease might be obliged to come

to the parish-church, till curates could be provided; and that Bishops might be authorized by the Pope to ordain out of the seasons. Then the Convocation was prorogued to the eleventh of November, and thence to the seventeenth, on which day the Queen died.

BOOK
III.

1558.

But now to open the state of the nation: Calais was lost, and the nation so exhausted, that it was hard to support the government; the two favourites of the Kings of France and Spain were clergymen, the Cardinal of Lorrain, and the Bishop of Arras. They found that the war necessarily put a stop to the extirpating of heresy; so they projected a peace, that the Kings might be at full leisure to go on with that work.

A general
treaty of
peace
opened.

France for that end was willing to make great restitutions, but declared positively, that they would never part with Calais. A treaty was opened, and the Queen sent the Earl of Arundel, the Bishop of Ely, and Dean Wotton to it, to treat in her name. It seems they had no hopes of the restoring of Calais, so they moved the Council to lay it before the Parliament: in answer to which, the Council wrote to the ambassadors on the eighth of November; they tell them, that it was best not to break it to the whole House, but to the nobility and some of the graver sort first: but before they would take that step, they had asked the Queen's mind; she thought it best to lay it first before the King; and therefore they sent them a letter to deliver to the King, and were resolved to stay for his answer before they went any farther: they write, that the Queen was still sick and weak; they hoped for her amendment, but were driven to fear the worst. In a postscript they tell them they had received their letters, by which they saw the French would not restore Calais, and that the King had told them, that though every thing else was agreed between the French and him, yet he would agree to nothing, unless the Queen was satisfied: therefore they order them to lay before the King the importance of leaving Calais in French hands, as much to his

BOOK
III.

1558.

Low Countries as to England : how much it would touch the honour of the King and Queen, and make the subjects of this realm uneasy, if all the King's other allies had places restored to them, and a peace was made without this restitution, when the war was begun at the King's request, and for his sake. Yet, they say, if all other matters are agreed, much were to be endured for the wealth of Christendom, which was giving up the point. They desire a plain and speedy answer, that they may know what to offer to the nobility and Parliament, with relation to this matter.

The ambassadors answered them, that though the French King had said he would hazard his crown sooner than part with Calais, yet for all those high words they did not despair. The commissioners of both Kings were gone to their masters to receive their final orders. The ambassadors believed, if the King was positive for the restoring Calais, the French would agree to it ; but if he spoke but faintly of that matter, they would persist to refuse it ; they had therefore said nothing to make the King think the Queen or kingdom would consent to a peace without that, because their instructions were express in that point. The King always said he would make no peace, unless the Queen was satisfied ; so if she insisted on that point, they believed the French would restore Calais rather than lose the view of peace.

And whereas they had wrote to them, that if all other points were agreed, much were to be endured for the peace of Christendom ; yet it was hard, that all others should have restitution, and poor England bear so great a loss alone : nor did they think leaving Calais to France would procure a sure peace ; they thought that the French keeping Calais was a sign they did not intend to continue the peace, at least with England. The French might annoy England on the side of Scotland, now that the Dauphin had married the Queen of Scots ; and it was not unknown to them what they pretended.

by that match, probably this was the claiming the crown of England on the Queen's death.

If the French kept Calais, the English could neither hurt their enemies there, nor assist nor be assisted by their friends; but were shut out of Europe, and would be always the latest in knowing the transactions abroad; and that place would be a scourge to England, as it was when Edward the Third took it; which made him venture through all France from Normandy, with a small army, to besiege it, a greater army following him, through which he was forced to fight his way, till at last he routed them at Cressy, and then took the place. The French would sign any terms to keep that place; but that would be only parchment and wax; and they knew by experience what French parchment and wax was. They said, if a war should follow between England and France, they were not sure Spain would join England: whereas now the King could not honourably make peace without us; and he himself said he would not: so they thought it better to continue the war now begun, till Calais was restored, in conjunction with the King, than to make a peace, and let it go, and then to be forced to begin a new one alone. All this they thought themselves bound to lay before the Council.

The Bishop of Ely adds, that he was with the commissioners, and found they were not agreed about Corsica and Sienna, and that the French insisted on the restitution of Navarre, so that he thought the treaty would be broken off without coming to a peace.

The Earl of Arundel adds, that the Bishop of Arras had writ to him, that the French had said they would condescend to every thing, rather than yield Calais; but that he had told them, that, without full satisfaction to England, they would not treat with them in any sort; and so they parted, in a manner that looked more like a rupture, than a conclusion of the treaty. However the ambassadors doubted whether it was about Calais only that they differed. This letter was writ the day after the

BOOK
III.

Queen's death. Her death freed the Spaniards from that difficulty.

1558.
A relation
of the occa-
sion of the
Queen's
death.

We now come to the conclusion of this inglorious reign. Campana gives an account of the immediate occasion of the Queen's death, different from other authors: he says, that King Philip, finding he was not like to have children by her, and her health in an ill state, designed a marriage between the Duke of Savoy and the Lady Elizabeth. The Queen would never hearken to this; yet, now that she was declining very fast, he sent over the Duke of Feria, to propose the match to the Council, without any regard to the Queen; and to use all possible means to bring it to a conclusion. The Queen resented this highly, and, when she saw it was designed to force her to it, fell into a deep melancholy. The Council did not entertain the motion, and the Queen's death in a few days put an end to it; for it does not appear that he ever proposed it to Queen Elizabeth, though he stayed some time in England. However true this account be, the nation was now delivered from a very severe and unhappy, though short reign; in which no good design was set on foot, either for the wealth or glory of the nation; but superstition and cruelty was all that was thought of. Even the war, which commonly used to slacken severities, had not that effect here. The Queen delivered herself so up to her confessor, and had such an inexorable hatred against those she esteemed heretics, that there is but one single instance of a pardon granted to any condemned for heresy; and that was at the Cardinal's intercession.

Providence seemed to allow us to feel in this female reign, from which all mildness might have been expected, so much of the barbarity and cruelty of that religion, as might raise a lasting abhorrence and detestation of it in this nation; and made the succeeding reign so long, so glorious, and so prosperous, that this short and despised one seemed but a foil to set it off the more, and to make us more nearly sensible of what importance the religion of

the Prince is to the welfare and happiness of the people.

BOOK
III.

This unhappy Queen's death came, as it were in the critical moment, to blast the design that had been laid by the two favourite ecclesiastics of the Kings of France and Spain, of extirpating heresy upon the conclusion of the peace that was then in agitation: and then the succession of Queen Elizabeth, and the death of the French King in the July after, put an entire stop to it; for France fell under the confusions of a minority, and the cruelty of the Spanish government occasioned the revolt of the Netherlands; under both which, heresy, as they called it, gathered great strength; and the Queen of England protected both so effectually, that Henry the Fourth owed his being supported by her in his lowest state was the chief means that brought him to the possession of the crown of France: and the United Provinces had their main dependence on her protection and assistance.

1558.

So graciously did God seem to watch over the Reformation, that in the very time that the enemies of that work reckoned it was to be rooted out, he not only removed the great instruments of mischief, but raised up this glorious Queen, who not only revived it amongst us, but, by a kind and tender influence, guarded and protected it every where else. So we now turn to view the auspicious beginnings of that reign.

AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Of the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

BOOK
IV.

1558.

NO Prince ever came to the throne in a more clouded state of affairs than this Queen did, the nation being engaged in a war both with France and Scotland. The Queen had no ally but King Philip, whom she knew she was no longer to depend upon, whenever she should begin to make those alterations in religion which she designed. The Duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador in England, took all occasions to let her know that his master, being the most Catholic King, must protect that religion. The Papists, whom she found in the ministry, possessed her with fears of rebellions at home, and wars from abroad, if she should alter religion: and those whom she joined with the Papists in her councils, chiefly Bacon and Cecil, had been so used to comply in matters of religion, that they were easily brought to bear what they did not approve;

and apprehended great danger in proceeding too quick in those matters.

BOOK
IV.

The Queen's inclinations to the Reformation were universally relied on: her education and knowledge; her bad usage in the former reign; and her title to the crown, which was founded on a marriage made in defiance to the Pope, led all people to conclude that she would declare for it as soon as she saw it safe for her to do so. Upon this, some, that were forward in their zeal, began to pull down images, and make changes: and, on the other hand, the priests apprehending what was like to follow, began to alarm the people out of their pulpits in a very seditious manner against all changes: some went so far as to call her title in question, and set up the pretensions of the Queen of Scotland. To put a stop to these things, she by one proclamation prohibited all preaching, and by another all alterations by private hands. As her ministers advised this caution in religious matters, so they advised her to digest the loss of Calais, and come into a peace with France and Scotland.

1558.

They likewise thought of new alliances. Mount was brought to England again; and was sent with instructions by Cecil to all the Princes of Germany, to know how far the Queen might depend on their assistance, and to receive their advices on the affairs of England, and particularly concerning a proper marriage for the Queen. Mount found them all ready to receive the Queen into the Smalcaldic league; chiefly, if the Reformation was to be on their model. The match they all proposed was with Charles of Austria, the Emperor Ferdinand's second son, brother to Maximilian, King of Bohemia and Hungary; who, though he complied in the outward acts of the Popish worship, yet was known to be a Protestant. The Elector Palatine and the Duke of Wirtemberg assured Mount, that Charles would declare himself a Protestant, as soon as he dared for his father's displeasure; and that he himself had told one of them so; and that when his father, suspecting him, would have had him

Mount sent to Germany; and a match with Charles of Austria advised.

BOOK

IV.

1558.

swear that he would never change his religion, he had refused it; and told him, that he believed, as he did, all that was in the New Testament and orthodox Fathers; upon which the Emperor said, he perceived this son was corrupted too. They thought this match would be a great strengthening to the Queen, would engage the whole house of Austria in the Protestant religion, and unite the whole empire in an alliance with the Queen.

Whenever the news of the Queen's coming to the crown reached Zurich, all those who had retired thither resolved to return to England. They had been entertained there both by the magistrates and ministers with a tenderness and affection, that engaged them to the end of their lives to make all the acknowledgments possible for it. Bullinger was the chief person of that society, with whom they held the closest correspondence. Peter Martyr was there likewise, and treated with a singular respect, even to submission. Jewel had been formed by him at Oxford, and continued in a constant correspondence with him, writing to him always by the title of Father. The letters that passed were preserved in the library of Zurich, and copies of them having been transmitted hither, with an attestation, under the seal of that noble canton, of their being faithfully transcribed, and compared with the originals. These letters are so particular, that, if there had not been great interruptions in the series of them, we should have had a clear thread of the history of that time.

The Re-
formers re-
turn to
England.

1559.

They were
well re-
ceived by
the Queen.

Jewel writes to Peter Martyr from Frankfort, June the twenty-sixth, 1559, that Horn and Sands were got to England, and were well received by the Queen; many bishoprics were void, and some were lately dead; that White had preached a very seditious sermon at Queen Mary's funeral, exciting the people not to suffer any changes in religion, and to destroy the fugitives that should return to England; telling them, that whoever should kill them would do a deed acceptable to God; at which the Mayor of Winchester, and Heath, Archbishop

of York, were highly displeased. He adds, that Bonner was confined to his house.

BOOK
IV.

Gualter wrote to Masters, the Queen's physician, January the sixteenth. He congratulates with him on the change; he wishes they would not hearken to those, who, seeing that Popery could not be honestly defended, or entirely retained, would use all artifices to keep up, as much as they could, the outward face of it, that the return to it may be the more easy. He tells him, they had experience of that in Germany, and know what influence such persons have, by the seeming modesty of their councils, and pretended fitness to maintain an universal agreement. He says, men may suffer some things to remain, to avoid the giving some small offence, under this colour, that they will be continued only for a little while, which yet afterwards they will find it scarce possible to remove, at least not without great strugglings. Dr. Masters in his answer tells him, he had laid his letter before the Queen, and she had read it all. He promises to use his best endeavours for carrying on a sound reformation.

1559.

The Earl of Bedford had gone out of England in Queen Mary's time, and stayed at Zurich. He had a true zeal for the Reformation, and particular regard for the divines there; upon which they wrote often to him, pressing him to take care in the first beginning, to have all things settled upon sure and sound foundations.

In the Convocation that met the twenty-fourth of June, but six Bishops and the Abbot of Westminster appeared: three sent proxies: the other four (for the rest of the sees were vacant) are not mentioned. The Bishops promised the Lower House to lay the articles offered them before the House of Lords; and accordingly gave the paper containing them to the Lord Keeper, but never received any answer. The Convocation, after several prorogations, was at last dissolved the ninth of May. This was the last feeble struggle made by the Popish Clergy in Convocation.

Proceed-
ings in Con-
vocation.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

The Bishops in the House of Lords stiffly opposed the Reformation; and, being all on one side, and few of the temporal Lords learned enough to answer, triumphed mightily over them, and stopped very much the progress of it. Jewel writes to Peter Martyr, the twentieth of March, that he was arrived at London, and surprised to find the Pope's authority not yet thrown off; and masses still said. He tells him of the disputation then resolved on: he says, the populace was ignorant and perverse: he adds, that the Queen spoke of Peter Martyr with great esteem: he tells him, Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, was dead, and cried out as he was dying, that he was damned. In a letter to Bullinger, of the twenty-second of May, he says, they had need of great zeal and courage; for, besides their old enemies, the deserters who had left them in the former reign were now their most bitter enemies. The Spaniards had much corrupted the morals of the nation. He says, things were coming to a better state. The Queen refused to be called Head of the Church, that being a title, she said, due only to Christ. He says, the Universities were strangely corrupted by the Spaniards. The Lord Bedford, he says, was very sincere and zealous against Popery, and for promoting the Gospel. He writes, that several Princes were making addresses to the Queen for marriage; but many suspected her inclinations lay to one Pickering, a worthy and pious man, and of a most noble figure as to his person. Jewel, in a letter to Peter Martyr of the sixth of April, gives him an account of the public disputation. He tells him, that Cole treated the Reformers with many reproaches, and much scorn; that he put himself into great convulsions of body, and affirmed things boldly without any proof; and said, that it was not fit that the people should understand the public worship, for *ignorance was the mother of devotion*. Horn read the Reformers' paper gravely and modestly. All who were present acknowledged the victory to be clearly on their side: by this, he says, the Popish cause sunk much.

in the opinion of the people. In another of the twenty-eighth, he tells Peter Martyr, that the Bishops contended earnestly in the House of Lords; and none more vehemently than Thirleby. He laments, that no care was taken of schools, or of promoting learning; and says, that the Universities were in a miserable condition. The Queen had thoughts of sending for Peter Martyr; but he did not advise him to come over, unless he were invited in the honourable manner he deserved. Many of the Queen's ministers were in hopes of entering into the Smalcaldic league; and some possessed the Queen that Peter Martyr's coming over would obstruct that. He says, many, who were returned from exile, were still in great want. He complains in another letter of the want of zeal and excess of caution in promoting the Reformation. The Papists in Queen Mary's time had done every thing violently, without waiting for law; but now every thing was managed in so slow, so cautious, and so prudent a manner, as if the word of God was not to be received upon his own authority. This caution, he says, sunk the spirits of those that favoured them, and exalted their enemies. Yet, he says, the mass was laid aside in several places, though there was no law to do it. The nobility were zealous in their hatred to Popery. The Queen had softened her mass much: but he wishes she could not be prevailed on to put the crucifix out of her chapel. He says, she was truly pious, but thought it necessary to proceed by law, and dangerous to give way to a furious multitude. Cox, on the twentieth of May, writes to Weidner, another divine of Zurich, that he found the short reign of Queen Mary had so hardened the minds of the people in their superstition, that it would not be easy to change them. He complains of the opposition the Bishops (the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* he calls them) made in the House of Lords to every good motion, and that none there could maintain arguments against them. The divines; he says, who were returned from exile, were called to preach.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

before the Queen ; where they affirmed the Pope to be Anti-christ, and their traditions blasphemies. Some of the nobility came over to them every day, and many of the people, but not one of the clergy ; they were a body not to be moved. He tells him, that King Edward's laws were now to be revived, and blesses God for it.

All business was brought to good conclusion in Parliament. The King of France's death gave such a change to affairs abroad, that the Queen and her ministers seemed to be mightily animated with it. In the beginning of August, it appears, from a letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, that preachers were sent to many different parts. Jewel had all the western counties for his province. The Popish Bishops made a poor address to the Queen not to change the state of religion, to which she answered resolutely. They resolved now rather to lose their bishoprics, than to abjure the Pope, though they had often done it before. They were full of rage, and gave out prophecies that this change would be short-lived, to keep people from receiving the Reformation. However, the Queen had courage. He thanks God for the state to which their affairs were then brought. Matters went well in Scotland. Knox preached in several parts of the country, and was well guarded : the monasteries were every where pulled down, and the superstitious stuff in them all destroyed.

They all rejoiced in the happy turn of affairs then in Scotland, the much greater part of the nation declaring openly and zealously against Popery.

The begin-
nings of the
Reforma-
tion in the
Parliament
of Scotland.

The Scottish nation had shewed a wonderful disposition towards a reformation upon the death of King James the Fifth, 1541. Cardinal Beaton, to prevent this, forged a will in the name of the deceased King, making him regent. But the nobility had no regard to it, but owned the Earl of Arran to be the heir of the crown after the young Queen, and the heirs of her body : so they took the oaths to the Queen as Sovereign, and to the Earl of

1559.

Arran as Governor, till the Queen came of age; and the Cardinal was secured. In 1542 a Parliament met, in which the regency of the Earl of Arran was confirmed, and the oaths they had taken ratified; and they were required to confirm them by solemn oaths in full Parliament. A Council was named at the same time, of which the Cardinal was not one; the Archbishop of Glasgow, five Bishops, two Abbots, eight Earls, five Lords, with some commoners for the boroughs, and the officers of state composed it; six of these was the number that was at least necessary to concur with the Governor. This Parliament passed an Act allowing all the *Lieges of the realm to have the holy writ of the New and Old Testament, in the vulgar tongue in English or Scotch, of a good and true translation, and that they shall incur no crime for the having or reading of the same; provided always, that no man dispute or hold opinions, under the pain contained in the Acts of Parliament.* The Archbishop of Glasgow, in the name of all the Prelates present in Parliament, *dissented to this Act, as being one of the three estates of the Parliament, till a provincial Council might be had of all the Clergy of the realm, to advise and conclude thereupon.* But, notwithstanding this opposition, the Act passed. At this time they sent ambassadors to treat concerning the Queen's marriage with Edward then Prince of Wales; and they provided, that if the Queen went out of the kingdom, even after she was of age, the Governor should continue his authority all his life; and on his death, the nearest person of the blood was to succeed him.

There was not the like care taken in the subsequent treaty with France. But the French, at the conclusion of the marriage, proceeded in a very perfidious manner: for in 1558, a little before the marriage-articles were settled, the young Queen being about fifteen, a secret act was passed; in which she declared, that she having made a disposition of the crown of Scotland in favour of the crown of France, in case she should die without

BOOK
IV.

1559.

heirs of her body, which she intended should have its full effect; and perceiving the secret designs of some who were practising that, in default of heirs of her body, the crown should descend to some lords of the country, depriving her by that means of the power of disposing of it; and considering that great troubles might arise if what she did were known, she having no strong places at her own disposal, and not being able to oppose them; she protests therefore, that whatever consent or agreement she should make to the articles sent over from the states of her kingdom, relating to the succession, she still intended that the disposition she had made in favour of France should have its full effect, notwithstanding any such agreement, which she declares to be contrary to her will and intention. This instrument was signed by her and the Dauphin. But it was thought so necessary to conceal it, that Francis the Second sent a formal obligation under his great seal, by which he bound himself to the Duke of Chatellherault to maintain his right of succeeding to the crown of Scotland in default of heirs of the Queen's body. The instrument is still preserved.

The Reformation grew to be every where desired, and the Popish Clergy were become universally odious. The Queen mother for some time courted the party that was for a reformation, and connived at every thing they did, till she thought all was sure; and then she threw off the mask, and declared herself openly their enemy. Upon this there was a great and sudden turn. The churches were purged from idolatry and superstition: the monasteries were broke open, and many acts of hot and irregular zeal were complained of every where. Only one thing is much to the honour of Knox and his followers, that, in that tumultuary reformation, amidst all that popular heat, no blood was shed during the whole time of it; which being told by Lesley, Bishop of Ross, admits of no doubt concerning the truth of it.

The lords of Scotland, that were confederate

against the government of the Queen Dowager, sent a memorial to the Queen of England, together with a petition to her, signed by the Papists as well as Protestants.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

They set forth, that the arms they were forced to fly to was no rebellion; that when it was agreed that the Queen should be carried to France, a treaty was made by the Parliament, and ratified by the King and Dauphin of France, that Scotland should be governed by their own laws, and their own people; that they should have all offices; that no French garrisons should settle in the kingdom. Afterwards, when the Parliament was brought to consent to the marriage between the Queen and the Dauphin, it was declared and ratified in the same manner that the succession belonged to the Duke of Chatelherault after the heirs of the Queen's body, and that Scotland should be governed by a council of natives; and the castles were to be put in sure hands. Upon which, ambassadors were sent to France, and the marriage was concluded. They were dealt with to endeavour that the crown of Scotland should be given to the Dauphin; which they refusing, the demand was changed, and only the matrimonial crown desired, which was explained that he was to be King for life. When these ambassadors were returning, about half of their number died in one night suddenly at Dieppe, the rest that came home believing that they had been poisoned. This point was gained in Parliament by the Queen Dowager's management; and the matrimonial crown was given to the Dauphin, but with this condition, that the Duke's right should not be impaired by it. When this was done, the Queen Dowager forgot all her promises. She first took the great seal from the Earl of Huntly, the Duke's particular friend, and gave it to a French advocate; and put the Earl in prison, and set a great fine upon him, and left him only the name of Chancellor: she made another Frenchman Comptroller, and gave him the charge of the revenue of the crown: she put all Scotchmen out of the secrets of

BOOK
IV.

1589.

the council, committing them only to Frenchmen: she kept French garrisons in several places, who lived on discretion: she sent the revenue to France, and brought thence decried money, and made it current in Scotland: she likewise coined base money, and paid the soldiers with it. All abbeyes that fell void she either kept so, or gave them to Frenchmen: she never followed the advice of those lords, who, upon her entering on the government, were named for her council. The nobility had made many representations to her against all this, sometimes publicly in companies, and sometimes more privately. She had practised with Lord James and others, who were no friends to the Duke, to join with her against the Duke, and for the French, promising them on that condition to bear with their religion. By this they were encouraged to do things, by which they incurred the censures of the Church; and by a law little known were brought into danger of the guilt of treason. Upon that, process was ordered to be made against them: the Queen tempted them to engage in the French interest; but that not prevailing, they were declared traitors.

The nobility being alarmed at this, the Queen Dowager with her French soldiers seized their estates, and entered St. John's town in a warlike manner, and left a garrison in it. But this alarming the whole nation, and she finding that she had not force enough to conquer the nation, prevailed on the Duke, and the Earl of Huntly, by great promises, to quiet the country; which they did.

The nobility having separated, on the Duke's giving them assurances that matters should be kept quiet till the Parliament, and some companies coming over from France to Leith, the Queen Dowager ordered that town to be fortified. The nobility upon that charged the Duke with breach of promise, who could do no more than press the Queen to forbear giving cause of jealousy; but to no purpose. The town was fortified, she had put all the ammunition into it, and the French continued to

send over more forces. The Duke, with the nobility represented to the Queen that she plainly designed a conquest. She despised their requests, thinking herself now strong enough to subdue Scotland. Upon this, the Duke, with the nobility, and the Barons and Burgesses of the realm, considering the imminent danger, and that no remedy was to be expected at her hands, that their Sovereign was married to a strange Prince, and in the hands of the French, without any council of her own natural people, and that the Queen Dowager persisted in ruining the liberties of her daughter the Queen's subjects, on design to knit that kingdom for ever to France; they had, on all these grounds, been constrained to constitute a council, for the government of the kingdom, and for the use of their Sovereign, to whom they had signified the suspension of the Dowager's authority; and though they had spent all their substance, in withstanding the French power, for the ancient rights of the crown and of their Sovereign, yet they could not long preserve themselves against the power of France, a greater force being to be sent over from thence next spring. Therefore they lay the whole matter before the Queen of England, and commit their cause to her protection, desiring only that their country may be preserved from France, with the rights of their Sovereign, and the whole nation.

To this they add a petition, that the French soldiers then within the kingdom might be removed speedily; that they might live quietly, and be suffered to offer to the King and Queen such articles as were necessary for the peace and good government of the kingdom, without alteration of their ancient liberties. This was signed by the greatest of their nobility, Papists as well as Protestants; so that it appears that religion was not pretended to be the cause of the war.

When this representation and petition was brought to the Queen, Cecil drew up a state of the matter, putting this as the question, *Whether it was meet*

BOOK
IV.
1559.

that England should help Scotland to expel the French, or not? He says for the negative, that it was against God's law to aid subjects against their Prince; and that it was dangerous to do it; because aid secretly given would do no good, and publicly, would draw on a war: that then the French would make any composition with the Scotch to join with them against England, and would consent to any thing rather than England and Scotland should be united; that the King of Spain, the Pope, and the Princes of Italy, would join the French; and that many in both kingdoms would disapprove of it.

But, in opposition to this, he concludes for assisting the Scotch: he lays it down for a principle, that it is agreeable to the law of God and nature, that every prince or state should defend itself, not only from perils that are seen, but from those which may probably come; and to use the same manner of defence which the adversary useth of offence. He says, the crown of England hath a superiority over Scotland, as the Emperor has over Bohemia or Milan. He says next, that England would be in great danger from the French, if they become masters of Scotland; that the French had been long enemies to England, and false in all their treaties with them for seven hundred years; that France had made peace because of their poverty; but that, as soon as it recovered from that, which could not be long, it must have war; besides the hatred that the house of Guise, who then governed the French councils, bore to England; that they had questioned the Queen's title, and set up their own against it, and had used means at Rome to get the Queen to be declared illegitimate; that the embroilment of Scotland was the only thing that restrained them from carrying their pretensions farther; that they had already publicly joined the arms of England and Ireland with the Queen of Scots' arms; that the assaulting England by the way of Scotland was easy, puts France in no danger if it miscarry, but England in the greatest if it succeed; that therefore no time was to be lost,

since the prejudice, if they delayed too long, would be irrecoverable.

BOOK
IV.

1559.

The Queen sent forces, under the Duke of Northumberland, to the borders of Scotland; and what followed upon that is set forth in the history.

The lords and others in Scotland entered into an association; in which they promised to set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's Word, to the utmost of their power; that, considering the misbehaviour of the French, and the intolerable oppression by their soldiers, maintained by the Queen Dowager, under colour of authority, and the manifest danger of becoming their conquest by the fortifications they had on the coast, and other attempts, they promise to join the Queen of England's army, then come to their assistance, for driving out those oppressors, and recovering their ancient liberty, that they may be ruled by the laws of their country, and the natives of the kingdom, under the King and Queen their Sovereign; that they will hold no intelligence with their enemies, but by the advice of the rest, or at least five of their number; that they will prosecute this cause as their own particular cause, and hold all that withstand it as enemies, and prosecute them as such, according to the orders of the Council, to whom they refer the direction of the whole matter, promising in all things to submit to them.

This was subscribed first at Edinburgh in 1560, by the chief of the nobility, and by one hundred and forty others. But to return to England.

Jewel being returned from his circuit, writes to Peter Martyr, on the second of November, that the people were better disposed to the Gospel than could be expected, considering the progress that superstition had made in Queen Mary's time; that none were more violent and obstinate than those who had been before of their body: they had turned them all out; and he complains of the want of hands. He rejoiced to hear that Peter Martyr was sent for. He says, he feared that things would not end so well as they had begun: for, he adds,

BOOK
IV.

1559.

We are islanders in all respects. He says the Queen was courted by the King of Sweden, and Charles of Austria; but perhaps the Queen meant to marry one nearer at hand, (Pickering probably he means:) he concludes, though religion had made a quick progress in Scotland, yet the French did not despair of subduing that Kingdom, and restoring their religion in it.

He wrote at the same time to Simler, who had complimented him on his being made a Bishop, that he was only nominated; that they hoped their Bishops should be pastors and labourers; that to that end their great riches were to be diminished, that being delivered from noise and pomp, they might be at leisure to take care of Christ's flock.

Jewel's opinion of the disputes concerning the vestments.

On November the fifth, he writes, that he found debates raised concerning the vestments, which he calls the habit of the stage, and wishes to be freed from them. He says, they were not wanting to so good a cause; but others seemed to love those things, hoping to strike the eyes of the people with those ridiculous trifles. He calls them the relics of the Amorites. He wishes all these things may be taken away from the very roots. He complains of a feebleness in their councils: they talked of bringing Martyr over; but they looked, he feared, too much to Saxony to expect that. Some, he says, were so set on the habits, as if the Christian religion consisted in garments. He says, they were not called to the consultations about the scenical apparel; he could set no value on those fopperies: some cried up a golden mediocrity; he feared it would prove a leaden one.

On the sixteenth, he writes, that the doctrine was purely preached, but too much folly concerning ceremonies and masks remained; the crucifix was still in the Queen's chapel. He disliked the worldly policy that appeared in this. They all spoke freely against it, but as yet without effect. He complains of the uncertainty of affairs. He did not see in what they would settle; nor did he know but he might be obliged to return to Zurich again.

In December and January the consecration of the Bishops came on ; but here the letters to Zurich are interrupted for some months.

BOOK
IV.

In February, 1560, an ambassador came over from Ferdinand the Emperor, with letters, proposing a match between his son Archduke Charles, and the Queen. He had writ before to her of it, but thought fit to follow those letters with a formal embassy.

1560.

The Emperor proposes to the Queen a match with his son Charles.

She writ an answer excusing herself, but in very civil terms, upon her resolution not to change her solitary life. But it was never sent ; for the original lies still in the Paper Office.

Jewel writes, on the fourth of February, 1560, after his consecration, to Peter Martyr, that they were then engaged in the question about the lawfulness of having images in churches. He complains of the folly of some upon that head, who were otherwise thought persons of good judgment. He says, Cox was the only one of those he knew that was drawn to be of that mind. Parker and Cox on one side, and Grindal and he on the other, were to debate the matter in the hearing of some of the Council. He heard, they resolved to set up crucifixes again in the churches where they had pulled them down ; if they did, he would be no longer a Bishop. In another letter, he tells him, that now a mighty change appeared in the people ; and was promoted chiefly by their meeting in great numbers to sing psalms ; 6000 sometimes at Paul's Cross singing together. This, he says, was grievous to the Papists. Their priests were laughed at as they passed in the street ; and their Bishops were called hangmen to their faces. He mightily commends Cecil.

A conference about the Queen's crucifix.

On the first of April, Sands, Bishop of Worcester, wrote, that, on his return from his mission into the North, the Queen pressed him to accept of the bishopric of Worcester, and would have been highly offended if he had absolutely refused. He found it rather a burden than an honour ; the doctrine of the Sacrament was pure : but there was

BOOK
IV.

1560.

a question about images. The Queen thought it not contrary to the Word of God, and it seemed convenient to keep the crucifix in her chapel. They saw that superstitious people worshipped this idol. He had spoken freely to the Queen about it, and she had threatened to deprive him; but she was since more softened, and the images were removed. The Popish vestments were yet used, but he hopes that would not be long. He says, it was the pretence of unity that gave occasion to the greatest divisions. Parkhurst came into England at the end of 1559, and went to his church in Gloucestershire. They could not persuade him to be a Bishop. He said, he could not resolve on being miserable. Sampson, who had been at Zurich with the rest, and was esteemed a learned and pious man, hearing, on his journey to England, that a bishopric was to be offered him, writes to Peter Martyr for his advice, whether it was lawful to swear to the Queen as Supreme Head of the Church under Christ. He thought Christ was sole Head of the Church, and no mention was made in Scripture of any Heads under him. He complains of the want of discipline, and of the pressures that lay upon Bishops; that they were forced to live at such an expence, that they had nothing left for the doing any good works. He disliked the way of electing Bishops, without the consent of the Clergy or people, as being different from the primitive institution. Their superstitious dress he thought unbecoming. He prayed God it might never happen that a bishopric should be offered him. He resolved to apply himself to preaching, and would avoid having any share in the government, till he saw a full reformation made in every thing. He desires Peter Martyr's answer as soon as possible. What Peter Martyr's answer was, is to be gathered only from Sampson's reply. Sampson writes the sixth of January, that they had sad apprehensions. He wishes to be only a preacher, and not a bishop; but there was yet a general prohibition of all preaching. He complains of the crucifix that was

left in the Queen's chapel, and of the celebrating the Sacrament in the Popish fashion: he adds, that injunctions were sent to preachers, not to use freedom in the reproof of vice. He asks their opinion, whether this was a thing indifferent; and whether, if injunctions were sent to the Clergy of this sort, they ought to obey them, or, whether they should not rather suffer deprivation? He desires Bernardin Ochino to write to the Queen, for she had a great regard to him. He says, she was truly a child of God: but Princes have not so many friends to their souls, as to their other concerns. He says, she understood Italian, Greek, and Latin well; so they might write in any language to her: only they must write as of their own motion, and not as if any complaints had been writ over to them. He writes again, on the thirteenth of May, that a bishopric had been offered him, but he refused it; and desires Peter Martyr not to censure him till he knew the whole state of the matter. But he rejoices that Parkhurst was made Bishop of Norwich. Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr, May the twenty-second, that he was not yet got to his see, but the Church had been thunder-struck, and cracked, which he did not know but foolish people might make judgments upon with relation to him. He says, that Bower, Fecknam, Pole, Scory, and Watson, were put in prison for railing at the changes. He says, the Queen expressed great firmness and courage in matters of religion. In another, July the seventeenth, he tells him of the peace in Scotland, and that the French were sent away. Scotland was to be governed by a council of twelve, greater matters being to be referred to the Parliament. In one to Gaulter, after he had been in his diocese, November the second, he complains of the load that government was to him, who had led all his life in the shade, and at study. He resolves to make up what was wanting in him by diligence. He complains of the opposition he met with from the rage of the Papists. On the sixth, he writes, that May, Dean of St. Paul's,

A peace
made in
Scotland.

BOOK
IV.

1560.

who was to have been Archbishop of York, was dead; they did not know why that see was so long kept void. Parker was troubled at it, and wrote earnestly about it to Cecil, telling him of the great complaints in the North, that they were not taken care of; that their people were become rude for want of instruction; that if they did it for the advantage of the Queen's Exchequer, it might cost them more afterwards to reduce them, if once they were suffered to grow wild and ignorant, like the Irish. He proposes Young, Bishop of St. David's, for York; and Guest, Bishop of Rochester, for Durham. If they feared Bishops practising to the prejudice of their successors, he says, there were precedents for having Bishops bound to leave their churches in no worse case than they found them. He says, that he had pressed this matter formerly, and would never cease till it was done. He refers to the ruinous leases which the Popish Bishops had made, when they saw the change coming on, and having then by law an absolute power over their estates. The new Bishops had scarce subsistence from their sees, and were to be supported by dignities given them *in commendam*: and it was perhaps suggested, that they might be prevailed on to prolong or to confirm such leases, for a little present relief. The Archbishop's importunity had its effect; for Young was removed to York, and Pilkington, a learned and zealous man, was made Bishop of Durham.

Jewel writes to Peter Martyr, in February, wishing that all the remnants of former errors might be taken away. He wishes they could have obtained it. He says, the Queen would take no notice of the Council of Trent that was then to be opened again. He tells of his apologies being then published. He writes of the Countess of Lenox, Lord Darnley's mother, that she was a more violent Papist than Queen Mary herself; that her son was gone to Scotland, it was thought, to marry the Queen of Scots. The Earl of Hertford had a son by Catherine Gray: if he was legitimate, he was to suc-

ceed to the crown by King Henry's will. He complains that schools were forsaken, and of the want of preachers, though the few they had were well received.

BOOK
IV.

1560.

The Popish Clergy, when they saw no appearance of a change, generally complied with the laws; but it was visibly against their heart and conscience. This made the Bishops receive many into orders, who were men of good hearts, and loved the Gospel, but were not very learned, which was much censured: but pains were taken to breed up a more knowing race after them.

The affairs of Scotland took a very good turn about this time. France was distracted at home; which, together with the charge of sending forces to so great a distance, made the French willing to make the matter up the best they could by a treaty. Commissioners were appointed on both sides: in the mean while the Queen Regent died: upon which Cecil and Wotton, who were employed by the Queen in that treaty, wrote to the Queen for positive orders. The Council returned them an answer, directing them to keep this no longer a secret, but to acquaint King Philip with it, that if the French left the Kingdom, on the Regent's death, without coming to any agreement, they should consult with the Duke of Norfolk, and the lords of Scotland in league with them, how to expel the French the kingdom forthwith without loss of time; for they understood the French intended to gain time as much as possible.

The treaty was soon brought to a conclusion. The French were to be sent away in three weeks. An assembly of the States was to meet and settle the nation. There was to be a council of twelve, of which seven were to be named by the King and Queen, and five by the States; they were to govern all affairs, and to be accountable to the Parliament.

When matters were settled in Scotland, the Scots sent the Earls of Morton and Glencairn to the Queen. Their instructions run, that the estates

A proposal of marriage to the Queen of England.

BOOK
IV.

1560.

of Parliament, considering the advantages of a perpetual friendship between the two kingdoms, ordered a proposition of marriage to be made to the Queen of England with the Earl of Arran, who, after his father, and in default of heirs of the Queen's body, was next heir of the crown of Scotland. They likewise expressed their thanks to the Queen for her good will to them, and particularly for the support she had given them of late, by means of which they enjoyed their present quiet: and they resolved that an embassy should be appointed to make the proposition in the most honourable manner. This order was signed by six Bishops, and as many Abbots and Priors, by the Duke of Chatelherault, and by several others of the nobility, and by eight Provosts of boroughs.

To this the Queen answered, that she received very kindly their thanks, and assured them that in the like occasion her aid should not be wanting to them. She received their proposition of marriage as a mark of their good intention for knitting the kingdoms in amity. She commends much the Earl of Arran, but says that she was not disposed presently to marry, though the necessity of the kingdom might constrain to it afterwards; she says, the amity between the two kingdoms was so necessary to their preservation, that it might remain firm without any marriage. And she desired the Earl of Arran should not forbear to marry on her account. She recommends to them good agreements among themselves, and promises that nothing shall be wanting on her part for the defence of both realms against the common enemy.

The death
of Francis
the Second.

Things went on pursuant to this treaty; to which it was thought the French would have no regard, when their affairs were in a better posture. But the death of Francis the Second in December, 1560, put an end to these fears, and to the union between France and Scotland. Now that Queen Mary had only her own strength to rely upon, Queen Elizabeth sent to demand her ratification of the treaty of Leith; which she used many shifts to

excuse her not doing. This was the first occasion of that jealousy between the two Queens, which ended fatally to the one.

BOOK
IV.

1561.

Queen Mary first excused herself on the absence of her Council, and particularly of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorrain; and on her not having heard from her Council in Scotland: she promised, when she had heard from them, and had advised with her Council, she would give an answer that should satisfy the Queen. When the Lord James, her natural brother, came over, the ambassador was ordered to press her again, and receive her answer from her own hand. She answered, that she was leaving that place, and going to Rheims, where the King was to be crowned, and could give no answer till she came thither: she said, that Lord James was only come to do his duty to her, as his Sovereign, without any charge or commission. They could get no other answer from her. The Queen of Scots had said to the ambassador, that she intended to give Lord James a commission to look to the affairs of Scotland during her absence: but she changed her mind, and said, she would give none till she came to Scotland herself; nor would she dispose of any thing till then. The reason why she would not employ the Lord James was, because she saw she could not draw him from his devotion to the Queen of England, nor from his resolution to observe the late treaty and league between the two kingdoms; nor from his religion, though the Cardinal of Lorrain used great endeavours to prevail upon him. Therefore the ambassador recommends him mightily to the Queen. He tells her, that Queen Mary had great expectations from the Popish party, and particularly from the Earl of Huntly. He tells the Queen of a disturbance in Paris, on account of an assembly of Protestants, where some were killed, which he apprehended would have greater consequences.

And accordingly soon after the civil war broke out in France. The Duke of Guise endeavoured to prevent the Princes of Germany, and the Queen,

BOOK
IV.

1561.

from assisting the Prince of Condé, pretending that the war was not raised on account of religion, but was only a conspiracy against the Court. Queen Mary likewise courted the Queen, vowing eternal friendship with her, and wrote that she would pass through England, and sent the Queen fine presents. But the Queen saw through all this, and would not be diverted from assisting the Prince of Condé. Upon this the mask was thrown away, and the jealousies broke out into open war. The Cardinal charged upon her all the disorders of France, as the principal author of them. By that time the Queen of Scotland was got by sea into her kingdom: she has mass said to her, though it was put down every where else in the kingdom.

1562.

Proceed-
ings in Con-
vocation.

But now to return to England, and to give an account of the famous Convocation. Here is another stop in the course of the letters to Zurich, which, no doubt, if we had them, would give us a complete view of the great transactions then on foot. All that we know of their proceedings is from a very imperfect abstract.

They met on the thirteenth of January. Parker told them, they had now in their hands an opportunity of reforming all things in the Church. The Queen earnestly desired it, and so did many of the nobility. They chose Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, their Prolocutor, on the Archbishop's recommendation. After several close consultations, the Bishops agreed unanimously in settling the articles of religion, and subscribed them. Then the Upper House appointed four Bishops to draw articles of discipline. The Prolocutor, with six of the Clergy, brought up the articles of religion that had been sent down to them: many had subscribed them; but the Prolocutor proposed, that such as had not done it might be required to subscribe either in the Lower House, or in the presence of the Bishops: upon this, the Upper House ordered the names of those who had not subscribed to be laid before them, upon which many more subscribed, and the Bishops still renewed their former order. On the thirteenth

of February, there were very warm debates in the Lower House, on six articles that were offered to the House. First, That all holidays, except Sundays, and the feasts relating to Christ, should be abrogated. Secondly, That in the Common Prayer, the Minister should turn his face to the people, that he may be heard, and they edified. Thirdly, That the ceremony of the cross in baptism may be omitted, as tending to superstition. Fourthly, That many being unable to kneel during the time of Communion, by reason of age or infirmity, and others kneeling and knocking their breast superstitiously, the order for kneeling may be left to the discretion of the Ordinary within his jurisdiction. Fifthly, That it be sufficient for the minister in time of saying divine service, and ministering the sacraments, to use a surplice; and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit. Sixthly, That the use of organs be removed. The fifth is taken strictly as it is in the original; but the sense is not visible, except the word *once* be supplied; and so the intention was, that it should be sufficient to use the surplice once. Great disputes arose concerning these propositions; some proposed to refer the matter to the Bishops; many protested they could in no manner consent to any one of them, since they were contrary to the Book of Common Prayer, which was ratified by Act of Parliament; nor would they admit of any alteration of what was already settled by that book. When they came to divide, forty-three votes were for the propositions, and thirty-five against them, and that no change should be made in the Book of Common Prayer then established. But when the proxies were counted, fifty were for the propositions, and fifty-nine against them; so that they had the majority of eight of those who were present and heard the debates, and only lost it by one absent person. The ground that those who opposed the proposition went upon was, that it was assuming an authority to alter what was settled by the legislature. But it is not to be ima-

BOOK
IV.

1552.

Great debates concerning some alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.

BOOK
IV.

1562.

gined that, if the affirmative had been carried, more was intended than to address the Parliament to alter the book in those particulars. After this, nothing was done but passing the subsidy, and transacting some things relating to benefices and dilapidations; the Lower House agreed to the book of discipline with some amendments, and to a Catechism. They were prorogued by a royal writ to the tenth of April.

With this Convocation the history of the Reformation is properly concluded; but the letters writ to Zurich by the most eminent of our Bishops give so full and particular an account of the first unhappy breach that was made in our Church, with so many curious incidents, that it is worth while to set that matter out in a clear light.

1564.

A controversy about the use of things in different.

There was a great difference of sentiments among the Reformers on this point, *Whether it was fit to retain an external face of things, near to what had been practised in the times of Popery, or not?* One side said, that the doing that would bring the people more easily into the real change of doctrine, while they saw the outward appearances so little altered. On the other hand it was said, that this outward resemblance kept up the inclination of the people to the former practices, and preserved in them the old root of Popery; and, if it made them for the present more easily conform to the change that was made, it would still make them much more easily fall back again to Popery: therefore they thought it right to put things in as great an opposition to Popery as could well be.

The Queen had, in her first injunctions, ordered the Clergy to wear seemly garments, and square caps, and appointed copes to be used, which had been laid aside ever since the sixth year of King Edward. There was a clause in the Act of Uniformity, empowering her to make such additional ordinances.

Great diversity in practice.

This matter being settled, there followed a great diversity of practice; many conforming themselves to the law in all points; while others refused to

wear the surplice, or the square caps, and hoods. This made two parties in the Church. Many forsok their churches on both sides: some, because those habits were used, and some, because they were not used. The Papists insulted them on this division, and said, it was impossible it should be otherwise, till they returned to one absolute obedience.

BOOK
IV.

1564.

Upon this, in January, 1564, the Queen wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, reflecting, not without some acrimony, on these diversities, as if they were the effect of remissness in him, or the other Bishops; requiring him, with the other Bishops commissioned by her for causes ecclesiastical, to reform and repress all such diversities, both in Clergy and people. Upon that, six of the Bishops met, four of whom were on the ecclesiastical commission, and agreed to some rules and orders meet to be observed, not as equivalent to the Word of God, or as having any efficacy or holiness in them, but as temporary orders, merely ecclesiastic, and as rules for decency, distinction, and order for the time.

The Queen wrote to the Archbishop to bring all to an uniformity.

Orders set out by the Bishops.

They began with matters of doctrine, that all preachers should study to edify, and should manage controversy with sobriety and discretion, and exhort the people to frequent the communion, to obey the laws and the Queen's injunctions. All former licences were declared void, and to be renewed to such as the Bishop thought meet for the office of preaching; such as preached unsound doctrine were to be denounced to the Bishop, but not contradicted in the church. They were required to preach once in three months; those who were not licensed were to read Homilies. In the Sacrament the principal minister was to wear a cope, at other prayers only the surplice. In cathedrals they were to wear hoods, and to preach with them. All were to receive the Sacrament kneeling. Then follow rules about tolling the bell when people die, about the altar, the font, and godfathers; that no shops be opened on Sundays; that Bishops should give no-

BOOK
IV.

1564.

tice when any were to be ordained, that all may except against such as are unworthy; that none be ordained but within their diocese, unless they have degrees. Rules were given for licences, and for Archdeacons to appoint curates to get texts of the New Testament by heart, and to rehearse them. Ordinaries were to guard against simoniacal practices, and none were to marry within the Levitical degrees. Then follow rules about wearing-apparel, gowns, and caps. They added a form of subscription to be required of all who were to be admitted to any office, or cure, in the Church; that they would not preach without the Bishop's licence; that they would read the Scriptures distinctly and audibly; that they would keep a register book, and use such apparel, especially at prayer-time, as was appointed, and endeavour to keep peace and quiet in their parishes; that they should read some of the Bible daily; and in the conclusion, that they should exercise their office to the honour of God, and the quiet of the Queen's subjects, and observe uniformity in all laws and orders already established; and that they should use no sort of trade, if their living amounted to twenty nobles, or upwards.

This order was settled by the Archbishops and Bishops in March. Great opposition was made to this by many; Sampson and Humphreys, one Dean of Christ-Church, and the other resident of Magdalen, and Divinity Professor, were the most eminent of those who opposed it. They were in great reputation, especially in Oxford, and were distinguished for their learning, piety, and zeal in religion. Upon this, several letters passed between our Bishops and Bullinger, Gualter, and the other Divines of Zurich.

Horn writes
to Zurich
upon these
divisions.

Horn, Bishop of Winchester, first writ to Gualter, on the sixteenth of July, and stated the matter clearly to him. He says, the Papists took advantage from this question about vestments, to say that Protestants could never agree. The act, he says, was made before they were in office, and, they had

no hand in making it. The act declared, that it was not out of any superstitious conceit that the vestments were enacted. The Bishops obeyed the law in a point which they thought indifferent. They had reason to fear, that, if they had left their stations on that account, their enemies would have come in their room: yet some thought they ought to let themselves be put out, rather than obey the law; others were of a different mind. He desires he would write his opinion as soon as possible. He says, they were in hopes to procure an alteration of the act in next Parliament; but he apprehended great difficulty in it, from the opposition of the Papists. It seems, he wrote in the same strain to Bullinger: for Bullinger writes an answer on the third of November. He says, he had heard of the division from others; but not knowing the whole state of the question, he was not forward to give his opinion, till he had received his letter. He laments the breach: he approves their zeal, who would purge the Church from all the dregs of Popery; and on the other side commends their prudence, who did not forsake the Church because of vestments. The end of ministry was edification; and if they left it, worse would come in their room, and ceremonies would be out of measure increased. As for those who made these laws, or were zealous for them, he confesses he is not pleased with them: if they are friends, they act unwisely; if enemies disguised, they lay snares: yet he thinks every thing of that sort should be submitted to, rather than forsake their ministry; especially when it was declared, that those vestments were to be used without any superstitious conceit. But he proposes to them to press the Queen and the nobility to go on and complete a reformation, which they had gloriously begun. Upon the whole he concludes, that as on one hand he would deal tenderly with weak consciences, so on the other he proposes St. Paul's rule of *becoming all things to all men*: He circumcised Timothy not to offend the Jews, though at

BOOK
IV.

1564.

Bullinger
justifies
those who
obeyed the
laws.

BOOK
IV.

1565.

He writes
to those
who would
not obey
them.

the same time he condemned those who imposed the Jewish yoke as necessary.

When Sampson and Humphreys knew what Bulinger and Gualter had writ concerning the vestments, they wrote them a copious account of the grounds of their refusal. He answered them, that he could not approve of officiating at an altar where there was a crucifix, or with a cope that had a crucifix on its back; but he understood their division was about wearing caps and surplices. He tells him how he and Gualter had answered Horn's letter; and sent them copies of those letters. He did not like such controversies, and did not willingly meddle in them. He thought laws might be made, prescribing decent habits to the Clergy; that this was not reviving the Levitical law, for every thing was not to be called so, which was practised by the Jews. Things were not to be rejected merely because they had some conformity to the Mosaical institution; nor was conformity to Popery a reason for rejecting every thing which they practised: otherwise, we must not use their churches, nor pronounce the Creed, nor the Lord's Prayer, because they use them. He says, it savoured more of a Jewish or monastic temper, to put religion in such matters. If it is pretended, that the obeying laws in indifferent matters was giving up our Christian liberty, that might very much provoke the magistrate. He gives some instances of the ancient Fathers using and mentioning the use of particular habits. He advises them, since these habits were not made matter of religion, not to set too great a value upon them, but to yield to the time, and behave themselves modestly. He did not approve laying a load of such things on people's necks, but some things may be appointed for order and discipline. Christ kept the feast of the Dedication, though appointed by no law of God. If it be said, the things commanded are not necessary, and are of no use; yet are they not for that to be condemned, nor are schisms to be raised on that account.

A copy of this was sent to Horn; and Grindal and he, apprehending the good effect it might have to settle the minds of those who were much shaken by the opposition that was made to the orders that had been set out, printed it.

Upon this, Sampson and Humphreys wrote over to Zurich, complaining of the printing of their letter; and complaining of several things besides vestments; of the music and organs; of sponsors answering in the child's name in baptism; of kneeling prescribed in the Communion, and of unleavened bread used there; of the want of discipline; that the marriage of the Clergy was not yet fixed, but their children were by some esteemed bastards; of some Popish rites still kept up; of the selling every thing in the Archbishop's court, as they used to do in the Pope's; of requiring subscriptions of ministers with relation to the ceremonies; and of their having mutilated the article in King Edward's time, which was expressly against the real Presence of the Eucharist. They owned that their letter had not fully satisfied them. They could not think the habits a mere civil thing, when they were the habits that served to dress up the theatrical pomp of Popery. They approve of setting rules concerning order; but these overturned the peace and quiet of the Church for things neither necessary, nor useful, that serve to recommend forms which all now abhor. The Papists boast that these habits were brought in by them, and that we imitate them. They say, in King Edward's time the surplice was not universally used, nor pressed; and the copes, that were then taken away, were now restored: so that, instead of extirpating Popery, we are planting it again. The superstition which the Papists had for these habits would return again if they used them; and they say, they were then as much esteemed as the monks' habits used to be. They did not put religion in habits, but only opposed those that did. They thought it gave authority to servitude to depart from their liberty. They did not desert their churches, but to their grief were driven from them.

BOOK
IV.

1565.

The letter
printed in
England.
Sampson
and Hum-
phreys' an-
swer.

BOOK
IV.

1565.

They leave their brethren to stand or fall to their own masters, and they only desire the same forbearance, though hitherto in vain. They say, the Queen was irritated against them by others. All that was pretended for the habits was, that they were lawful; not that they were good or expedient. Habits were marks of their profession, and they ought not to take them from their enemies. The ancient Fathers had their habits, but not distinct from the laity, or peculiar to Bishops. They had cited Bucer; but he was for taking away the order about habits, by reason of the abuse of them. They were far from any design of making a schism: they would not condemn things indifferent, as unlawful; and they wished the occasion of the contention, with the remembrance of it, were for ever buried. They who condemned the Papal pride could not like tyranny in a free Church. They desired a free synod to settle the matter, where things should not be carried according to the mind of one or two persons. They wished this Church would agree in rites, as well as doctrine, with the other reformed churches. They had a good opinion of their Bishops, and bore with their state and pomp. They had borne the same cross, and preached the same Christ with them: and why are they turned out of their benefices, and imprisoned, and publicly defamed, only for habits? The Bishops, they say, now stand upon it, as if the cause was their own; but to shew them that the dispute was not about a cap, they send them an abstract of some other things, which were the very rags of Popery.

Bullinger
and Gual-
ter's answer
to them.

Bullinger and Gualter answered this letter, telling them they did not expect their letters should fully satisfy them: they only writ their opinion, because they desired it; they were sorry they could not acquiesce in it; they would meddle no further. They thought it more expedient to submit to the use of the habits, than by refusing to be forced to leave their churches: they went no further, and did not approve of any Popish defilements, or superstitions. They knew nothing of those matters

of which they complain : they were things of greater moment than vestments ; and they hoped the letter they writ about the habits would not be stretched to those matters. They advised them not only to hold fast the truth, but to act as prudent stewards, and not to prejudice it by an over-eager or morose temper.

BOOK
IV.

1565.

Bullinger and Gualter, seeing the divisions like to go further than the matter of the vestments, thought the best service they could do their friends was, to write to the Earl of Bedford, being well assured of his zeal in matters of religion. They tell him, that when they first heard of the contention about vestments, they freely gave their opinions, that the Clergy ought not to desert their stations for things of so little importance, and leave them to be filled, perhaps, by wolves and deceivers. But they heard now, that not only the vestments are complained of, but many other things that plainly savour of Popery. They are sorry their private letter was printed, and their judgment of the vestments was extended to other things, of which they did in no sort approve ; and their opinion was made use of to cast a load on persons, whom they should rather compassionate in their sufferings, than study to aggravate them. It was a sensible grief to them to see the Church of England, scarce got out of the hands of their bloody enemies, now like to be pulled down by their own intestine broils. So, having a confidence in his affection to the Gospel, they pray him to intercede with the Queen and the nobility, in the Parliament that was soon to meet, for their brethren who were suffering, who deserved great regard for the sincere zeal they had shewn for religion, and since the only thing that they were solicitous about was, that religion should be purged from the dregs of popery. They beg him to employ his interest, that the Church of England, so happily reformed to the admiration of the world, may not be defiled with any of the remnants of Popery. This he says would look like a giddiness in them, and grievously offend all their brethren, both in

They wrote
to the Earl
of Bedford.

BOOK
IV.

1566.

Grindal and
Horn's let-
ter, shewing
their un-
easiness in
many
things.

France and Scotland, who are yet under the cross. The Papists, he says, will justify their tyrannical impositions by what is now done among them.

They write in the same strain to Grindal and Horn; who, understanding that those of Zurich were not pleased with their printing their letters, and having received from them several heads of things in the constitution of the Church, to which they excepted, wrote an answer jointly to them on the sixth of February. They say, when they printed their letter, they suppressed the names of those to whom it was directed. It had the good effect they expected: it had satisfied the minds of many, who were upon the point of leaving their churches, and others were silent and less violent in their opposition than they had been. Some few were turned out, but not of the learned sort, except Sampson, whom they own to be both pious and learned. Humphreys and other learned men were still continued in their stations. The letter they had printed related to vestments, and could not be applied to any thing else; nor was there any other question then on foot; and it was calumny to say their opinion was asked about any other matter. The Queen, and some of the nobility, were much provoked at the noise and complaints some had made. The Papists triumphed, and hoped to come in again. They attest the great God, that this dissension was not raised by any fault of theirs, and that it did not lie at their door, that these vestments were not quite taken away: they had laboured with the utmost earnestness and diligence to obtain what their brethren desired, and themselves wished for; but since they could not do what they would, they must be content with doing what they could. As to other particulars complained of, they deny some of them; and plainly own, they do not approve of others, such as the use of figured music, and organs, and women's baptizing; of the form of sponsors in baptism, which they openly declared they did not think convenient; the use of the cross, though the words spoken when it is made

shew that no superstitious conceit is kept up by it. They say, they suffer the posture of kneeling in the Sacrament, with the due caution set down in King Edward's book, declaring the reason for which it is used. For their courts, though they cannot entirely correct the abuses of them, yet they openly inveigh against them, and will continue to do so, till they send them back to hell, from whence they came. Every man, they say, has full freedom to declare his mind as to all these abuses. They had laboured to purge them out in the last Parliament; which, though it had not then its desired effect, yet they would not cease to do, till they brought it to a happy conclusion.

The other still insisted; and Sampson, in a letter to Bullinger, reduces the questions concerning habits to several heads, and desires a full and particular answer to them: but the Divines of Zurich wrote, that they would meddle no more in those matters.

In February, Jewel wrote to Bullinger, that he was so attacked by different hands, that it took him up wholly to answer them. He tells him of the great heat that was in the Parliament concerning the succession to the crown. The Queen would suffer no declaration to be made, though it was vehemently pressed on both sides: she was jealous that such a declaration would turn the eyes of the nation too much towards the rising sun.

He says, the controversy about the vestments had raised great heats; the Queen would hear of no change in that matter. Some of their brethren were so eager in that matter, as if the whole business of religion was concerned in it: they leave their stations rather than yield a little: nor were at all moved by their most learned letters, nor by the advices of their friends. He says, they had had no other important debates. Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester, professed himself openly a Lutheran in Parliament; but he was not like to have many followers.

In another letter soon after, he tells him, that

BOOK
IV.

1566.

Reflections
on this
matter

Cardinal Grandvill intended to cut off the intercourse between England and the Netherlands, hoping to provoke the English to break out into tumults: but the design turned upon himself; for the English resolving to settle their trade at Embden, the people of Flanders could not bear it. The Pope had sent an agent to Ireland to raise a flame there; but he was taken and sent over prisoner to England. In Scotland the Queen alone had the mass, all the nation being averse to it.

By Grindal's and Horn's letters it appears their zeal was only to preserve the Church in the Queen's favour, and in obedience to the laws. Yet in some letters writ to Zurich, by some of those that adhered to Sampson, there are complaints, that Parker, and Grindal, and Horn, were too much sharpened in this matter; and they pray them to endeavour to soften them: but they own that Pilkington of Durham, Sands of Worcester, and Parkhurst of Norwich, had shewn great moderation, and deserved thanks for it. They desire them to write to them all to proceed more mildly, and to endeavour to get those dregs of Popery removed, or at least to tolerate those who did not approve of them.

Other letters
written
to Zurich
by some
Bishops.

Pilkington, in a letter to Gualter, complains that the disputes begun about the vestments were carried through the whole constitution: the Papists blew the coals, and many were offended. The blame was cast on the Bishops. They suffer, he says, many things against their hearts, groaning under them; but they could not alter any thing without the Queen, nor could they change the laws: they had only this choice, whether they would bear these things, or break the peace of the Church.

Parkhurst owns that there are some things that do not please him, though many good people are pleased with all that is done; but, he says, there are very few things that he dare find fault with. Sands was of the same mind, and in a letter to Bullinger laments the occasion of this dispute, and hopes God will put an end to it. Sampson and

Humphreys wrote a long and particular answer to the letter that Grindal and Horn had sent to Bullinger. They complain, that the Archbishop had contributed to buy an organ for Canterbury, which did not look as if he disliked it; that many were put in prison for not providing godfathers and godmothers for baptizing their children; that many good things agreed to in the Convocation of 1562 were suppressed, for nothing was of force but as the Queen and the Archbishop consented; that the Bishops now took these matters upon themselves; that a church, which had been formed in London during the persecution in Queen Mary's days, with their ministers and deacons, and had continued all that time, though many of them were burnt, was now extinguished. But the Divines of Zurich wrote, that they would meddle no more in those matters. The last letter wrote upon this subject was, in August 1567, to the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich; expressing their grief that some learned men were deprived; that those who had given good proof of themselves in the Marian persecution were now not only turned out, but imprisoned. They hear that in Ireland many who have the same scruples are kept out of trouble, by the Queen's order, upon the intercession of the Bishops; which makes them think that the like favours might be obtained in England, if the Bishops would intercede with her Majesty for it; which might be the rather expected, since the Bishops own that it were better for the Church that these ceremonies were all laid aside, and affirm that they had often moved in Parliament that they might be taken away, that so the Church might be more pure, and less burdened. Therefore they do not doubt but they will, out of their piety, endeavour to procure favour to their brethren.

These letters give a clear and true account of the beginnings of these disputes, of which we have seen and still feel the unhappy consequences; and shew us plainly what was the sense of the most eminent

BOOK
IV.

and most learned of our Reformers in these matters.

1566.

The Queen
of Scots
marries the
Lord Darn-
ley.

In Scotland things were running into great disorder. The Queen, as she liked the person and easy temper of the Lord Darnley, so she was advised by her Council to the marriage. He was next heir to the crown of England after the Queen of Scots: for the Queen Dowager of Scotland, Henry the Eighth's sister, after King James the Fourth was killed, married the Earl of Angus: and though that marriage was afterwards declared to be null, by reason of a precontract, yet the daughter of it was declared legitimate, being born *bona fide* on the mother's part. The Lord Darnley being thus descended, and born in England, might have been a dangerous competitor to that crown; so it was good advice to the Queen to secure her succession by marrying him. When she married him, she declared him King, and put his name on the coin after her own. The qualities of his mind did not answer the gracefulness of his person. For some time he was in all things compliant to the Queen, but that lasted not long. She gained mightily upon people by her affable and obliging air, and by her seeming indifference in religion, which made them think she continued a Papist more out of honour and interest, than from her own persuasion.

She shews
more zeal in
her religion.

But they had other thoughts of her, when she began to express more zeal in those matters. Her kindred by her mother pushed her on, and she was animated, both from the Court of France, and Rome, to restore the Popish religion. On these hopes she opened her gates to all that would come to her mass, and had many masses said every day in her chapel. The Scotch nation did not easily bear with the private mass, which she had before only for herself, and a few servants who were of her religion; much less could they bear with this. So in the Parliament of 1563, a petition was offered by the noblemen, the superintendants, and ministers of the reformed religion, setting forth, That whereas the last convention of the Kirk had sent to the Queen certain articles,

1566.

to which they desired answer, to some of which the Queen had answered, and referred the rest to the present Parliament; so a full answer was now prayed. And whereas it was enacted, in the Parliament of 1560, that the mass and all Papistry should be put out of the realm, and Christ's religion be universally received; and whereas the Queen had by divers proclamations approved Christ's religion, and had promised that she would in this present Parliament establish it, and abolish all laws and constitutions contrary to the same; they desired, that the premises might be considered; and they laid before them the articles laid before the Queen, together with her answer, and the reply made to it by the Kirk.

In the articles they demand, First, That the mass, with all idolatry, and the Pope's power, be abolished, and the true religion ratified through the whole kingdom, as well in the Queen's person, as in the subjects, and that the people be required to resort to prayers and preaching on Sundays, as they were to the idolatrous mass before. Secondly, That the ministers may have maintenance assigned them, where they labour, or in parts adjacent, and not be put to crave them of others; and that benefices then vacant, or that shall become vacant, be given to learned persons, upon their trial and admission by the superintendants; and that no bishopric, abbey, or other benefice, having many churches annexed to it, be given to one man; but that they be severally disposed of, that every man may serve at his own church, and have a glebe and manse assigned him; and that the churches be kept in due repair. Thirdly, That none may have charge of souls, or publicly instruct youth, but such as are tried and admitted by the superintendants and visitors of the churches. Fourthly, That lands given for hospitals be restored for the use of the poor, and that all rents and profits belonging to any order of friars be applied to the same use. Fifthly, That horrid crimes, as blasphemy, sorcery, adultery, incest, and murder, with other crimes which they reckon up, be severely

The demands of
the reformed.

BOOK
IV.

1566.

The
Queen's
answer.

punished; and that order be taken about tithes, for the ease of the labourers of the ground.

To this the Queen answered, that she did not think there was any impiety in the mass; and hoped her subjects would not press her to receive any religion against her conscience, since she had not pressed, nor meant to press the conscience of any man, but left them to worship God according to their persuasion; and besides, by changing she might lose the friendship of her old ally the King of France, and of other Princes, from whom she might find great support. But when the Parliament meets, she would consent to every thing that the three estates should agree upon; and she renewed the assurance she had given, that men's lives and estates should be in no hazard for any cause of religion. As to the second article, the Queen thought it not reasonable to deprive herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as by putting the patronage of benefices out of her hands; yet she was contented to assign a reasonable maintenance for the ministers. She referred the other articles to the Parliament.

The reply
of the Kirk.

To this answer the Kirk replied, that the firmness she expressed to the mass gave great grief to her good subjects. They say, their religion was no other than that which Christ revealed, and the Apostles taught: they require her in the name of God to embrace the means whereby she may be persuaded of the truth; which they offered to her by preaching, or by public disputation, whenever she thought fit. As to the prejudice that would follow her changing her religion, by its dissolving her alliances with France, and other foreign Princes; they answer, that true religion is the certain means to keep up a confederacy with him who is King of kings, which ought more to be valued than all other confederacies. As to the second article; they did not intend to defraud her of the patronages, but only that the persons presented by her should be tried by the superintendants appointed for that end; for as the presentation belonged to her, so the collation

belonged to the Church; the contrary would introduce ignorance and disorder into the Church. They tell her, it is against all good conscience to retain a good part of the benefices in her own hands. They were desirous to have her necessities relieved; but the tithes are the patrimony of the Church, out of which those who serve in the ministry ought to be relieved, the churches repaired, and the youth instructed. They conclude with thanking her for her willingness that the ministry be provided for; and pray that she would come to particulars in that matter.

But these petitions were still put off; and the Queen, by her practice among the nobility, began to divide them into factions. When these petitions were read to her, she said, *she would do nothing in prejudice to the religion she professed*, and in wrath told them, *she hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass and the Catholic religion professed through the whole kingdom.*

The Queen managed the Parliament so dexterously, that neither the treaty of Leith, nor the settlement of religion made in the Parliament, 1560, were named, much less confirmed in this Parliament. Some small provision was made for the ministers; and acts were made, punishing sorcery and adultery with death. An act of oblivion passed for all that was done from March 1558, to September 1561. But the Parliament of 1560 came to be looked upon as an illegal assembly. Upon this the whole body of the reformed were much alarmed, and their jealousy increased by the Queen's marrying the Lord Darnley, who had been bred a strict Papist, and though he pretended now to be a Protestant, yet suspected of favouring Popery, as he afterwards returned to the open profession of it. This gave occasion to a much bolder petition, in which the body of the reformed set forth, that the true religion was established in that nation, and the mass, with all the idolatry and tyrannical usurpations of the Pope, suppressed, and they were going on to a perfect reformation: but that all had been

BOOK
IV.

1566.

stopped now for four years; that on the Queen's arrival the mass was set up again, and men put into offices, to which they had no right: from such beginnings, they saw what they were to look for: things grew daily worse and worse: but they hoped God would mollify her heart, out of their desire to maintain the public peace: they therefore prayed her to think of redressing these matters, and to answer their other petitions; assuring her of all due obedience to her laws and authority, but desiring her to give no occasion to think that she intended the subversion of the true religion, and the destruction of those who professed it; for, they assure her, they will never be subject to the Roman Antichrist, nor suffer (as far as it lay in their power to hinder it) any branches of his usurped authority to have place within the realm. This prevailed no more than their other petitions had done.

Some few particulars relating to the affairs of Scotland are set forth in the letters to Zurich. Parkhurst writes to Bullinger in the year 1566, that an Italian, called Signior David, who was in great favour with the Queen, was dragged out of her room, and stabbed by many hands; an Abbot, and one Black, a Dominican, much esteemed among the Papists, were also killed in the court. The lords who were then sitting in council escaped with their lives. Since that time the Queen had brought forth a prince: she was reconciled to her husband, and called home her half-brother, and the lords that were of the reformed side. The Queen's son was not yet baptized, though he was ten weeks old, for she intended to do it with great pomp, in the great church of Edinburgh, after the Popish manner, though the inhabitants were resolved to hinder it. He apprehended she would bring over a force from France: he prays God either to convert or to confound her.

About the same time, Grindal likewise wrote to Bullinger, and after speaking a little of the affairs of England, and expressing his hopes of coming to a better temper in their disputes, he turns to the affairs

1566.

of Scotland, where he writes that things were in no good state. They retained the profession of the truth, but the Queen endeavoured to extirpate it. She had now six or seven masses every day said in her chapel, and admitted all that would come; whereas at first she was contented with one private mass, to which no Scotchman was admitted. She had for three years stopped all payment of the ministers. There were no public changes yet made: the nobility and people continued firm; of whom he reckons the Earl of Murray the chief. The Queen was in very ill terms with her husband; for there was one David, an Italian, recommended to her by the Cardinal of Lorrain, who governed all the councils there, and was Secretary of State. The King finding he had no regard to him, and being young and rash, entered into a conspiracy with some of the nobility, and having dragged the Italian out of the Queen's presence, notwithstanding her entreaties to save him, murdered him without any cause declared. This stuck so deep in the Queen's heart, that, though she had a son by him, she could never forgive him.

1567.

Grindal wrote another letter to Bullinger in June 1567, in which he tells him, that Scotland is fallen into new troubles; for their late King Henry was found dead in a garden near his lodgings. It was not agreed how he died; some said that a few barrels of gunpowder were laid under the chamber where he lay, and those being kindled, the house was blown up, and he thrown into that garden. Others said, that he was dragged out of his chamber and strangled, and then the house was blown up. The Earl of Bothwell was generally thought author of this murder. He had divorced his wife, and the Queen had married him, and made him Duke of Orkney. Almost all the nobility had left the Court before the marriage, finding no enquiry made into the King's murder. They met at Stirling, and laid the murder to Bothwell. Upon which an army was brought together to seize him, but he had made his escape: some said the Queen was besieged in a cas-

BOOK
IV.

1567.

tle; others, that she was made prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, as having been conscious of the murder of her husband.

To confirm this, there is another relation that may be more certainly depended upon. It is in the *Life of Cardinal Laurea*, writ by his secretary, the Abbot of Pignerol. Pope Pius the Fifth sent Laurea to be his Nuncio in Scotland, to assist and encourage the Queen in her zeal. He sent with him twenty thousand crowns, as an earnest of further supplies, and wrote to her with his own hand, recommending the Nuncio to her. When he came to Paris, he received letters from the Scotch Queen, expressing her desire that he should come as soon as may be, but desiring him to delay his coming till she might have all things prepared for his reception. Upon which he sent her over four thousand crowns, and wrote to her, pressing her vehemently to be of a courageous mind, and to restore the Catholic religion in her kingdom. Three months passed before Laurea had any intimation from the Queen concerning his coming over. Upon which he pressed her earnestly by messages and letters to admit him.

The Queen held a convention of the estates, and had obtained, not without difficulty, that her child should be baptized according to the rites of the Church of Rome; and that the Pope's Nuncio should be admitted with due respect: upon which the Nuncio designed to go to Antwerp, as a safer way than by Calais. But he says, that such a barbarous and impious crime was committed in Scotland, that it gave horror to think of it, much more to write of it. He tells the story thus: The King had the small-pox, and, not to endanger the Queen, had retired to a house at some distance from the palace. As he recovered, he was often visited by her. One day they supped together, and she left him, pretending she was obliged to see one of her maids of honour (who was married that day) put to bed, according to the custom of former queens. She was scarce gone, when some gunpowder, that

was laid under the house, was fired, and the house was blown up, and the King killed. Some say he was not blown up, but that, hearing the noise of armed men, he got out by a back door into a neighbouring garden; and that he and one of his servants were strangled before the house was blown up. It is certain the King's body was found with no hurt, only a blackness all round his neck. All people were struck with horror on this base murder; and libels were published upon it. Bothwell was discovered to be the cruel author of it. He, though a heretic, had been always zealous for the Queen, and faithful to her, and had rescued her lately from a great danger in a sedition. The Queen loved him desperately, and he had divorced his wife, in hopes of marrying her. The Queen, fearing some tumult, thought fit to leave Edinburgh. So she carried her son with her to Stirling; probably having agreed with Bothwell how matters should be managed. One day, as she went a hunting, Bothwell seemed to surprise her, and seize her by force: when she came back with him to the castle, she presently made him Duke of Orkney, and declared him her husband. Upon this, the minds of the people were mightily inflamed; and a tumultuary army being in haste brought to Edinburgh, they marched to Stirling. When the Queen heard of it, she, with a few women, and some of her court, went to them. They received her with due respect. They, being asked why they came thither armed, made answer, they came only to punish Bothwell for his crimes, in the base and cruel murder of the King, and the force put upon her person. The Queen justified Bothwell, and said, he had done nothing but by her consent. This provoked them so, that they all cried out with one voice, *Then, Madam, you shall be our prisoner*; and without delay they imprisoned her there in a castle within an island in Lochleven, with only one footman and two ordinary women to attend her.

Thus the Nuncio understood the matter: and it is probable he had not only the best informations,

BOOK
IV.

1567.

but the best disposition also to favour the Queen, if it had been possible. There is one curious passage more in this life. He gives an account of the will which she wrote in French the night before she was beheaded. In it she professes her zeal for the Catholic religion; and provides, that, if her son does not renounce his false and heretical persuasion, the crown of England should never descend to him, but devolve to Philip King of Spain. This will the Cardinal, and another Englishman, having compared the writing with her own hand in her letters, attested and delivered, so confirmed, to the Count of Olivares, the King of Spain's ambassador, that it might be transmitted to that King.

Papists
joined with
Protestants.

The Scotch nation, Papists as well as Protestants, concurred in the new settlement, as appears by the first bond of association, which was entered into upon the resignation of the crown, which the Queen was prevailed upon to make, (by force, as she afterwards said, when she had made her escape.) The Queen resigned her crown formally at Edinburgh, July the twenty-fourth, 1567, to her son; and, during his infancy, named the Earl of Murray regent: and the Council removing to Stirling, the resignation was presented and received by several of the nobility, in the name of the three estates. The Earl of Morton took the coronation-oath in the name of the Prince, who was anointed and crowned by the Bishop of Orkney, who had a few days before married Bothwell to the Queen. The bond they entered into upon that was, that the Queen being weary of the government, and desiring to see her son settled in the kingdom in her life time, had resigned the crown to him: they therefore promised, and bound themselves to assist the King in setting him on the throne, and putting the crown upon his head; and that they would give him their oaths of homage, with all dutiful obedience to him, as became true subjects, and would concur in establishing him in his kingdom, and resist all such as should oppose him. To this

bond were two hundred hands, of the most eminent families in the kingdom : twenty-five of them were then Earls and Lords, and fifteen others, who have been since that time advanced to the nobility.

Besides this bond, they entered into another, in April, 1569, by which they not only acknowledged the King's authority, but likewise (during his minority) the authority of the Earl of Murray as regent, renouncing all other authority. They all swore to this; and, if they failed in observing it, were contented to be counted false, perjured, and defamed for ever. This was signed by several lords, who had not signed the former. These were for the greatest part Protestants, but many Papists joined with them; so that whatever was done against the Queen was done, not upon the grounds of the Reformation, but upon a national account, in which all sides concurred.

1569.

In all this, the Queen of England had secretly a hand, how much soever it was disguised, or denied. The interest of state was clearly on her side; for the house of Guise, who had formed great projects in France, laid a main part of their scheme in advancing the Queen of Scotland to the crown of England; and, in view of that, many plots were formed to destroy that glorious Queen. They practised likewise on the King of Scotland, promising, that, if his mother was advanced to the crown of England, he should still be King of Scotland. They engaged him to continue unmarried, though he was the only person of his family. They durst not venture on a Popish match, till their great design on the crown of France had succeeded; and would by no means suffer him to marry into a Protestant family.

The reasons
that moved
Queen Eli-
zabeth to
be jealous
of the King
of Scotland.

The Queen of England, with her wise Council, understanding all this practice, raised those jealousies of his religion, and made such discoveries of the secret correspondence he was in with the house of Guise, that to this all the troubles that the Kirk gave him were chiefly owing.

BOOK
IV.

1569.

The con-
clusion.

But as these practices had a fatal conclusion with relation to the unfortunate Queen Mary; so when, on the murder of the Duke of Guise, and the successes of the beginning of Henry the Fourth of France's reign, all the projects of that ambitious and persecuting house were at an end, the King of Scotland married a daughter of Denmark, and continued ever after in a confidence with the Queen of England, which secured to him the succession to that crown.

With this the history is concluded, which is gone beyond the first design of it, which was only to open the first settlement of the Reformation in the Isle of Great-Britain, in order to give an account of some other important matters, which bear a very near relation to it. And now it may be looked upon as an authentic history of a series of great transactions, honestly, though often feebly conducted, with good intentions and happy beginnings, though not carried on to the perfection that was designed and wished for.

THE END.

