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The History of the Reformation. Abridged.

By Gilbert Burnet, D.D.

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THE
VARIOUS
HISTORY
AND
COMMISSION
OF THE
ECONOMY
OF THE
FRIGHT OF ENGLAND

BY
M. DE LA VALETTE

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THE

PREFACE.

He Bulk and Price of the two Volumes of the History of our Reformation which I have published, being such, that every one cannot find the Money to buy them, or the Leisure to read them, I have been desired by many to contract what I prosecuted more largely in that Work, and bring it into a less Compass.

I know Abridgments are generally hurtful: In them Men receive such a slight Tincture of Knowledge, as only feeds Vanity, and furnishes Discourse, but does not give so clear a View of things, nor so solid an Instruction as may be had in more copious Writings. And as it is a grievous Imposition on that time which ought to be imploied to better uses, to draw out that which might be expressed in few words, to such a length, that it frights some from the study of Books.
Books, which might have been of excellent use, if they had not been too Voluminous; and oppress the Patience of those who are resolved to acquire Knowledge in the most labourious Methods; so it is on the other hand a great Prejudice to the Improvement of Learning, when things are too much contracted, and such hints are only given, as may be the Seeds of excellent Notions; perhaps in very rich and fruitful Minds: for copious Enlargements are often necessary to make the greatest part who are generally slow and heavy in their Apprehensions, enter into those Notions which we set before them. It is a true Judgment of Men and Things, that must direct us to seek and keep that Mean betwixt those Extreams that may be of the greatest Advantage to the World.

What is said of Notions and Matters of Science, is likewise applicable to Matters of Fact. History is of little use, if we consider it only as a Tale of what was transacted in former times. Then it becomes most profitable, when the Series and Reasons of Affairs, and secret Councils and Ends, together with the true Characters of Eminent Men, are rightly presented to us, that so upon the light which is given us of past times, we may form Prudent Judgments of the present time, and probable Conjectures of what is to come; and may frame such a true Idea of Men and Parties, as may both enlighten our Understandings more by giving us a freer Prospect of Humane Affairs, and may better direct us in our conduct.

This
The Preface.

This made me judge it necessary to open things in my History as largely as my Materials could serve me: and because I writ upon a subject that had been much contradicted, I was obliged not only to add a great Collection of Records for my Justification, which makes the half of each Volume, but likewise in the History itself, to give often an account of the grounds on which I went. I also added an Appendix, containing the more remarkable Calumnies, by which the Writers of the Roman Communion have endeavoured to corrupt the History of that time; together with a Confutation of them. I was likewise careful to set down many particular Curiosities relating to the Proceedings of Parliament, of the Importance of which, every Reader will not be aware at first. I gave also a large account of all the Arguments that prevailed with the Divines, as well as the Reasons that wrought on States-men, in the changes that were made; in which the Reader may find an Apology for the Reformation, interwoven with its History.

In all these particulars, there was matter enough for an Abridger to cut off a great deal, and yet to give such an account of the whole Transaction, as might in a great measure satisfy even Inquisitive Persons. I understood that another was about this, which made me resolve on doing it myself; for none can so truly comprehend, and by consequence abridge any Book as the Author himself; who, as he knows his own meaning best; so he who has fixed his Thoughts long
The Preface.

upon my Argument, will be best able to judge what are the things and Circumstances that are of the greatest Importance, and are most necessary to be rightly understood. In compiling this Abridgment, I have wholly waved every thing that belonged to the Records, and the Proof of what I relate, or to the Confutation of the falsehoods that run through the Popish Historians. All that is to be found in the History at large; and therefore in this Abridgment every thing is to be taken upon trust, and those that desire a fuller Satisfaction, are to seek it in the Volumes which I have already published. The Particulars relating to the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament could not be brought within so short an Abstract. Many Digressions, and the Deductions of Arguments, are either past over, or but shortly touched. He that desires to be particularly informed in any or all of these, must resort to the History it self.

All that I pretend to have done in this Abridgment is, that I have given a true and clear account of the Progress of the Reformation, in all those Windings, and Advances, and Declinings, through which it was carried from its first beginnings, till it was brought to a compleat settlement under Queen Elizabeth: and this is done in such a manner, that I hope the Reader shall not find much cause to complain that the endeavouring to be short has made me either obscure or defective. In the Prefaces to the two Volumes I endeavoured to clear the Readers mind of the Prejudices which may be apt to arise
The Preface.

The Preface.

either from a slight and general View of this matter, or from the false Relations that have been formerly made of it. I shall not undertake to abridge them, for I brought them there into as narrow a compass as the weight of the matter did admit of: Therefore I refer the Reader that Labours under the ill Effects of such Impressions, to the Prefaces themselves; and I shall add here that which is the last part of the Preface to the second Volume, because it may be of more general use, and is accommodated to all, that as may be supposed, will have the curiosity to read this Abridgment, that so they may come to it with a true Idea of the Nature of Religion in general, and of the Christian Religion in particular.

That Religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and securing the Peace of every mans Conscience, and of the Societies of Mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it, all will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be judged by its Relation to the main ends of it; And since the Christian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was designed. And all the Additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the World, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest at first View, that they were intended to serve carnal
The Preface.

carnal and secular ends. What can be reasonably supposed in the Papacy, where the Popes are chosen by such Intrigues, either of the two Crowns, the Nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of some aspiring Men, to entitle them to Infallibility or Universal Jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, or preserving them from it by tricks, or some mean Pageantry, but that it is a foul piece of Merchandise? What is to be said of Implicit Obedience, the Priestly Dominion over Consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the Peoples hands, and the Worship of God in a strange Tongue? but that these are so many Arts to hoodwink the World, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy. What can we think of Superstition and Idolatry of Images, and all the other pomp of the Roman Worship? but that by these things the people were to be kept up in a gross notion of Religion, as a splendid business, and that the Priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands. And to sum up all, What can we think of that Constellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose? but that it is an Art to bring the World by whole sale to renounce their Reason and Sense, and to have a most wonderful Veneration for a sort of Men who can with a Word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was.
I should grow too large for a Preface, if I would pursue this Argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy Religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go no where else out of this Church to find them; and that we are completely instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the End of our Faith, the Salvation of our Souls. Here we have the Rule of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for past sins clearly set before us. We believe all that Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: We have the comfort of all those Sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: All the helps to Devotion that the Gospel offers are in every one's hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a Church so well constituted? unless a blind Superstition in their temper, or a desire to get Heaven in some easier Method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their Understandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable, that it looks like a Curse from Heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other sins; for an ordinary Measure of Infatuation cannot carry any one so far in Folly. And it may be laid down for a certain Maxim, that such as leave us, have never had a true and well formed Notion of Religion, or of Christianity in its main and chief Design; but take things in parcels.
The Preface.

parcels, and without examining them, suffer themselves to be carried away by some prejudices which only darken weaker judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable Folly for any to forsake our Communion, and go over to those of Rome, it is at the same time an unexcusable weakness in others who seem full of zeal against Popery, and yet upon some inconsiderable Objections do depart from the Unity of the Body, and form separated Assemblies and Communions; though they cannot object anything material either to our Doctrine or Worship: But the most astonishing part of the wonder is, that in such differences there should be so little mutual forbearance or gentleness to be found: and that they should raise such heats as if the substance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a stroke from Heaven on both sides, for their other sins: We of the Church-Communion have trusted too much to the supports we receive from the Law, we have done our Duties too lightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to punish and awaken us, has suffered so many of our people to be wrested out of our hands: and those of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themselves, and have been too compliant with the Leaders of their several Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are punished with this fatal blindness, not to see at this time the things that belong to our peace.
The Preface.

And this leads me to Reflections of another sort, with which I shall conclude this Preface.

It is apparent the Wrath of God hangs over our Heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill Condition are as sad as they are visible: and one of the worst is, that each Sort and Party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themselves, and cast it on others, with whom they are displeased: But no Man says, What have I done? The Clergy accuse the Laity, and the Country complains of the City: everyone finds out somewhat wherein he thinks he is least concerned, and is willing to fix on that all the Indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we our selves have kindled against our selves. It cannot be denied, since it is so visible, that generally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those effects among us which might have been expected, after so long and so free a course as it has had in this Island. Our wise and worthy Progenitors re-formed our Doctrine and Worship; but we have not re-formed our Lives and Manners: what will it avail us to understand the right Methods of worshipping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick Offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a Bead-roll of Prayers in whatsoever Language they are pronounced? What signifies our having the Sacraments purely administered among us, if we either contemptuously neglect them.
them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a sense of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great Attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching signify, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Sermons only as set Discourses, which they will censure or commend as they think they see cause, but are resolved never to be the better for them? If to all these sad Considerations we add the gross Sensuality and Impurity, that is so avowedly practised that it is become a fashion, so far it is from being a reproach; the Oppression, Injustice, Intemperance, and many other Immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that these Abominations receiving the highest Aggravation they are capable of, from the clear Light of the Gospel which we have so long enjoyed, the just Judgments of Heaven, should fall on us so signally, as to make us a reproach to all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the measure of our Iniquities, many have arrived at a new pitch of Impiety, by defying Heaven itself, with their avowed Blasphemies and Atheism: and if they are driven out of their Atheistical Tenets, which are indeed the most ridiculous of any in the World, they set up their rest on some general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Christianity and the Scriptures, with open
The Preface.

nd impudent scorn, and are absolutely insen-
sible of any Obligation of Conscience in any
thing whatsoever: and even in that Morality,
which they for Decencies sake magnify so much,
one are more bare-facedly and grossly faulty.
This is a direct Attempt against God himself,
and can we think that he will not visit for such
things, nor be averted on such a Nation? 
And yet the Hypocrisy of those who disguise
their flagitious Lives, with a Mask of Religio-
on, is perhaps a Degree above all, though not
so scandalous till the Mask falls off, and that
they appear to be what they truly are. When
we are all so guilty, and when we are so alarm-
ed by the black Clouds that threaten such ter-
rible and lasting Storms, what may be expected
but that we should be generally struck with a deep
sense of our crying Sins, and turn to God with
our whole Souls? But if after all the loud A-
wakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to
that Voice, but will still go on in our Sins, we
may justly look for unheard of Calamities, and
such Miseries as shall be proportioned to our Of-
fences; and then we are sure they will be great
and wonderful.

Yet if on the other hand there were a general
turning to God, or at least if so many were right-
ly sensible of this, as, according to the Proport-
tion that the Mercies of God allow, did some
way balance the Wickedness of the rest, and if
these were as zealous in the true Methods of im-
ploring God's Favour, as others are in procuring
his Displeasure; and were not only mourning for
their own Sins, but for the Sins of others; the
Prayers
The Preface.

Prayers and Sighs of many such, might dissipate that dismal Cloud which our sins have gathered; and we might yet hope to see the Gospel take root among us: since that God who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of Compassion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us, is still so dear to him, that if we by our own unworthiness do not render our selves incapable of so great a Blessing, we may reasonably hope that he will continue that which at first was by so many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued Series of the same indulgent care advanced by Degrees, and at last raised to that pitch of perfection which few things attain in this World.
THE
CONTENTS.

Book I.

Of the Beginnings of the Reformation, and of the Progress made in it by King Henry the Eighth.

The Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster, in King Hen. the 8th, 1
Empson and Dudley disgraced, 2
He is very Liberal, ibid
Is successful in his Wars, 3
He is courted both by France and Spain, 4
Francis the Ist is taken Prisoner, 5
And afterwards the Pope, 7
Scotland in disorder, ibid
Factions in the English Council, 8
Cardinal Wolsey's Rise, ibid
And Greatness, 9
Charles Brandon's Advancement, 10
The King is well with his Parliament, 11
The King's Education, 12
His Learning and Vanity, 13
The way of promoting Bishops, ibid
A Contest for the Ecclesiastical Immunity, 14
Hunn Imprisoned, Murdered, and his Body burnt, 16

The
The Contents.

The King much additied to the Papacy, Car. 20
Wolsey intends to reform the Clergy, ibid
The summoning of Convocations, 21
The State of the Monasteries, 22
Wolsey suppresses many, 23
The Progress of Wicliff's Doctrine, ibid
The Cruelty of the Clergy, 24
Laws made against Hereticks, 25
Warham persecutes the Lollards, 27
The Progress of Luther's Doctrine, 29
The King writes against him, 30
The King's Marriage, 32
Matches proposed for his Daughter, 33
The King has scruples about his Marriage, 34

1627.
And applies to the Pope for a Divorce, 37
Who is very favourable, 38

1528.
Campegio sent as Legate to try it, 40
He comes into Engl. with a Decretal Bull, 42
Campana sent over to deceive the King, 43
The Pope resolved to join with the Emperor, 44

1529.
The Pope's Sickness, 45
Wolsey aspires to the Popedom, 46
The Pope promises to confirm the Sentence that should be given by the Legates, 47
The Process begins in England, 50
The Queen appeals to the Pope, 51
The Pope grants an Avocation, 52
Cranmer's Rise, and Wolsey's Disgrace, 54

1530.
A Parliament is called, 56
The King's Debts are discharged, 57

Univer-
The Contents.

Universities declare against the Marriage, 58
It is condemned by the Sorbon, 60
The Opinions of the Reformers about it, 61
The English Nobility write to the Pope about it, and he answers them, 62
Arguments for the Divorce, 63
Arguments against it, 66

1531.

A Session of Parliament, 69
The Laws formerly made against the Pope's Bulls, ibid
The Clergy sued in a Premunire, 76
Poisoning made Treason, 78
The King leaves the Queen, ibid
A Tumult among the Clergy, ibid
The Pope joins himself to France, 79

1532.

Differences betwixt the King and the House of Commons, 81
The Pope writes to the King, 82
The King answers, 83
The King cited to Rome, and Cardinals corrupted, 84
The Bishops Oaths to the Pope and the King, 87
More lays down his Office, 88
The King of England and France meet, 89
The King marries Ann Boleyn, 90

1533.

The Parliament condemns Appeals to Rome, 91
Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury, 92
The Convocation condemns the Marriage, 93
Cranmer gives Sentence, with the Censure, of it, 95
The Proceedings at Rome upon it, 98
Queen Elizabeth born, 99

The
The Contents.

The Pope promises to satisfy the King, ibid
But proceeds hastily to a Sentence, 102
Arguments for rejecting the Pope's Power, 103
And for the King's Supremacy, 106
The Clergy submit to it, 108

1534.
The Pope's Power condemned in Parliament, 109
The Act of the Succession, 110
An Act concerning Heretics, 111
The Submission of the Convocation, 112
An Act for the Election of Bishops, 113
The Attainder of the Nun of Kent, 114
All swear the Oath of Succession, 119
Fisher Bishop of Rochester is in trouble, ibid
But is very obstinate, 121
More and Fisher refuse the Oath, ibid
Another Session of Parliament establishes the King's Supremacy, 123
The Progress of the Reformation in England, 125
The Supplication of the Beggars, 127
Frith writes against Purgatory, 128
A Persecution set on by More, 129
Bilney's Martyrdom, ibid
Frith's Sufferings, 133
A stop put to further Cruelties, 135
The Interest the Reformers had at Court, 136
Others oppose them much, 137
The Opinion of some Bishops of a General Council, 138
Heads of a Speech of Cranmer's, 139
The state of England at that time, 141

1535.
A General Visititation proposed, 144
Instructions and Injunctions for it, ibid
The state of the Monasteries in England, Some
The Contents.

Some Houses surrendered to the King, 1536.

Queen Katherine's Death, 151
The lesser Monasteries suppressed, 152
A Translation of the Bible designed, 153
Queen Ann Boleyn's Fall, 155
Her Trial, 159
And Execution, 162
Censures past upon it, 164
Lady Mary's Submission to the King, 165
The Act of the Succession, 167
The Pope desires a Reconciliation with the K. 168
Acts against the Pope's Power, ibid
The Convocation examines some Points of
Religion, 169
Articles of Religion agreed on, 172
Which are variously censured, 174
Other Alterations proposed, 175
The King protest against all Councils called
by the Pope, 178
Card. Pool writes against him, 179
The lesser Monasteries seized on, 181
Which gave a general discontent, 182
Injunctions given by the King, 184
A Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 186
Another in Yorkshire, 187
They are everywhere quieted, 191
Greater Monasteries surrendered, 193
Some Abbots Attainted, 196
The Impositions of some Images discovered, 200
Becket's Shrine broken, 201
The Pope thunders against the King, 203
The English Bishops assert the King's Superiority, and explain the Nature of the
Power of the Church, 205

2 a 3
The Contents.

The Bible set out in English, and new In-

junctions, 208

Prince Edward born, 209

Lambert is condemned, and burnt for de-

nying the Corporal Presence, 210

Treaties with the German Princes, 213

1539.

The Act of the six Articles, 215

Censures past upon it, 219

An Act for the suppressing the Monasteries, 220

An Act for new Bishopricks, 222

An Act for Proclamations, 224

Some Attainted without being heard, 225

The King’s kindness to Cranmer, 226

Bishops hold their Sees at the King’s Plea-

sure, 228

All the Monasteries suppress’d, 229

A Treaty for a Match with Ann of Cleve, 233

The King marries her, but never likes her, 234

The Knights of St. John suppressed, 236

A new Parliament, 238

Cromwel’s Fall, 238

His Attain’d, 240

Censures past upon it, 241

The King’s Marriage annul’d, 242

Cromwel’s Death, 246

A Book of Religion set out by the Bishops, 247

The Explanation of Faith, 248

And of the Sacraments, 250

The Book is published, 253

Bishops and others fall into Trouble, 255

And burnt, 257

New Sees founded, 260

1541.

The Bible set up in Churches, 262

The
# The Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Affairs of Scotland</th>
<th>264</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>A Persecution set on foot in Scotland</em></td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Queen's ill Life is discovered</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1542.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A design to suppress the Bible</th>
<th>274</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bonner's Injunctions</td>
<td>ibid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The way of Preaching at that time</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A War with Scotland</em></td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1543.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Parliament called</th>
<th>280</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An Act about Religion</td>
<td>ibid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affairs in Scotland</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some burnt at Windfor</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cranmer's Ruine is designed</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1544.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Act of the Succession</th>
<th>288</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The King makes War on France and Scotland</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The King takes Bulloign</em></td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1545.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wilhart burned in Scotland</th>
<th>292</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Beaton is murdered</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chantries given to the King</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1546.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Peace with France</th>
<th>297</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ann Aiscough and others burnt</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designs against Cranmer</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And against the Queen</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Duke of Norfolk's Fall</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1547.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Earl of Surrey executed</th>
<th>304</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Duke is Attainted in Parliament</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King's Sickness</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 4</td>
<td>And</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Contents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>And Death, His Severities against Papists,</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Carthusians in particular,</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher's Sufferings,</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More's Death and Character,</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attainders after the Rebellions,</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forrealt burnt for Heresy,</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Pool's Friends Attainted,</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Attainted without being heard</td>
<td>ibid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Conclusion</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King Edward's Birth and Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Henry's Testament</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Protector chosen</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops take out Commissions,</td>
<td>ibid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Creation of Noblemen</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laymen had Ecclesiastical Dignities</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some take down Images</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arguments for, and against it</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King's Funeral</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soul Masses examined</td>
<td>ibid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Coronation</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chancellor turned out</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protetors Patent</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Affairs of Germany</td>
<td>ibid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Council of Trent</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divisions in England</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Visitation of all Churches</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Censures on the Injunctions</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Contents.

The War with Scotland, 28
The Battle of Musselburgh, 31
The Success of the Visitation, 32
A Parliament meets, 35
An Act of Repeal, ibid
An Act about the Sacrament, 36
An Act concerning the Nomination of Bishops, 37
An Act against Vagabonds, 39
An Act for dissolving the Chantries, 40
The Convocation sits, ibid
The Affairs of Germany, 43
Differences between the Protector and the Admiral, 45

1548.
The M. of Northampton's Divorce, 48
Some Ceremonies abrogated, 49
A new Office for the Communion, 52
Auricular Confession examined, 54
Gardiner is imprisoned, 56
A new Liturgy composed, 58
The new Offices, 61
Private Communion, 62
Censures past on the Common-Prayer Book, 63
All Preaching was for some time restrained, 64
Affairs in Scotland, 65
Affairs in Germany, 67

1549.
A Session of Parliament, 69
An Act for the Marriage of the Clergy, ibid
An Act confirming the Liturgy, 72
An Act for Fasting, 73
The Admirals Attainder, 74
A new Visitation, 77

Disputes
The Contents.

Disputes concerning Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, 79
Arguments against the Corporal Presence, 81
Anabaptists in England, 85
Two were burnt, 84
The Doctrine of Predestination abused, 87
Tumults in several parts of England, ibid
The Rebellion in Devonshire, 89
And in Norfolk, 91
The French begin a War, ibid
The Rebels everywhere routed, 92
A Visititation at Cambridge, 94
Bonner's Process, 95
And Deprivation, 100
Ill Success of the English, 101
Several Expedients proposed, 105
The Emperor refuses his Assistance, 106
A Faction against the Protector, 108
Which turns to a Publick Breach, 110
The Protector's Fall, 112
The Emperor will not assist them, 114
A Session of Parliament, ibid.

1550.
The Duke of Somerset fined, but restored into Favour, 116
A Progress of the Reformation ibid.
The Book of Ordinations put out, 117
Pool chosen Pope, but lost it, 120
A Treaty with France, 122
Ridley made Bishop of London, 123
Gardiner's Process, 124
Latimer preaches at Court, 126
Hooper made Bishop of Gloucester has some Scruple concerning the Vestments, ibid

A
The Contents.

A review of the Common-Prayer Book,  128
Bucer offers some Advices to the King.  130
The King's great Knowledge, ibid
Altars put down,  131
Affairs of Scotland,  132
And Germany,  133

1551.
The Popish Party comply generally,  134
Bucer's Death,  135
Gardiner's Deprivation,  136
The Articles of Religion agreed on,  138
Changes made in the Com. Prayer Book,  139
Lady Mary in trouble for having Mass said,  142
The Earl of Warwick's Designs,  147
A Treaty for a Marriage to the King,  149
The Duke of Somerset's Fall,  150
His Tryal,  151
Rich gives up the Great Seal, and it was given to the Bishop of Ely,  154
The Duke of Somerset's Execution,  156
The Affairs of Germany,  158

1552.
A Session of Parliament,  161
An Act against Usury,  164
A Repeal of the Settlement of the Duke of Somerset's Estate,  165
Tontall is imprisoned,  166
A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws,  167
The Heads of it,  169
The Poverty of the Clergy,  174
Affairs in Ireland,  175
A Change in the Garter,  177
Northumberland's Severity,  178
Trade flourishes much,  179
Cardan
The Contents:

Cardan in England, 180
Affaires in Scotland, 183
The Affairs in Germany, 185
An Account of the Council of Trent, 187
The Emperours Designs are blasted, 189

1553.
A Bill proposed, that Laymen should not hold Church Dignities, 191
An Act suppressing the Bishoprick of Durham,
Another Visitation, ibid 192
Bishops made by the King's Patent, 193
Affairs in Germany, 194
The King's Sickness, 196
The Patents for the Success. to the Crown, 197
The King's Death, and Character, 199

BOOK III.

The Life and Reign of Queen Mary,

Queen Mary succeeds, 203
But Lady Jane Gray is proclaimed, 205
Censures past upon that, 206
Many turn to Queen Mary, 208
Northumberland marches against her, 209
The Council declares for her, 210
She comes to London, 212
Her former Life, ibid 214
The Councils then laid down, 215
Northumberland's Trial, 216
And Execution, 217
King Edward's Funeral, 218
A Tumult at St. Pauls. Severe
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Contents.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Severe Proceedings against the Men of Suffolk, and others,</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularly against Judge Hales,</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cranmer’s Imprisonment,</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Strangers driven out of England,</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Popular Arts used by Gardiner,</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Parliament meets, and repeals several Laws,</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Queen’s Mother’s Marriage confirmed,</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Edward’s Laws about Religion repealed,</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Duke of Norfolk’s Attainder repealed,</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Treaty for reconciling England to the Pope,</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And for a Match with the Prince of Spain,</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pool’s Advices to the Queen,</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parliament opposes the Match, and is dissolved,</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Convocation meets, and dispute about the Sacrament,</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1554.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Treaty of Marriage begun,</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which provokes some to rebel,</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Jane Gray’s Execution,</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several others suffered,</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Imposture of the Spirit in the Wall,</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injunctions sent to the Bishops,</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many Bishops turned out,</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A new Parliament,</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Proposition to make the Queen absolute,</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Disputations at Oxford with Cranmer,</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prince of Spain lands, and marries the Queen,</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bishops visit their Diocesses,</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Parliament,</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nation is reconciled to the See of Rome,</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardiner’s Policy in the steps of this Change,</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultations about the way of proceedings against Heretics,</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Contents.

1555.

A Persecution is set on foot, 271
Rogers and Hooper condemned and burnt, 272
The Burnings much condemned, 274
Arguments against them, and for them, 276
The Queen restores the Church-Lands, 279
Marcellus chosen Pope: Paul the 4th succeeds. ibid.
The English Ambassadors come to Rome, 280
The English grow backward to Persecution, 281
The Queen's Delivery in vain looked for, 282
More Hereticks burnt, ibid.
Religious Houses set up, 285
Ridley and Latimer burnt, 286
Gardiner's Death, 289
The Parliament ill pleas'd with the Queen's conduct. 290
Pool's Decrees for the Reformation of the Clergie. 293
He refuses to bring the Jesuits into England, 295
More of the Reformed are burnt, 296
Affairs in Germany, ibid.
Charles the 5th's Resignation, 297

1556.

Cranmer's Sufferings, 298
He repents, and is burnt, 301
His Character, 303
More Burnings, 304
The Reformed increase upon this, 306
The Troubles at Frankford, ibid.
Pool made Arch-bishop of Canterbury, 307
More Religious Houses, ibid.
The Pope sets on a War between France and Spain, 309

1557.

A Visitation of the Universities, 311
A severe Inquisition of Hereticks, 312
More Burnings, Lord
The Contents.

Lord Stourton hanged, 315
The Queen joyns in a War against France. 316
The Battel at St. Quintin, 317
The Pope recals Pool, 318
Affairs of Germany. 320

1558.
Calais and other Places taken by the French, 322
Great Discontents in England, 324
The Parliament meets, 325
The Carriage and Usage of L. Eliz. all this Reign, ibid.
Ill Success and strange Accidents, 329
The Dauphin and the Q. of Scotland married, 331
A Parliament in England, 332
The Queens Death, 333
Pool's Death and Character, ibid.
The Queens Character, 334

BOOK IV.
Queen Elizabeth proclaimed, 337
The Queen came to London, 338
Philp proposes Marriage to the Queen, but in vain, 339
The Counsels about changing Religion, 340
A Scheme proposed, 341
The Impatience of some, 342
Parker refuses the See of Canterbury, 343

1559.
Bacon made Lord Keeper, The Queen is crowned, 344, ibid.
A Parliament is called, The Peace at Cambray, 345, 346
Acts past in Parliament, 347
The Commons pray the Queen to marry, ibid.
Her Title to the Crown acknowledged, 348
Acts concerning Religion, 349
Preaching without Licence forbidden, 351
A publick Conference about Religion, ibid.
Arguments for and against Worship in an unknown Tongue, 352
The English Service is again set up, 355
Speeches against it by some Bishops, 356
Many Bishops turned out, 358
The Queen enclined to keep Images in Churches, 360
A general Visitation, ibid.
The high Commission Court, 362

Parker
The Contents.

Parker is very unwillingly made Arch-bishop of Canterbury, 363
The other Bishops consecrated, 365
The Fable of the Nags-Head confuted, 366
The Articles of the Church published, 367
A Translation of the Bible, 368
The Want of Church Discipline, 369
The Reformation in Scotland, 370
It is first set up in St. Johnstown, 372
The Queen-Regent is deposed, 375
The Queen of England affists the Scots, 376
The Queen-Regent dies, ibid.
A Parliament meets and settles the Reformation, 377
The Q of England the Head of all the Protestants, 378
Both in France, and the Netherlands, 379, 381
The excellent Administration of Affairs in England, ibid.
Severities against the Papists were necessary, 285
Sir F. Waltingh. Account of the steps in which she proceeded, ibid.
The Conclusion, 388

ERRATA.

BOOK I.

Page 20. line 5. Stop read step, Page 45, l. 17. if he said, read he said if. P. 47. l. 6. dele any. P. 60. l. 18. after determine, dele l. 19. after fame, d. ; P 61. l. implored, r. implored. P. 64 l. 9. formerly, r. formally. P. 81. mar. l. 4. after the, r. King and the. P. 82. l. 2. enabled, r. exacted. P. 89. l. 23. King the, r. the King. P. 92. l. 6. or, r. of. P. 53. l. 3. 9, r. 11. P. 95. l. 8. big a, r. a big. P. 99. l. 19. new, r. now. l. 29. after this, r. was. P. 109. l. 6. he, r. the. P. 121. l. 2. after so, r. was. P. 130. l. 3. for, r. but. P. 131. l. 16. after and. r. with. P. 133. l. 9. after was, r. given. P. 135. l. 22. being, r. were. P. 139. l. 30. after were, r. to. P. 141. l. ate. near, r. now at. P. 181. mar. l. 3. cited in, r. seized on. P. 184. l. 2. had it, r. it had. P. 196. l. 26. del. once. P. 205. l. 12. before the, r. as. P. 217. l. 11. before the, r. this. P. 237. l. 31. some, r. since. P. 241. l. 25. his will, r. his will. P. 243. l. 5. after for, r. since. P. 257. l. 14. after Abel, r., P. 260. l. 16. del. are. P. 291. l. 111. corrupting, r. reforming.

Book 2.] P. 13. l. 15. hid, r. been. P. 30. l. 34. 20th, r. 10th. P. 53. l. 22. 50, r. for. P. 103. l. 25. not, r. nor. P. 111. l. 13. after all, r. his. P. 188 l. 15. del. then. P. 199. l. 31. in, r. on.

Book 3.] P. 301. l. 20. new, r. new. P. 321. l. 16. after most, r. part. P. 312. l. 2. Peru, r. Peru l. some, r. the same. P. 317. l. 12. 80000, r. 8000.

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

LIB. I.

Of the Beginnings of it, and the Progress made in it, by King Henry the Eighth.

The Wars of the two Houses of York and Lancaster, had produced such dismal Revolutions, and cast England into such frequent and terrible Convulsions, that the Nation, with great
great joy received Henry the Seventh; who being himself descended from the House of Lancaster, by his marriage with the Heir of the House of York, did deliver them from the fear of any more Wars by new Pretenders. But the covetousness of his Temper, the severity of his Ministers, his ill conduct in the Matter of Britaign, and his jealousy of the House of York, not only gave occasion to Impostors to disturb his Reign, but to several Insurrections that were raised in his time: By all which he was become so generally odious to his People, that as his Son might have raised a dangerous competition for the Crown during his Life, as devolved on him by his Mother's death, who was indeed the Righteous Heir; so his death was little lamented. And Henry the Eighth succeeded, with all the Advantages he could have desired; and his disgracing Empson and Dudley, that had been the cruel Ministers of his Fathers Designs for filling his Coffers, his appointing Restitution to be made of the Sums that had been unjustly exacted of the People, and his ordering Justice to be done on those rapacious Ministers, gave all People hopes of happy Times, under a Reign that was begun with such an Act of Justice, that had indeed more Mercy in it, than those Acts of Oblivion and Pardon, with which others did usually begin. And when Ministers, by the King's Orders, were condemned and executed for invading the Liberties of the People under the Covert of
of the Reformation, &c.

Book I.

of the King's Prerogative; it made the Nation conclude, that they should hereafter live secure, under the Protection of such a Prince, and that the violent Remedies of Parliamentary Judgments should be no more necessary, except as in this case, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary Courts of Justice:

The King also either from the Magnificence of his own Temper, or the Observation he had made of the ill Effects of his Father's Parsimony, did distribute his Rewards and LargeSes with an unmeasured Bounty; so that he quickly emptied his Treasure, which his Father had left the fullest in Christendom: But till the ill Effects of this appeared, it raised in his Court and Subjects the greatest Hopes possible of a Prince, whose first Actions shewed an equal mixture of Justice and Generosity.

At his first coming to the Crown, the Successes of Lewis the Twelth, in Italy, made him engage as a Party in the Wars with the Crown of Spain; He went in Person beyond Sea, and took both Terwin and Tournay; in which, as he acquired the Reputation of a good and fortunate Captain; so Maximillion the Emperor, put an unusual Complement on him, for he took his pay, and rid in his Troops. But a Peace quickly followed; upon which, the French King married his Younger Sister Mary, but he dying soon after, Francis the first succeeded: and he renewing his Pretensions upon Italy, His SucceSses in the Wars.

1513.

1514.

B 2

Henry
Henry could not be prevailed on to engage early in the War, till the Successes of either Party should discover which of the sides was the weaker, and needed his Assistance most.

But tho hitherto, Spain was an unequal Match to France, yet all Spain being now united (except Portugal) and strengthened by the Accession of the Dominions of Burgundy, and enriched by the discovery of the Indies; and all this falling into the hands of so great a Prince as Charles, afterwards the fifth Emperor of that Name; the balance between these Kingdoms grew as equal, as the Qualities of the Princes themselves were, which engaged them in a Rivalry that made their Minds as divided, as their Interests were opposite. Charles being preferred to Francis in the Competition for the Empire, that kindled the Animosity higher, and seemed to encrease Charles's Party, tho the extent and distance of his Dominion was such, that one Soul (tho his was one of the largest and most active in the World) could not animate so vast a Body. Both these Princes saw how considerable an Ally or Enemy England might prove, under a King so much esteemed and beloved; so they spared no Arts that might engage him into their Interests; they gained his Ministers by their Presents, and himself by their Complements, for it was soon found out, that Vanity was his weak side. The Emperour came in Person to England, without the distrustful Precaution of

He is courted both by France and Spain.

1520, May.
of a Passport, and did so prevail with him, Book I. and his great Favourite Cardinal Wolsey, by the promise of the Popedom, that tho an Interview followed between Francis and him, yet he found the Scale of France was then the heavier, so that upon the War, which followed between those Princes, he joyned with the Emperour.

Charles, to allure himself of Cardinal Wolsey, gave him hopes of the Popedom; which perhaps he did the more easily, because Pope Leo being so young a Man, there was no great appearance of a Vacancy: but the Pope dying sooner than perhaps was expected, Adrian, that had been the Emperour's Tutor, was then chosen, and Cardinal Wolsey had the promise of succeeding him: But a second Vacancy following within two Years, the Emperour broke his word the second time; upon which, the Cardinal was so offended, that he resolved to take his Revenge, so soon as a favourable Conjuncture should offer it self; and tho he had laid the best Train he could at Rome for the Chair; yet upon Clement the seventh's Advancement, he dissembled the matter so with him, as to protest, that he was the very person whom he had wished to see raised to that Dignity.

The Battel of Pavia, in which Francis was taken Prisoner, and his Army defeated, turned the Scale mightily; the Pope was nearest the danger, and felt it soonest; for he projected the Clementine League, by which both He and the Republick of Venice,
Book I. and the Princes of Italy, engaged in the interests of France; and the King of England was declared the Protector of it. Both publick and private interests wrought on the King; and his own Resentments, as well as the Cardinals animated him to it: for the Emperor was so lifted up with his Success, that he began to form the Project of an Universal Empire, and tho he had come to England in Person a second time, and had contracted a Marriage with the King's Daughter, yet he preferred a Match with the Infanta of Portugal to it, judging it to be of more Importance to him to keep all quiet in Spain. Francis was now at liberty, but had given his Sons as Hostages, so he was slow in his Proceedings, tho he was the Person most concerned in the League: The Emperor was highly displeased with the Pope, whom he look'd on as his own Creature, but it was always observed, that of what Faction soever a Cardinal might be, yet upon the Advancement, he became the Head of his own.

The Colones entered Rome with three thousand Men, and sack'd it, the Pope retiring to the Castle of Saint Angelo, and submitting to the Conditions that were offered; but their Troops being drawn out of Rome, the Pope gathered his together, and fell on their Lands, and by a Creation of fourteen Cardinals for Money (which perhaps may be excused from Simony, because they took no care of Souls) he was enabled to prosecute the War; but the Duke
Duke of Bourbon, that upon a Discontent given him in France, had gone over to the Empour's Service, came to Rome, and took it by storm, himself being killed in the Assault, the Pope and seventeen Cardinals, shut themselves in the Castle St. Angelo, but he was forced to render, and was kept Prisoner some Months.

This gave great Scandal to all Europe; the Emperour himself seem'd ashamed of it, for he would suffer no rejoicing to be in Spain for his Sons Birth, but appointed publick Proceffions for the Pope's Liberty. Wolsey had now the best opportunity he could wish, to declare his Zeal for the Pope's Service, and his Aversion to the Emperour; so he went to France, and made a new League, for setting the Pope at liberty. The Emperour prevented the Conjunction he saw like to follow, and having brought the Pope to his own Terms, he restored him again to his Freedom. And thus both the Pope and the King of France, that by very unusufal Accidents had been taken Prisoners, acknowledged that their Liberty was chiefly due to the Indeavours that King Henry had used for procuring it.

When he was thus firmly united to the Interests of France, he had less to fear from Scotland, which being a perpetual Ally to France, gave him no Disturbance, but as it was drawn into the War by that Court: That Kingdom was also for many Years under a King not of Age, and so was much distracted by Faction, and those Broils at.
at home, being the surest way to keep them from making Inroads into England, were kept up by the Mony which the King sent the Malecontents; therefore both the Courts of France and England, by the Pensions they gave, kept the several Parties there in pay, which Advantage that Kingdom lost when it was joyned to England. As for Domestick Affairs in the Government of England, the King left Matters much in the hands of his Council, in which there were two different Parties, headed by the Bishop of Winchester, and the Lord Treasurer that was Duke of Norfolk: The former much complained of the Consumption of the Treasure; the other justified himself, that he only obeyed the King's Orders. But the Treasurer's Party, under a bountiful King, must always be strongest, both in the Court and Council. In the first Parliament, the Justice done upon Empson and Dudley, gave so great Satisfaction, that all things went as the Court desired. In the second Parliament, a Brief that Pope Julius writ, complaining of Lewis the twelfth, was first read in the House of Lords, and then carried down by the L. Chancellor, and some other Lords to the House of Commons, and read there, upon which, Mony was granted for a War with France. At this time, Fox, to support his Party against the Lord Treasurer, endeavoured to bring Thomas Wolsey into favour; he was of mean Extraction, but had great Parts, and a wonderful Dexterity in insinuating himself into Men's Favours; so
he being brought into Business, did so manage the King; that he became very quickly the Master of his Spirit, and of all his Affairs; and for fifteen Years continued to be the most absolute Favourite that had ever been seen in England. He saw the King was much set on his Pleasures, and had a great Aversion to business; and the other Counsellors being unwilling to bear the load of Affairs, were uneasy to him, by pressing him to govern by his own Counsels; but he knew the methods of Favourites better, and so was not only easy, but assistant to the King in his Pleasures, and undertook to free him from the Trouble of Government, and to give him leisur to follow his Appetites.

He was Master of all the Offices at home, and Treaties abroad; so that all Affairs went as he directed them. He it seems became soon obnoxious to Parliaments, and therefore he tried but one during his Ministry, where the Supply was granted so scantily, that afterwards he chused rather to raise Money by Loans and Benevolences, than by the free gift of the People in Parliament. He became so scandalous for his ill Life, that he grew to be a Disgrace to his Profession; for he not only served the King, but also shared with him in his Pleasures, which were unhappy to him, for he was spoiled with Venerial Distempers. He was first made Bishop of Tourna in Flanders, then of Lincoln, after that he was promoted to the See of York, and had both the Abby of
of St. Albans, and the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells in Commendam; the last he afterwards exchanged for Duresm, and upon Foxes death, he quitted Duresm, that he might take Winchester; and besides all this, the King by a special Grant, gave him power to dispose of all the Ecclesiastical Preferments in England, so that in effect he was the Pope of this other World, as was said antiently of an Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those Patterns that were set him at Rome. Being made a Cardinal, and setting up a Legatine Court, he found it fit for his Ambition to have the Great Seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two Jurisdictions. He had in one word all the Qualities necessary for a Great Minister, and all the Vices ordinary in a Great Favourite.

During this whole Raign, the Duke's of Norfolk, Father and Son, were Treasurers, but that long and strange course of Favour in so ticklish a Time, turn'd fatally upon the Son, near the end of the King's Life. But he that was the longest and greatest sharer in the King's Favour, was Charles Brandon, who from the degree of a private Gentleman was advanced to the highest Honors. The strength of his Body, and the gracefulness of his Person, contributed more to his Rise, than his Dexterity in Affairs, or the Endowments of his Mind, for the greatest Evidence he gave of his Understanding, was, that knowing he was not made for Business, he did not pre-
of the Reformation, etc.

Book I.

tend to it; a Temper seldom observed by the Creatures of Favour. The frame and strength of his Body made him a great Master in the Diversions of that Age, Jufts and Tiltings, and a fit Match for the King, or rather a Second to him, who delighted mightily in them. His Person was so acceptable to the Ladies, that the King's Sister, the Queen Dowager of France liked him, and by a strange sort of making Love, prefixed him a time for gaining her Consent to marry him, and assured him, if that he did not prevail within that time, he might for ever despair. She married him in France, and the King after a shew of some Displeasure, was pacified and continued his Favours to him, not only during his Sister's Life, but to the last, and in all the Revolutions of the Court that followed, in which every Minister fell by turns, he still enjoyed his share in the King's Bounty and Affection: so much happier it proved to be loved, than trusted by him.

The King denied himself none of those Pleasures, that are as much legitimated in Courts, as they are condemned elsewhere; but yet he declared no Mistress, but Elizabeth Blunt, and owned no Issue, but a Son he had by her, whom he afterwards made Duke of Richmond. He took great care never to imbrol himself with his Parliaments; and he met with no Opposition in any, except in that one, which was during Cardinal Wolsey's Ministry; in which 80,000 l. being demanded for a War with France, to be paid in four Years, the debate about it rose very high.
Book I. high, and not above the half of it was offered; so the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, and desired to hear the Reasons of those who were against the Supply, but he was told that it was against their Orders to speak to a Debate before any that was not of the House: he was much dissatisfied at this, and cast the blame of it upon Sir Thomas Moor that was Speaker, and after that he found out other means of supplying the King without Parliaments.

The King had been educated with more than ordinary Care: and Learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross Ignorance, his Father had given Orders that both his elder Brother and he should be well instructed in matters of Knowledge; not with any design to make him Arch-bishop of Canterbury, for he had made small progress, when his Brother Prince Arthur died, being then but eleven Years old: perhaps Henry the seventh felt the Prejudices of his own Education so much, that he was more careful to have his Son better taught; or may be he did it to amuse him, and keep him from looking too early into matters of State. The Learning then most in credit among the Clergy, was the Scholastical Divinity, which by a shew of Subtilty, did recommend it self to curious Persons; and being very sutable to a vain and contentious Temper, was that which agreed best with his Disposition; and it being likely to draw the most Flattery from Divines, became the chief Subject of his
his Studies, in which he grew not only to be Eminent for a Prince, whose Knowledge was ever so moderate, will be admired by Flatterers as a Prodigy, but he might really have pait for a Learned Man had his Quality been ever so mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin Tongue, and understood Philosophy, and was so great a Master in Music, that he composed well. He was a bountiful Patron to all Learned Men, more particularly to Erasimus and Polidore Virgil, and delighted much in those Returns which hungry Scholars use to make to liberal Princes; for he loved Flattery out of measure, and particularly to be extolled for his Learning and great Understanding: and he had enough of it to have surfeited a Man of any Modesty; for all the World, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his Praises. The Clergy carried it; for as he had merited most at their hands, both by his espousing the Interests of the Papacy, and by his entering the Lists with Luther: so those that hoped to be advanced by those Arts, were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross Commendations.

The manner of promotion to Bishops and Abbeys was then the same, that had taken place ever since the Investitures by the Ring and Staff were taken out of the hands of Princes. Upon a Vacancy the King seized on all the Temporalities, and granted a Licence for an Election, with a special Re-

His Learning and Vanity.
Book I. commendation of the Person; which being returned, the Royal Assent was given, and it was sent to Rome that Bulls might be expedted, and then the Bishop Elect was consecrated: after that he came to the King and renounced every Clause in his Bulls that was contrary to the King's Prerogative, or to the Law, and swore Fealty; and then were the Temporalities restored. Nor could Bulls be sued out at Rome without a Licence under the Great Seal; so that the Kings of Eng. had reserved the power to themselves, of promoting to Ecclesiastical Benefices notwithstanding all the Invasions the Popes had made on the Temporal power of Princes.

A Contest concerning the Ecclesiastical Immunity. The Immunity of Church-men for crimes committed by them, till they were first degraded by the Spirituality, occasioned the only Contest that was in the beginning of this Reign between the Secular and Ecclesiastical Courts. King Henry the Seventh past a Law, that Clerks convict should be burnt in the hand. A temporary Law was also made in the beginning of this Reign, That Murderers and Robbers, not being Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons, should be denied the benefit of Clergy: but this was to last only till the next Parliament, and so being not continued by it, the Act determined. The Abbot of Winchelcomb preached severely against it, as being contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Holy Church, and said, that all who assented to it had sain under the Censures of the Church. And afterwards he published a Book; to prove
prove that all Clerks, even of the lower Orders, were Sacred, and could not be judged by the Temporal Courts. This being done in Parliament-time, the Temporal Lords, with the Commons, addressed to the King, desiring him to repress the Insolence of the Clergy. So a publick Hearing was appointed before the King, and all the Judges: Dr. Standish, a Franciscan, argued against the Immunity, and proved that the judging Clerks had been in all times practised in England; and that it was necessary for the peace and safety of Mankind, that all Criminals should be punished. The Abbot argued on the other side, and said, it was contrary to a Decree of the Church, and was a Sin in itself. Standish answered, That all Decrees were not observed: for notwithstanding the Decrees for Residence, Bishops did not reside at their Cathedrals. And since no Decree did bind till it was received, this concerning Immunity, which was never received in England, did not bind. After they had fully argued the matter, the Laiety were all of opinion that the Fryar was too hard for the Abbot, and so moved the King that the Bishops might be ordered to make him preach a Recantation Sermon. But they refused to do it, and said they were bound by their Oaths to maintain his Opinion. Standish was upon this, much hated by the Clergy, but the matter was let fall, yet the Clergy carried the point, for the Law was not continued.

Not long after this, an Accident fell out that
Book I. that drew great Consequences after it.

One Richard Hun, a Merchant in London, was sued by his Parish-Priest for a Mortu-ary in the Legates Court, so he was advised to sue the Priest in the temporal Court for a Premunire for bringing the King's Subjects before a forraign and illegal Court. This incensed the Clergy so much that they contrived his Destruction: So hearing that he had Wickeliff's Bible, he was upon that put in the Bishop's Prison for Heresy, but being examined upon sundry Articles, he confessed some things, and submitted himself to Mercy, upon which they ought according to Law, to have injoynd him Penance, and discharged him, this being his first Crime; but he could not be prevailed on by the terror of this to let his Suit fall in the Temporal Court; so one Night his Neck was broken with an Iron Chain, and he was wounded in other Parts of his Body, and then knit up in his own Girdle, and it was given out that he had hanged himself; but the Coroners Inquest by examining the Body, and by several other Evidences, and particularly by the confession of the Sumner, gave their Verdict, that he was murdered by the Bishop's Chancellor Dr. Horfey, and the Sumner, and the Bel-ringer. The Spiritual Court proceeded against the dead Body, and charged Hun with all the Heresy in Wickeliff's Preface to the Bible, because that was found in his Possession; so he was condemned as an Heretick, and upon that his Body was burnt. The Bishops
Bishops of 

of the Recognition, &c. (af the Bishop of London when he gave Judgment; so that it was looked upon as an Act of the whole Clergy: but this produced very ill Effects; for the Clergy lost the Affections of the City to such a degree, that they could never recover them; nor did any one thing dispose them more than this did, to the entertaining the new Preachers; and to every thing that tended to the reproach of the Church-men, whom they esteemed no more their Pastors, but accounted them barbarous Murderers. The Rage went so high, that the Bishop of London complained, that he was not safe in his own House, and there were many hearings before the Council; for the Cardinal did all he could to stop the progress of the Matter, but in vain: for the Bishop's Chancellor and the Sumner were indicted as Principals in the Murder. In Parliament an Act passed restoring Hun's Children; but the Commons sent up a Bill concerning his Murder, yet that was laid aside by the Lords, where the Clergy were the Majority. The Clergy look'd on the Opposition that Stan- 
dish had made in the point of their Immunities, as that which gave the rise to Hun's first Suit; so the Convocation cited him to answer for his Carriage in that Matter; but he claimed the King's Protection, since he had done nothing, but only pleaded in the King's Name. The Clergy pretended they did not prosecute him for his pleading, but for some of his Divinity Lectures, con-
trary to the Liberty of the Church, which the King was bound to maintain by his Coronation-Oath: but the Temporal Lords, the Judges, and the Commons prayed the King also to maintain the Laws according to his Coronation-Oath, and to give Standish his Protection. The King upon this being in great perplexity, required Veysy, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, to declare upon his Conscience and Allegiance the truth in that matter. His Opinion was against the Immunity; so another publick Hearing being appointed, Standish was accused for teaching, That the Inferiour Orders were not sacred; That their Exemption was not founded on a Divine Right, but that the Laity might punish them; That the Canons of the Church did not bind till they were received; and that the study of the Canon Law was useless. Of these he denied some, and justified other particulars. Veysy being required to give his Opinion, alledged, That the Laws of the Church did only oblige where they were received: As the Law of the Celibrate of the Clergy, received in the West, did not bind the Greek Churches, that never received it: So the exemption of the Clerks not being received, did not bind in England. The Judges gave their Opinion next, which was, That those who prosecuted Standish were all in a Premunire. So the Court broke up. But in another Hearing, in the presence of the greatest part of both Houses of Parliament, the Cardinal said in the name of the Clergy, That tho they intended to do nothing against the

* King's
of the Reformation, &c.

King's Prerogative; yet the trying of Clerks seemed to be contrary to the Liberty of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain. So they prayed that the matter might be referred to the Pope.

The King answered that he thought Standish had answered them fully: The Bishop of Winchester said, he would not stand to his Opinion at his Peril. Standish upon that said, What can one poor Friar do against all the Clergy of England? The Arch-bishop of Canterbury said; Some of the Fathers of the Church had suffered Martyrdom upon that account; but the Chief Justice replied, That many holy Kings had maintained that Law, and many holy Bishops had obeyed it. In conclusion the King declared, that he would maintain his Rights, and would not submit them to the Decrees of the Church, otherwise than as his Ancestors had done. Warham Arch-bishop of Canterbury desired so long time might be given, that they might have an Answer returned from Rome; but that was not granted: yet a Term per was found. Horsey was appointed to be brought to his Trial for Hun's Murder, and upon his pleading not guilty, no Evidence was to be brought, and so he was to be discharged. But upon this it was said, The Judges were more concerned to maintain their Jurisdiction, than to do Justice upon so horrid a Murder; so the discontent given by it was raised so much higher, and the Crime of a few Murderers, was now transferred upon the whole Clergy, who had concerned them-
Book I. themselves so much in their Preservation; and this did very much dispose the Laity to all that was done afterwards, for pulling down the Ecclesiastical Tyranny.

This was the only uneasy step in this King's Raign, till the suit for his Divorce was commenced. In all other points he was constantly in the Pope's Interests, who sent him the common Complements of Roses, and such other Trifles, by which that See had treated Princes so long as Children. The King made the Defence of the Popedom an Article in his Leagues with other Princes, and Pope Julius having called a General Council to the Lateran, in opposition to that which by Lewis the Twelfth's means was held at Pisa; The King sent the Bishops of Worcester and Rochester, the Prior of St. John's and the Abbot of Winchelcomb to represent the Church of England, thereby to give the greater Authority to a pack'd meeting of Italian Bishops and Abbots, who assumed to themselves the Title of a Holy and Oecumenical Council. But no Complement wrought so much on the King's Vanity, as the Title of Defender of Faith, sent him by Pope Leo upon the Book, which he writ against Luther concerning the Sacraments.

The Cardinal drew upon himself the hatred of the Clergy, by a Bull which impowered him to visit all the Monasteries of England; and to dispence with all the Laws of the Church for a Year. He also gave out, that he intended to reform the Clergy, though he forgot that which ought to
to be the first step of all who pretend to reform others; for none could be worse than himself was. He lived in great Luxury, and in an insolent Affectation of the highest State possible; many of his Domesticks being men of the first Rank. He intended to suppress many Monasteries, and thought the best way for doing it with the least Scandal, was first, to visit them, and so to expose their Corruptions: But he was afterwards diverted from this; yet the design which he laid, being communicated to Cromwell, that was then his Secretary, it was put in Practice toward the end of this Reign, when the Monasteries were all suppressed.

The Convocations were of two sorts; some were summoned by the King, when Parliaments were called, as is in use to this Day; only the King did not then prefix a Day, but left that to the Arch-bishops. Others were called by the Archbishops, and were Provincial Synods, of which there were but few. The Cardinal pretended that the summoning all Convocations belonged to him, as Legate; so that when Warham had called one, he dissolved it after it was met, and summoned it of new. In that Convocation, a great Supply was granted to the King, of half a Years Rent of all Benefices payable in five Years, for assisting him in his Wars with France and Scotland. This was much opposed by the Cardinal's Enemies, but it was agreed to at last, a Proviso being made, that such a heavy tax should never
never be made a Precedent for the future; tho' the Grant they made was more likely to become a Precedent, than this proviso to be a Security for the time to come.

This encreased the Aversion the Clergy had for the Cardinal: the Monks were more particularly incensed; for they saw he was resolved to suppress their Foundations, and convert them to other uses.

In the days of King Edgar, most of the Cathedrals of England were possessed by Secular Priests, who were generally married; but Dunstan and some other Monks took advantage from the Vices of that Prince, to persuade him to make Compensation for them; and as he made Laws, in which he declared what Compensations were to be made for Sins, both by the Rich and Poor; so, it seems, he thought the founding of Monasteries was the fittest Compensation for a King; and he turned out all the married Priests, and put Monks in their stead. From that time the Credit and Wealth of Monastic Orders continued to encrease for several Ages, till the Begging Orders succeeded in the esteem of the World, to the place which the Monks formerly had; for they decreased as much in true worth, as the false appearances of it had now raised their Revenues. They were not only ignorant themselves, but very jealous of the progress Learning was making; for Erasmus, and the other Restorers of it, treating them with much scorn, they looked on the encrease of it, as that which would much lessen them, and so not only did not con-

The State of the Monasteries.
contribute to it, but rather detracted from it, as that which would make way for He-
refy.

The Cardinal designed two noble Foun-
dations, the one at Oxford, and the other at
Ipswich, the place of his Birth, both for the
encouragement of the Learned, and the in-
struction of Youth; and for that end he
procured a Bull for suppressing divers Mo-
nafteries, which being executed, their Lands
by Law fell to the King; and thereupon the
Cardinal took out Grants of them, and
endowed his Colledges with them.

But we shall next consider the state of
Religion in England. From the dayes of
Wickliff there were many that differed from
the Doctrines commonly received. He writ
many Books that gave great Offence to the
Clergy, yet being powerfully supported by
the Duke of Lancaster, they could not have
their revenge during his Life; but he was
after his Death condemned, and his Body
was raised and burnt. The Bible which
he translated into English, with the Preface
which he set before it, produced the greatest
Effects. In it he reflected on the ill Lives of
the Clergy, and condemned the Worship
of Saints and Images, and the corporal
Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but
the most criminal part was, the exhorting
all People to read the Scriptures; where the
Testimonies against those Corruptions
were such, that there was no way to deal
with them but to silence them. His Follow-
ers were not Men of Letters, but being
wrought
Book I. wrought on by the easy Conviction of plain Sense, were by them determined in their Pers- uasions. They did not form themselves into Body, but were contented to hold their Opinions secretly, and did not spread them, but to their particular Confidents. The Clergy sought them out every where, and did deliver them after Conviction to the Secular Arm, that is, to the Fire.

In the Primitive Church, all cruel Proceedings upon the account of Heresy, were condemned; so that the Bishops who accused some Hereticks, upon which they were put to death, were excommunicated for it. Banishment and Fines, with some Incapa- cities, were the highest Severities even upon the greatest Provocations. But as the Church grew corrupted in other things, so a cruel Spirit being generally the mark of all ill Priests, of whatsoever Religion they are, they fell under the Influences of it; and from the days of the rise of the Albi- geneses, the severities of the Inquisition, and Burnings, with many other Cruelties, were by the means of the Dominicans set up, first in France, and then in the other parts of Eu- rope. A Decree was also made in the Council of the Lateran, requiring all Magi- strates under the pains of forfeiture and deposition, to extirpate Hereticks. Burning agreed best with their Cruelty, as being the most terrible sort of Death, and bearing some resemblance to everlafting Burnings in Hell; so they damned the Souls of the Hereticks, and burnt their Bodies;
but the Execution of the former part of the Sentence was not in their power, as the latter part was. The Canons of that Council being received in England, the Proceedings against Hereticks grew to be a part of the Common Law, and a Writ for burning them was issued out upon their Conviction. But special Statutes were afterwards made: The first under Richard the second, was only agreed to by the Lords; and without its being consented to by the Commons, the King assented to it; yet all the Severity in it was no more, than that Writs should go out to the Sheriffs to hold Hereticks in Prison, till they should be judged by the Laws of the Church. The Preamble of the Law says, 'They were very numerous, that they had a peculiar Habit, that they preached in many Churches, & other Places against the Faith, and refused to submit to the Censures of the Church. This was sent with the other Acts according to the custom of that Time, to all the Sheriffs of England to be proclaimed by them; but the Year following in the next Parliament, the Commons complained that that Act was published, to which they had never consented; so an Act passed declaring the former null; yet this was suppressed, and the former was still esteemed a good Law.

When Henry the fourth came to the Crown, he owing it in great measure to the help of the Clergy, passed an Act against all that preached without the Bishop's Licence, or against the Faith; and it was enacted,
Book I. That all Transgressors of that sort, should be imprisoned, and within three Months be brought to a Trial: If upon Conviction they offered to abjure, and were not Relapses, they were to be imprisoned and fined at pleasure; and if they refused to abjure, or were Relapses, they were to be delivered to the secular Arm, and the Magistrates were to burn them in some publick Place. But tho' by this Statute no mention is made of sending out a Writ for Execution; yet that continued still, to be practised: And that same Year Sautre a Priest being condemned as a Relapse, and degraded by Arundell, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, a Writ was issued out for it, in which, Burning is called the Common Punishment, which related to the customs of other Nations: For this was the first Instance of that kind in England. In the beginning of Henry the fifth's Reign, there was a Conspiracy against the King discovered, ( tho' others that lived not long after, say it was only pretended and contrived by the Clergy ) of Old-Castle and some others of Wickliff's Followers then called Lollards; upon which many were condemned both for Treason and Heresy, who were first hanged and then burnt; and a Law followed that the Lollards should forfeit all that they held in Fee-simple, as well as their Goods and Chattels to the King, and all Sheriffs and Magistrates were required to take an Oath, to destroy all Heresies and Lollardies, and to assist the Ordinaries in their
their proceedings against them. Yet the Clergy making ill use of these Laws, and vexing all People that gave them any Offence, with long Imprisonments; the Judges interposed and examined the Grounds of their Commitments, and as they saw cause, Bailed, or Discharged the Prisoners; and took upon them to declare, what Opinions were Herefies by Law, and what were not. Thus the People fought for Shelter, under their Protection, and found more Mercy at the hands of Common Lawyers, than from them who ought to have been the Pastors of their Souls, and the Publishers of the most merciful Religion that ever was.

In the beginnings of this Reign, there were several Persons brought into the Bishops Courts for Herefy, before Warham. Forty eight were accused: But of these, forty three abjured, twenty seven Men, and sixteen Women, most of them being of Tenterden; and five of them, four Men, and one Woman, were condemned; some as obdurate Hereticks, and others as Relapses: and against the common Ties of Nature, the Woman's Husband, and her two Sons, were brought Witnesses against her. Upon their Conviction, a Certificate was made by the Archbishop to the Chancery; upon which, since there is no Pardon upon Record, the Writs for burning them must have gone out in Course, and the Execution of them is little to be doubted; for the Clergy were seldom guilty of much
much Mercy in such Cases, having devest-
ed themselves of all Bowels, as the Dregs of unmortified Nature. The Articles ob-
jected to them were, That they believed that in the Eucharift, there was nothing but material Bread; That the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Confession, Ma-
trimony, and Extream Unction, were nei-
ther necessary, nor profitable; That Priests had no more Power than Laymen; That Pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the Mony and Labour spent in them, were spent in vain; That Images ought not to be worshipped, and that they were only Stocks and Stones; That Prayers ought not to be made to Saints, but only to God; That there was no vertue in Holy-water, or Ho-
ly-bread. Those who abjured, did swear to discover all that held those Errors, or were suspected of them; and they were enjoyned to carry a Faggot in Procession, and to wear on their Cloaths the Repre-
sentation of one in Flames, as a publick Confession that they had deserved to be burnt. There were also four in London that abjured almost the same Opinions; and Fox says, that six were burnt in Smith-
field, who might be perhaps those whom Warham had condemned; for there is no mention of any that were condemned in the Registers of London. By all this it will ap-
pear, that many in this Nation, were pre-
pared to receive those Doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the Reform-
ers, even before Luther began first to oppose Indulgences.
The Rise and Progress of his Doctrine are well known; the Scandalous extolling of Indulgences gave the first occasion to all that Contradiction, that followed between him and his followers, and the Church of Rome; in which, if the Corruptions and Cruelties of the Clergy had not been so visible and scandalous, so small a matter could not have produced such a Revolution; but any Crisis will put ill humours in Fermentation.

The Bishops were grossly ignorant; they seldom resided in their Dioceses, except it had been to riot it at high Festivals; and all the Effect their Residence could have, was to corrupt others, by their ill Example. They followed the Courts of Princes, and aspired to the greatest Offices. The Abbots and Monks were wholly given up to Luxury and Idleness; and the unmarried State, both of the Seculars, & Regulars, gave infinite Scandal to the World; for it appeared, that the restraining them from having Wives of their own, made them conclude that they had a right to all other Mens. The Inferiour Clergy were no better; and not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the Monks had, they became more publick. In sum, all Ranks of Churchmen were so universally despiséd, and hated, that the World was very apt to be possest with prejudice against their Doctrines, for the sake of the Men, whose Interest it was to support them: and the Worship of God was so defiled with much gros
Book I. gross Superstition, that without great en-
quiries, all Men were easily convinced, that the Church stood in great need of a Reformation. This was much encreased when the Books of the Fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter Ages of the Church, did very evidently appear. They found that a blind Superstition came first in the room of true Piety; and when by its means the Wealth and Interest of the Clergy was highly advanced; the Popes had upon that, established their Tyranny; under which, not only the meaner People, but even the crowned Heads, had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the Advancement of the Reformation: And so the Books of the Germans being brought into England, and Translated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a hot Persecution, which is always the Foundation on which a vicious Clergy set up their Reft, was vigorously set on foot, to such a Degree, that six Men and Women were burnt in Coventry in Passion-week, only for teaching their Children, the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the ten Commandments in English. Great Numbers were every where brought into the Bishop’s Courts; of whom some were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The King laid hold on this Occasion, to become the Church’s Champion, and wrote against Luther, as was formerly told. His Book besides the Title of Defender of the Faith,
Faith, drew upon him all that Flattery could invent to extol it; yet Luther not
daunted with such an Antagonist, but
rather proud of it, answered it, and treated
him as much below the Respect that was
due to a King, as his Flatterers had raised
him above it. Tindal's Translation of the
New Testament with some Notes added to
it, drew a severe Condemnation from the
Clergy, there being nothing in which they
were more concerned, than to keep the
People unacquainted with that Book. Sir
Thomas More seconded the King, and im-
ployed his Pen in the Service of the Clergy,
but mixed too much Gall with his Ink. The
Cardinal's Behaviour in this matter was
unaccountable; for he not only acted no-
thing against the new Preachers, but when
some Bishops moved for a Visitation of the
Universities, upon a report of the spreading
of Heresy in them, he stop'd it; yet after-
wards he called a Meeting of several Bi-
shops, Abbots and Divines, before whom,
two Preachers, Bilney and Arthur, were
brought, and Articles of Heresy being ob-
jected to them, and proved by Witnesses,
they for a while seemed resolved to seal
their Doctrines with their Blood; but what
through Fear, what through Perswasion,
they were prevailed on (first Arthur, and
Bilney five days after) to abjure; but tho
Bilney was a Relapse, yet the Cardinal was
gentle to him, and Tonstall Bishop of London
injoyed him Penance, and discharged him.
So much may suffice to shew the condition
of
Book I. of Affairs in England both in Church and State, when the Process of the King's Divorce was first set on foot.

The King's Marriage. Henry the seventh entered into a firm Alliance with Ferdinand of Spain, and agreed a Match between his Son Prince Arthur, and Katherine the Infanta of Spain. She came into England & was married in November; but on the second of April after, the Prince died. They were not only bedded in Ceremony the night of the Marriage, but continued still to lodge together, and the Prince by some indecent Rallery gave Occasion to believe, that the Marriage was consummated, which was so little doubted, that some imputed his too early end to his excess in it. After his Death his younger Brother was not created Prince of Wales, till ten Months had past, it being then apparent that the Princess was not with Child by the late Prince; Women were also set about her to wait on her with the Precaution that is necessary in such a Case; so that it was generally believed that she was no Virgin when the Prince died.

Henry the seventh being unwilling to restore so great a Portion as two hundred thousand Ducats, proposed a second Match for her with his Younger Son Henry. Warham did then object against the Lawfulness of it; yet Fox Bishop of Winchester, was for it, and the Opinion of the Pope's Authority was then so well established, that it was thought a Dispensation from Rome was sufficient to remove all Objections; so
of the Reformation, &c. 33

one was obtained, grounded upon a desire of the two young Persons to marry together for preserving Peace between the Crowns of England and Spain, by which the Pope dispensed with it notwithstanding the Princess's Marriage to Prince Arthur, which was (as is said in the Bull) perhaps consummated.

The Pope was then in War with Lewis the twelfth of France, and so would refuse nothing to the King of England, being perhaps not unwilling that Princes should contract such Marriages, by which the Legitimation of their Issued depending on the Pope's Dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in Interest to support that Authority: upon this a Marriage followed, the Prince being yet under Age; but the same day in which he came to be of Age, he did by his Father's Orders, make a Protestation that he retracted and annulled his Marriage.

Henry the seventh at his Death, charged him to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of Confusion upon a controverted Succession to the Crown, as had been during the Wars of the Houses of York and Lancaster, but upon his Death, Henry the Eighth being then eighteen Years of Age, married her: She bore him two Sons, who died soon after they were born; and a Daughter Mary, that lived to reign after him; but after that the Queen contracted some Diseases that made her unacceptable to the King; so all hope of any other Issue failing, several
Ral Matches were proposed for his Daughter; the first was with the Dauphin; then he was contracted with the Emperor; and after that, a Proposition was made for the King of Scotland; and last of all a Treaty was made with Francis the first, either for himself, he being then a Widower, or for his second Son the Duke of Orleans to be determined at his Option; upon which the Bishop of Tarbe was sent over Ambassador to conclude it; he made an Exception that the Marriage was doubtful and the Lady not legitimate, which had been likewise made by the Cortes of Spain, by whose Advice the Emperor broke the Contract upon that very account, so that other Princes moving Scruples against a Marriage with his Daughter, the Heir of so great a Crown, the King began to make some himself; or rather to publish them, for he said afterwards he had them some years before.

Yet the Cardinal's hatred to the Emperor, was look'd on as one of the secret Springs of the King's Aversion to his Aunt, which the King vindicating him in publick afterwards did not remove: that being considered only as a Court Contrivance.

The King seemed to lay the greatest Weight on the prohibition in the Levitical Law of marrying the Brother's Wife, and he being conversant in Thomas Aquinas's Writings, found that he and the other Schoolmen look'd on those Laws as Moral, and for ever binding, and that by Consequence the Pope's Dispensation was of no *
of the Reformation, &c.

force since his Authority went not so far as to dispence with the Laws of God. All the Bishops of England, Fisher of Rochester only excepted, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they judged the Marriage unlawful. The ill Consequences of Wars that might follow upon a doubtful Title to the Crown, were also much considered, or at least pretended. It is not probable that the engagement of the King's Affections to any other gave the rise to all this; for so prying a Courtier as Wolsey was, would have discovered it, and not have projected a Marriage with Francis's Sister, if he had seen the King prepossessed: It is more probable that the King conceiving himself upon the point of being discharged of his former Marriage, gave a free scope to his Affections, which upon that came to settle on Anne Bolley. The King had reason enough to expect a quick and favourable dispatch of his business at Rome, where Dispensations or Divorces in Favour of Princes used to pass, rather with regard to the Merits of the Prince that desired them, than of the Cause itself. His Alliance seemed then necessary to the Pope, who was at that time in Captivity. Nor could the Emperor with any good colour oppose his Suit, since he had broken his Contract with his Daughter upon the account of the doubtfulness of the Marriage.

The Cardinal had also given him full Assurances of a good Answer from Rome, whether upon the knowledge he had of that
Book I. Court, and of the Pope's temper, or upon any promise made him, is not certain. The Reasons gathered by the Canonists for annulling the Bull of Dispensation, upon which the Divorce was to follow in course, were grounded upon some false suggestions in the Bull, and upon the Protestation which the King had made when he came to be of Age. In a word, they were such, that a favourable Pope left to himself, would have yielded to them without any scruple.

Anne Bolleyne was born in the year 1507, and went to France at seven years of Age, and returned twelve years after to England. She was much admired in both Courts, and continued to live without any Blemish till her unfortunate Fall gave occasion to some malicious Writers to defame her in all the Parts of her Life; She was more beautiful than graceful, and more cheerful than discreet. She wanted none of the Charms of Wit or Person, and must have had extraordinary Attractions; since she could so long manage such a King's Affection, in which her being with Child soon after the Marriage, shews that in the whole course of seven years she kept him at a due distance. Upon her coming to England, the Lord Piercy being then a Domestick of the Cardinals, made love to her, and went so far as to engage himself some way to marry her, and that being entertained by her, shews she had then no aspnings to the Crown. But the Cardinal having understood somewhat of the King's secret Intentions, did so threaten him,
him, that he made him, tho' not without great difficulty, break off his addresses to her.  

Knight, then Secretary of State, was sent to Rome to prepare the Pope in the matter; and the Family of the Caffali having much of the Pope's Favour, they were likewise employed to promote it. To Gregory Caffali did the Cardinal send a large Dispatch, setting forth all the Reasons both in Conscience and Policy, for obtaining a Commission to himself to judge the Affair. Great Promises were made in the King's Name, both for publick and private Services, and nothing was forgot that was likely to work either on the Pope, or those Cardinals that had the greatest Credit about him. Knight made application to the Pope in the secretest manner he could, and had a very favourable Answer; for the Pope promised frankly to dissolve the Marriage: but another Promise being exacted of him in the Emperour's Name, not to proceed in that Affair, he was reduced to great straits, not so much out of regard to his Promises, (for he had so engaged himself, that it was unavoidable for him to break one) as to his Interests; he was then at the Emperour's mercy, so he was in fear of offending him, yet he both hated him, and was distrustful of him; and had no mind to lose the King of England, therefore he studied to gain time, and promised that if the King would have a little patience, he should not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant.
The Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor made some Scruples concerning the Bull that was demanded, till he had raised his price, and got a great Present, and then the Pope signed both a Commission for Wolsey to try the Cause, and judge in it, and also a Dispensation, and put them in Knights hands; but with tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the Emperor were put out of a capacity of executing his Revenge upon him, and when ever that was done he would own this act of Justice which he did in the King's favour. For tho the Pope on publick occasions used to talk in the language of one that pretended to be S. Peter's Successor, yet in private Treaties he minded nothing but his own Security, and the Interests of his Family. And being a very crafty Man, he proposed an Expedition, which if the King had followed, it had put a quicker and easier end to the Process. He found his sending Bulls, or a Legat to England, would become publick, and draw the Emperor upon him, and must admit of delays and be full of danger; therefore he proposed, if the King was satisfied in his own Conscience, in which he believed no Doctor could resolve him better than himself, then he might without more noise make Judgment be given in England; and upon that marry another Wife, and send over to Rome for a Confirmation; which would be the more easily granted, if the thing were once done. This the Pope desired might be represented to the King as the Advice
But the King's Counsellors thought this more dangerous than the way of a Process; for, if upon the King's Second Marriage, a Confirmation should be denied, then the Right Succession by it, would be still very doubtful, so they would not venture on it.

The Pope was at this time distasted with Cardinal Wolsey; for he understood, that during his Captivity, he had been in an Intrigue, to get himself chosen Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have fate at Avignon, which might have produced a new Schism. Staphileus, Dean of the Rota, being then in England, was wrought on by the promise of a Bishoprick, and a Recommendation to a Cardinals Hat, to promote the King's Affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, in a most earnest strain, for a dispatch of this business; and he desired, that an indifferent and tractable Cardinal might be sent over, with a full Commission to joyn with him, and to judge the matter; proposing to the King's Embassadors, Campegio as the fittest Man; when a Legate should be named, he ordered Presents to be made him, and that they would hasten his dispatch, and take care that the Commission should be full. But upon the Arrival of the Couriers, that were sent from Rome, Gardiner, the Cardinals Secretary, and Fox, the Kings Almoner, the one a Canonist, and the other a Divine, were sent thither with Letters, both from the King and Cardinal, to the Popes.
Pope, & they carried orders (that were like to be more effectual than any Arguments they could offer) to make great Presents to the Cardinals. They carried with them the draught of a Bull, containing all the Clauses could be invented, to make the matter sure; one Clause was to declare the Issue of the Marriage good, as being begotten bona fide, which was perhaps put in to make the Queen more easy, since by that it appeared, that her Daughter should not suffer, which way soever the matter went.

The Cardinal, in his Letters to Cassali, offered to take the blame on his own Soul, if the Pope would grant this Bull; and with an Earnestness, as hearty and warm, as can be expressed in Words, he pressed the thing, and added, That he perceived, that if the Pope continued Inexorable, the King would proceed another way.

These Intreaties had such Effects, That Campeggio was declared Legate, and ordered to go for England, and joyn in Commission with Wolsey, for judging this matter. Campeggio was Bishop of Salisbury; and having a Son whom he intended to advance, was no doubt a tractable Man; but to raise his price the higher, he moved many Scruples, and seemed to enter upon this Employment, with great fear, and aversion. Wolsey who knew his Temper, pressed him vehemently, to make all the haste he could, and gave him the Assurance of great Rewards from the King: For whatever was to be made use of publickly for forms e.
take, these were the effectual arguments that were most likely to convince a Man of his Temper: In which Wolsey was so sincere, that in a Letter he wrote to him, that of a good Conscience, being put among other Motives to persuade him, in the first Draught, the Cardinal struck it out, as knowing how little it would signify. Campegio set out from Rome, and carried with him a Decretal Bull, for annulling the Marriage which was trusted to him, and he was Authorized to shew it to the King and Wolsey; but was required not to give it out of his Hands to either of them. At this time, Wolsey was taken with the Sweating Sickness, which then raged in England; and by a Complement which both the King and Ann Boleyn writ him, on the same piece of Paper, it appears, he was then privy to the Kings Design of marrying her, and intended to advance himself yet higher, by his merits, in procuring her the Crown.

This Year he settled his two great Colleges; and finding both the King and People much pleased with his converting some Monasteries to such uses, he intended to suppress more, and to convert them to Bishopricks, and Cathedral Churches, which the Pope was not willing to grant, the Religious Orders making great Opposition to it; but Gardiner told him, it was necessary, and must be done; so a power for doing it, was added to the Legates Commission.
At this time, the Queen engaged the Emperor to espouse her Interests, which he did, the more willingly, because the King was then in the Interests of France; and to help her Business, a Breve was either found, or forged, (the last is more probable) of the same date with the Bull, that dispensed with her Marriage: But with stronger Clauses in it, to answer those Objections that were made against some defects in the Bull, though it did not seem probable, that in the same Day, a Bull and a Breve would have been granted for the same thing, in such different strains. The most considerable Variation was, That whereas the Bull did only suppose, that the Queen's Marriage with Prince Arthur, was perhaps Consummated; the Breve did suppose it absolutely, without a perhaps. This was thought to prejudice the Queen's Cause as much, as the Suspicion of the Forgery did blemish her Agents.

In October, Campegio came into England; and after the first Complements were over, he first advised the King to give over the Prosecution of his Suit; and then counselled the Queen in the Pope's Name, to enter into a Religious Life, and make Vows; but both were in vain; and he by affecting an Impartiality, almost lost both sides. But he in great measure pacified the King, when he shewed him the Bull he had brought over for annulling the Marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his hands, neither to the King, nor the Cardinal;
inal; upon which, great Instances were made at Rome, that Campegio might be ordered to shew it to some of the King's Counsellors, and to go on and end the business, otherwise Wolsey would be ruined, and England lost: Yet all this did not prevail on the crafty Pope, who knew it was intended once to have the Bull out of Campegio's hands, and then the King would leave him to the Emperour's Indignation: But tho he positively refused to grant that, yet he said, he left the Legates in England, free to judge as they saw Cause, and promised that he would confirm their Sentence.

The Imperialists at Rome pressed him hard, to inhibit the Legates, and to recall the Cause that it might be heard before the Consistory. The Pope declined this motion; and to mollify the King, he sent Campana, one of his Bed-chamber, over to England, with Complements too high to gain much Credit: He assured the King, that the Pope would do for him all he could, not only in Justice, and Equity, but in the fulness of his Power: And that tho he had reason to be very apprehensive, of the Emperour's Resentments, yet that did not divert him from his Zeal for the King's Service; for if his resigning the Popedome would advance it, it should not stick at that. He also was ordered to require the Legates, to put a speedy end to the business; but his secret Instructions to Campegio were of another strain; he charged
Book I. charged him to burn the Bull, and to draw out the matter by all the delays he could invent. Sir Francis Brian, and Peter Vannes, were dispatched to Rome, with new Propositions, to try, whether, if both the King and Queen took Religious Vowes, so that their Marriage were upon that annulled; the Pope would engage to dispence with the King's Vow, or grant him a License for having two Wives. Wolsey also offered in the King's Name, to settle a Pay for 2000 Men, that should be a Guard to the Pope, and to procure a Restitution of some of his Towns, on which the Venetians had seized. But the Pope did not care to have his Guards payed by other Princes; which he looked on as a putting himself in their hands. He was in fear of every thing that might bring a new Calamity upon him; and was now resolved to unite himself firmly with the Emperour, by whose means only, he hoped to reestablish his Family at Florence; and ever after this, all the use he made of the King's Earnestness in his Divorce, was only, to draw in the Emperour to his Interests, on the better Terms. The Emperour was also then pressing him hard, for a General Council; of which, besides the aversion that the Court of Rome had to it, he had particular reason to be afraid; for being a Bastard, he was threatened with Deposition as incapable, by the Canons of the Church, to hold such a Dignity. The Pope proposed a Journey incognito, to Spain, and
and desired \textit{Wolsey} to go with him, for obtaining a General Peace. But in secret, he was making up with the Emperor, and gave his Agents Assurances, that tho the Legates gave Sentence, he would not confirm it. So the King's Correspondents at Rome, wrote to him, to set on the War more vigorously against the Emperor, for he could expect nothing at Rome, unless the Emperor's Affairs declined.

The Pope went on cajoling those the King sent over, and gave new Assurances, that tho he would not grant a Bull, by which the Divorce should be immediately his own Act; yet he would confirm the Legates Sentence so he resolved: to cast the Load wholly upon them: if he said, he did it himself, a Council would be called by the Emperor's means, in which, his Bull would be annulled, and himself deposed, which would bring on a new Confusion; and that, considering the footing Heresy had got, would ruine the Church. The Pope inclined more to the dissolving the Marriage, by the Queen's taking Vowes, as that which could be best defended; but the Cardinal gave him notice, that the Queen would never be brought to that, unless her Nephews advised it.

At this time, the Pope was taken suddenly ill, and fell in a great Sickness; upon which, the Imperialists began to prepare for a Conclave: But Farnefe, and the Cardinal of Mantua opposed them, and seemed to have Inclination for Wolsey. Whom, as his
his Correspondents wrot to him, they reverenced as a Deity. Upon this he sent a Courier to Gardiner, then on his way to Rome, with large Directions, how to manage the Election; It was reckoned, that the King of France, joyning heartily with the King, of which he seemed confident; there were only six Cardinals wanting, to make the Election sure, and besides Summes of Mony, and other Rewards, that were to be distributed among them; he was to give them assurance, that the Cardinals Preferments should be divided among them. These were the secret Methods of attaining that Chair: And indeed it would puzzle a Man of an ordinary degree of Credulity, to think, That one chosen by such means, could be Christ's Vicar, and the Infallible Judge of Controversies. But the Pope's Recovery, put an end to those Intrigues, which yet were soon after revived, by a long and dangerous Relapse: Then great pains was taken, to gain many Cardinals to favour the King's Cause; and many Precedents were found of Divorces, granted in Favour of Princes, upon much lighter grounds. But the Imperialists were so strong at Rome, that they could not hope to prevail, if the Emperour was not first gained; so there was a secret Negotiation set on foot with him, but it had no other Effect, save that it gave great Jealousy, both to the Pope, and the King of France. Another dispatch was sent to Rome, to procure a Commission, with fuller powers
powers in it to the Legates, and a Promise under the Pope's hand to confirm their Sentence; the latter was granted, but the former was refused, for the Pope was resolved to go no further in that Matter, tho' Wolsey wrote to Rome, that if Justice were denied the King, not only England, but France likewise would withdraw their Obedience from the Apostolick See; because by that it would be inferred, that the Emperor had such Influence at Rome, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he pleased. At this time the Cardinal was cheapning his Bulls for Winchester, which were rated at 15000 Ducats; but since it was a Translation from Duresm, so that a new Composition would come in for that Vacancy, he refused to pay above a third of what was demanded.

The Emperor's Ambafladour made a Protestation at Rome in the Queen's Name against the Legates as partial in the King's Favour, which the Pope received. Gardiner, that was a Man of great Craft, and could penetrate well into Secrets, wrote to the King, affuring him, that he might expect nothing more from the Pope, who was resolved to offend neither the Emperor nor him; and therefore he advised him to get the Legates to give Sentence with all possible halt; and then when it should come to the Emperor's turn to solicit the Pope for Bulls against the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now. He was so fearful, and under such irresolution

Book I.

The Pope promised to confirm any Sentence the Legates should give.

1529.
Book I. that he could be brought to do nothing with Vigor: This Gardiner desired might not be shewn to the Cardinal; for he was now setting up for himself, and had a private Correspondence with Anne Boleyn, who in one of her Letters to him as a token of special Favour, sent him some Cramp Rings that the King had Blessed, of which the Office is extant; and Gardiner in one of his Letters says, They were much esteemed for the Virtue that was believed to be in them. In the Promise which the Pope signed to confirm the Sentence that should be given by the Legates, some Clauses were put, by which he could easily break loose from it; so he endeavoured to get another in fuller terms, by this Artifice: He told the Pope, that the Courier had met with an Accident in passing a River, by which the Promise was so spoiled with Water, that it could not be made use of. But the Pope instead of being caught with this, to give a new one, seemed glad that it was spoiled, and positively refused to renew it. And a long and earnest Letter which the Legates wrote to the Pope, pressing him to end the matter roundly by a Decretal Bull, assuring him it was only scruple of Conscience that wrought on the King, and no desire of a new Wife, and that the whole Nation was much offended with the delays of this Matter, in which they were all so much concerned, wrought nothing on him; for he considered that as done by them only in compliance with the King, who thought he had entirely
of the Reformation, &c. 49

entirely gained Campegio, and the scandals Book I. of his Life were so publick, that the mo-
tives of Interest were likely to prevail on
him more than any other; but by all the
Arts that were used, they were not able to
over-reach the Pope, who whatever he
might be in his Decisions, seemed infallible
in his Sagacity and Jealousy. The Queen's
Agents pressed hard for an Avocation, but
the Pope was unwilling to grant that, till he
had finished his Treaty in all other points
with the Emperour, and he began to com-
plain much of the cold Proceedings of the
Confederates, and that they exposed him so
much not only to the Emperour's Mercy, but
to the scorn of the Florentines: by this it was
visible, he was seeking a Colour for calling
himself into the Emperour's Arms; great
Objections were made to the Motion for
an Avocation, it was contrary to the King's
Prerogative to be cited to Rome, and it was
said he would seek Justice of the Clergy of
Eng. if the Pope denied it. It was also contrary
to the Promisfe under the Popes hand, and his
Faith often given by word of mouth, chiefly
of late by Campana, to recall the Legat's
Commission: but verbal Promises did not
bind the Pope much, they vanished into Air;
and Campana swore that he had not made
any, and for the written Promisfe, there was
a Clause put in it, by which he could escape,
so that he was at liberty from all engage-
ments but those he had privately given in
discourse, and to these he was no Slave.

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The Legates began the Process in England, after the necessary Preliminaries: the Queen appeared, and protested against them as incompetent Judges: endeavours were used to terrify her into some compliance; it was given out that some had intended to kill the King or the Cardinal, and that she had some hand in it, that she carried very disobligingly to the King, and used many indecent Arts to be popular; that the King was in danger of his Life by her means, and so could no more keep her company neither in Bed nor at Board; but she was a Woman of so resolute a mind, that no Threatnings could daunt her. When both the King and She were together in the Court, the Queen instead of answering to the Legates, kneeled down before the King, and spake in a manner that raised Compassion in all that were present; she said, She had been his Wife these twenty Years, had born him several Children, and had always studied to please him, therefore she desired to know wherein she had at any time offended him. As for their Marriage it was made by both their Parents, who were esteemed wise Princes, and had no doubt good Counsellours when their Match was agreed on; but at present she neither had indifferent Judges, nor could she expect that her Lawyers being his Subjects durst speak freely for her, and therefore she could not expect Justice there; so she went out of the Court, and would never return to it any more. Upon this the King gave
gave her a great Character for her extraordinary Qualities, and protested, he was acted by no other Principle, then that of Conscience. He added, that Wolsey did not set him on to this Suit, but had opposed it long: that he first moved the matter in Confeffion to the Bishop of Lincoln, and had de-


dired the Archbishop of Canterbury to pro-
cure him the Resolution of the Bishops of England, in his Case; and that they had all under their hands declared, that his Marriage was unlawful. The Bishop of Ro-
hchester denied he had signed it; but Warham pretended, he gave him leave to make another write his Name to it. Fisher denied this, and it was no way probable.

The Legates went on according to the forms of Law, tho' the Queen appealed from them to the Pope, and excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and her Law-


yers: Yet they pronounced her Contumax, and went on to Examine Witnesses; chiefly, to that particular of the Confum-
mation of her Marriage with Prince Ar-
thur. But now, since the Process was thus going on, the Emperours Agents preft the Pope vehemently for an Avocation; and all possible endeavours were used by the King's Agents to hinder it; they spared nothing that would work on the Pope, either in the way of perfwasion, or threat-
ning: It was told him, that there was a Treaty fet on foot, between the King, and the Lutheran Princes of Germany; and that upon the Pope's declaring himself so partial,
Book I. partial, as to grant the Avocation, he would certainly embark in the same Inter-
ests with them. But the Pope thought the King was so far ingaged in Honour in the Points of Religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with Luther's Followers: So he did not imagine, that the Effects of his granting the Avocation, would be so dismal, as the Cardinal's creatures represented them: He thought it would probably ruin him, which might make his Agents use such Threatnings, and he did not much consider that, for he hated him in his heart. So in Conclusion, after the Emperour had engaged to him, to restore his Family to the Government of Florence, he resolved to publish his Treaty with him: But that the granting the Avocation, might not look like (what indeed it was) a secret Article, he resolved to begin with that; and with great signs of Sorrow, he told the English Embassadors, that he was forced to it; both because all the Lawyers told him, it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the Emperours Forces, which surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delays, were as fruitless as their other Arts had been, for on the 15th of July, the Pope signed it, and on the 19th, he sent it by an express Messenger to England.

The Legates, Canpe gio in particular, drew out the matter, by all the delays they could contrive, and gained much time.
time! At last, it being brought to that, Book F
that Sentence was to be pronounced, Cam-
pegio, instead of doing it, adjourned the
Court till October, and said, that they be-
ing a part of the Conscient, must observe
their times of Vacation. This gave the
King and all his Court great offence, when
they saw what was like to be the Issue of
a Process; on which the King was so much
bent, and in which he was so far en-
gaged, both in Honour and Interest.
Campegio had nothing to lose in England,
but the Bishoprick of Salisbury, for which,
the Pope or Emperor could easily recom-
pence him; but Wolsey was under all the
Terours, that an Infolent Favorite is li-
able to, upon a change in his Fortune;
None being more abject in misfortune,
than those that are lifted up with Succes.
When the Avocation was brought to Eng-
land, the King was willing, that the Le-
gates should declare their Commissiion void,
but would not suffer the Letters Citatory
to be served, for he looked upon it as be-
low his Dignity to be cited to appear at
Rome. The King governed himself upon
this occasion, with more temper than was
expected: He dismissed Campegio civilly,
only his Officers searched his Coffers, when
he went beyond Sea, with design, as was
thought, to see if the Decretal Bull could
be found. Wolsey was now upon the point
of being disgraced, tho the King seemed
to treat him with the same Confidence he
had formerly put in him; it being ordina-
ry
Book I. Abridgement of the History

of many Princes to hide their designs of disgracing their Favourites, with higher Expressions of kindnesses than ordinary, till their Ruine breaks out the more violently, because it is not foreseen.

Cranmer's Rise. At this time, Dr. Cranmer, a Fellow of Jesus-Colledge in Cambridge, meeting accidentally with Gardiner, and Fox, at Waltham, and being put on the Discourse of the King's Marriage, proposed a new Method, which was, That the King should engage the chief Universities, and Divines of Europe, to examine the lawfulness of his Marriage; and if they gave their Resolutions against it, then it being certain, that the Pope's Dispensation could not derogate from the Law of God, the Marriage must be declared null: This was new, and seemed reasonable; so they proposed it to the King, who was much taken with it, and said, he had the Sow by the right Ear: He saw this way was both better in itself, and would mortify the Pope extremely; so Cranmer was sent for, and did so behave himself, that the King conceived an high opinion, both of his Learning and Prudence, and of his Probity and Sincerity, which took such root in the King's mind, that no Artifices, nor Calumnies, were ever able to remove it.

Wolsey's Disgrace. But as he was thus in his Rise, so Wolsey did now decline. The Great Seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas Moor: And he was sued in a Premunire, for having held the Legatine Courts by a
of the Reformation, &c.

Foreign Authority, contrary to the Laws of England: He confessed the Indictment, and pleaded Ignorance, and submitted himself to the King's Mercy; so Judgment passed on him: Then was his rich Palace (now Whitehall) and Royal Furniture, seized on to the King's use: Yet the King received him again into his Protection, and restored to him the Temporalities of the Sees of York and Winchester, and above 6000 l. in Plate, and other Goods: And there appeared still great and clear Prints in the King's mind, of that entire Confidence, to which he had received him: of which, as his Enemies were very apprehensive, so he himself was so much transported with the Messages he had concerning it, that once he fell down on his knees in a Kennel before them that brought them. Articles were put in against him, in the House of Lords; it seems, for a Bill of Attainder, where he had but few Friends; which all insolent Favourites may expect in their Disgrace. In the House of Commons, Cromwell, that had been his Secretary, did so manage the matter, that it came to nothing. This failing, his Enemies procured an order to be sent to him, to go into Yorkshire: Thither he went in great State, with 160 Horses in his Train, and 72 Carts following him, and there he lived some time: But the King was informed, that he was practising with the Pope, and the Emperor: So the Earl of Northumberland was sent to arrest him of high Treason, and bring him up
Book I. up to London. On the way he sickned; which different collours of Wit may impute, either to a greatness, or meanness of Mind, tho' the last be the truer. In Conclusion, he died at Leicester, making great Protestations, of his constant Fidelity to the King, particularly in the matter of his Divorce: And he wished he had served God, as faithfully as he had done the King; for then he would not have cast him off in his gray Hairs, as the King had done. Words that declining Favourites are apt to reflect on, but they seldom remember them in the hight of their Fortune.

The King thought it necessary, to secure himself of the Affections, and Confidences of his People, before he would venture on any thing that should displease two such mighty Potentates, as the Pope, and the Emperour. So a Parliament was called; in it the Commons prepared several Bills, against some of the Corruptions of the Clergy; particularly, against Plurality of Benefices, and Non-residence: Abuses, that even Popery itself, could not but condemn. The Clergy abhorred the Precedent of the Commons, medling in Ecclesiastical matters; so Fisher spoke vehemently against them, and said, all this flowed from lack of Faith.

Upon this, the Commons complained of him to the King, for reproaching them; the House of Peers either thought it no breach of Priviledge, or were willing to wink.
wink at it, for they did not interpose. Book I: Fisher was hated by the Court, for adhering so firmly to the Queen's interests; so he was made to explain himself, and it was passed over.

The Bills were much opposed by the Clergy, but in the end they were passed, and had the Royal Assent. In this long Interval of Parliament, the King had borrowed great Sums of Money; so the Parliament, both to discourage that way of supplying Kings for the Future; and for ruining the Cardinal's Creatures, who had been most forward to lend, as having the greatest Advantages from the Government, did by an Act discharge the King of all those Debts. The King granted a general Pardon, with an exception of such as had incurred the pains of Premunire, by acknowledging a Foreign Jurisdiction, with design to terrify the Pope, and keep the Clergy under the lash. The King found it necessary, to make all sure at home, for now were the Pope and Emperor, linked in the firmest Friendship possible; The Pope's Nephew was made Duke of Florence, and married the Emperor's Natural Daughter. A Peace was also made between Francis and the Emperor; and the King found it not so easy, to make him break with the Pope, upon his account, as he had expected. The Emperor went into Italy, and was crowned by the Pope; who when the Emperor was kneeling down to kiss his Foot, humbled
But now the King intending to proceed in the Method proposed by Cranmer, sent to Oxford, and Cambridge, to procure their Conclusions. At Oxford, it was referred by the major part of the Convocation, to thirty three Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, whom that Faculty was to name; they were impowered to determine the Question, and put the Seal of the University to their Conclusion: And they gave their Opinions, that the Marriage of the Brother's Wife, was contrary both to the Laws of God, and Nature. At Cambridge, the Convocation was unwilling to refer it to a select number; yet it was after some days Practice, obtained, but with great difficulty, that it should be referred to twenty nine; of which number, two thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the Seal of the University to their Determination: These agreed in Opinion, with those of Oxford. The jealousy that went of Dr. Cranmer's favouring Lutheranism, made, that the fierce Popish Party, opposed every thing in which he was so far engaged. They were also afraid of Ann Bolley's Advancement, who was believed tinctured with those Opinions. Crook, a learned Man in the Greek Tongue, was employed in Italy, to procure the Resolution of Divines there; in which, he was so successful, that besides the great discoveries he made in searching the Manuscripts of the
of the Reformation, &c.

the Greek Fathers, concerning their Opinions in this point, he engaged several Persons to write for the King's Cause; and also got the Jews to give their Opinions of the Laws in Leviticus, that they were Moral and Obligatory: Yet when a Brother died without Issue, his Brother might marry his Widow within Judea, for preserving their Families, and Succession; but they thought that might not be done out of Judea. The State of Venice would not declare themselves, but said they would be Neutrals; and it was not easy to persuade the Divines of the Republick, to give their Opinions, till a Brief was obtained of the Pope, permitting all Divines, and Canonists, to deliver their Opinions, according to their Consciences; which was not granted but with great difficulty. Crook was not in a condition to corrupt any, for he complained in all his Letters, of the great want he was in: And he was in such ill terms with John Cassali, the King's Embassadour at Venice, that he complained much of him to the King, and was in fear of being poison'd by him. The Pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppose it; but he said in great scorn, that no Friar should set Limits to his Power. Crook was ordered to give no Mony, nor make Promises to any, till they had freely delivered their Opinion; which as he writ, he had so carefully observed, that he offered to forfeit his Head, if the contrary were found true.
Book I. true. Fifteen, or Twenty Crowns, was all the reward he gave, even to those that wrot for the King's Cause; and a few Crowns he gave to some of those that sub-
scribed: But the Emperor rewarded those that wrot against the Divorce, with good Bene-
sices; so little reason there was to a-
scribe the Subscriptions he procured to Cor-
ruption; the contrary of which, appears by his Original Accounts; yet extant. Be-
sides, many Divines, and Canonists; not only whole Houses of Religious Orders, but even the University of Bononia, tho the Pope's Town, declared, that the Laws in Leviticus, about the degrees of Mar-
riage, were parts of the Law of Nature; and that the Pope could not dispence with them. The University of Padua, determined; the same, as also that of Ferrara. In all, Crook sent over to England, an hundred several Books, and Papers, with many Subscrip-
tions, all condemning the King's Marriage, as unlawful in it self. At Paris, the Sor-
bon made their Determination, with great Solemnity; after a Mass of the Holy Ghoft, all the Doctors took an Oath, to study the Question, and to give their Judgment according to their Consciences; and after three Weeks' study, the greater part a-
reed in this, That the King's Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not dispense with it. At Orleans, Angiers, and Tholouse, they determined to the same purpose. Er-
asmus had a mind to live in quiet, and so he would not give his Opinion, nor offend, either
either party. Grinew was employed to try what Bucer, Zuinglius, and Oecolampadius thought of the Marriage. Bucer's opinion was, that the Laws in Leviticus did not bind, and were not moral: Because God, not only dispensed, but commanded them to marry their Brother's Wife, when he died without Issue. Zuinglius, and Oecolampadius, were of another mind, and thought these Laws were moral: But were of Opinion, that the Issue by a Marriage, de facto, grounded upon a received Mistake, ought not to be illegitimat-ed.

Calvin thought the Marriage was null, and they all agreed, that the Pope's Dispensation was of no force. Osiander was imploied to engage the Lutheran Divines, but they were afraid of giving the Emperor new grounds of displeasure. Melanthon thought the Law in Leviticus was dispensable, and that the Marriage might be lawful; and that in those matters, States and Princes might make what Laws they pleased; And though the Divines of Leipsick, after much disputing about it, did agree, that these Laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to justify the Divorce, with the subsequent Marriage that followed upon it, even after it was done: and that the King appeared very inclined to receive their Doctrine; So steadily did they follow their Consciences, even against their Interests: But the Pope was more compliant, for he offered to Cæsari
Book I. falis, to grant the King a Dispensation for having another Wife, with which the Imperialists seemed not dissatisfied.

The King’s Cause being thus fortified, many of the Nobility write to the Pope.

Many of the Nobility write to the Pope.

1530. The King’s Cause being thus fortified, by so many Resolutions in his Favours, he made many members of Parliament in a Prorogation time, sign a Letter to the Pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great merits of the King, the Justice of his Cause, and the Importance of it to the safety of the Kingdom; yet the Pope made still new Delayes; they therefore pressed him to dispatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to see for other Remedies, tho they were not willing to drive things to Extremities, till it was unavoidable: The Letter was signed by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, four other Bishops, 22 Abbots, 42 Peers, and 11 Commoners. To this the Pope wrote an answer: He took notice of the Vehemence of their Stile: He freed himself from the Imputations of Ingratitude, and Injustice: He acknowledged the King’s great Merits; and said, he had done all he could in his Favour: He had granted a Commission, but could not refuse to receive the Queen’s Appeal; all the Cardinals with one consent judged, that an Avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not at his door, but at the Kings; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an Issue, as the Importance of it would admit of; and for their Threatnings, they were neither
of the Reformation, &c.

Chapter I

1530.

November

Things being now in such a Posture, the King set out a Proclamation; against any that should purchase, bring over, or publish any Bull from Rome, contrary to his Authority: and after that he made an Abstract of all the Reasons and Authorities of Fathers, or modern Writers, against his Marriage to be published, both in Latin and English.

The main stress was laid on the Laws in Leviticus, of the forbidden Degrees of Marriage; among which, this was one, not to marry the Brother's Wife. These Marriages are called Abominations, that defile the Land; and for which, the Canaanites were cast out of it. The Exposition of Scripture, was to be taken from the Tradition of the Church; and by the Universal Consent of all Doctors, those Laws had been still looked on as Moral, and ever binding to Christians, as well as Jews: Therefore, Gregory the Great, advised Austin the Monk, upon the Conversion of the English; among whom, the Marriages of the Brother's Wife were usual, to dissolve them, looking on them as grievous Sins: Many other Popes, as Calixtus, Zacharias, and Innocent the Third, had given their Judgments, for the perpetual Obligation of those Laws: They had been also condemned by the Councils of Neocesarea, Agde, and the second of Toledo. Among Wickliff's condemned Opinions, this was one, that
that the Prohibitions of marrying in such degrees, were not founded on the Law of God: For which he was condemned in some English Councils, and these were confirmed by the General Council at Constance. Among the Greek Fathers, both Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, and Hesychius; and among the Latins, Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, and St. Austin, do formally deliver this, as the belief of the Church in their time, that those Laws were Moral, and still in force: Anselm, Hugo de Sancto Vitore, Hildebert, and Ivo, argue very fully to the same purpose, the last particularly, writing concerning the King of France, who had married his Brothers Wife, says, it was inconsistent with the Law of God, with which none can dispence; and that he could not be admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put her away. Aquinas, and all the School-men, follow these Authorities, and in their way of reasoning, they argue fully for this Opinion; and all that writ against Wickliff, did also assert the Authority of those Prohibitions; in particular, Waldensis, whose Books were approved by Pope Martin the Fifth. All the Canonists did also agree with them, as Johannes Andreas, Panormitan, and Ostiensis; so that Tradition being the only sure Expounder of the Scripture, the Case seemed clear. They also proved, that a Consent without Consummation, made the Marriage compleat, which being a Sacrament, that which followed after in the Right
Right of Marriage, was not necessary to make it compleat, as a Priest saying Mass consummates his Orders, which yet were compleat without it. Many Testimonies were brought to confirm this; from which it was inferred that the Queen's being married to Prince Arthur, tho nothing had followed upon it, made her incapable of a lawful Marriage with the King. And yet they shewed what violent Presumptions there were of Consummation, which was all that in such Cases was sought for; and this was expressed both in the Bull and Breve, tho but dubiously in the one, yet very positively in the other: After that they examined the Validity of the Pope's Dispensation. It was a received Maxime, that tho the Pope had Authority to dispense with the Laws of the Church, yet he could not dispense with the Laws of God, which were not subject to him: And it had been judged in the Rota at Rome, when a Dispensation was asked for a King to marry his Wives Sister, that it could not be granted; and when Precedents were alledged for it, it was answered, that the Church was to be governed by Laws, and not by Examples; and if any Pope had granted such Dispensation, it was either out of Ignorance or Corruption. This was not only the Opinion of the School-men, but of the Canonists, tho they are much set on railing the Pope's Power, as high as is possible: And therefore Alexander the third, refused to grant a Dispensation in a like case, tho the Parent had sworn
sworn to make his Son marry his Brother's Widow; others went further, and said, The Pope could not dispense with the Laws of the Church, which several ancient Popes had declared against, and it was said, that the fulness of Power, with which the Pope was vested, did only extend to the pastoral Care, and was not for Destruction, but for Edification; and that as St. Paul opposed St. Peter to his Face, so had many Bishops withstood Popes, when they proceeded against the Canons of the Church. So both Lawrence and Dunstan in England, had proceeded to Censures; notwithstanding the Pope's Authority interposed to the contrary; and no Authority being able to make what was a Sin in itself become lawful; every Man that found himself engaged in a sinful course of Life, ought to forfake it; and therefore the King ought to withdraw from the Queen, and the Bishops of England in case of refusal ought to proceed to Censures. Upon the whole matter, Tradition was that upon which all the Writers of Controversy, particularly now in the Contests with the Lutherans, founded the Doctrine of the Church, as being the only infallible Exposition of the doubtful parts of Scripture; and that being so clear in this matter, there seemed to be no room for any further Debate.

On the other hand, Cajetan was the first Writer, that against the stream of former Ages thought that the Laws of Leviticus, were only Judicial Precepts, binding the Jews,


and were not moral: his Reasons were, that Adam's Children must have married in the Degrees there forbidden. Jacob married two Sisters; and Judah, according to custom, gave his two Sons, and promised a third to the same Woman. Moses also appointed the Brother to marry the Brother's Wife when he died without Issue. But a Moral Law is for ever, and in all Cases binding; and it was also said, that the Pope's power reached even to the Laws of God, for he dispensed with Oaths and Vows; and as he had the Power of determining Controversies, so he only could declare what Laws were moral and indispensible, and what were not; nor could any Bishops pretend to judg concerning the extent of his Power, or the validity of his Bulls.

To all this, those that writ for the King, answered, That it was strange to fee Men who pretended such Zeal against Hereticks, follow their Method, which was to set up private reasonings from some Texts of Scripture, in opposition to the received Tradition of the Church, which was the bottom in which all good Catholicks thought themselves safe; and if Cajetan wrote in this manner against the received Doctrin of the Church in one Particular, why might not Luther take the same liberty in other Points? They also made distinction in moral Laws, between those that were so from the nature of the thing which was indispensible, and could in no
Abridgment of the History

Book I. Case be lawful; and to this fort, no Degrees, but those of Parents and Children, could be reduced; other Moral Laws were only grounded upon publick Inconveniences, and Dishonesty, such as the other Degrees were; for the Familiarities that Persons so nearly related live in, are such, that unless a Terror were struck in them, by a perpetual Law against such mixtures, Families would be much defiled: But in such Laws, tho God may grant a Dispensation in some particular Cases, yet an Inferiour Authority cannot pretend to it: and some Dispensations granted in the latter Ages, ought not to be set up to balance the Decisions of so many Popes, and Councils against them, and the Doctrine taught by so many Fathers and Doctors in former times.

Both sides having thus brought forth the strength of their Cause; it did evidently appear, That according to the Authority given to Tradition in the Church of Rome, the King had clearly the Right on his side, and that the Pope's Party did write with little sincerity in this matter, being guilty of that manner of arguing from Texts of Scriptures, for which they had so loudly charged the Lutherans.

The Queen continued firm to her Resolution, of leaving the matter in the Pope's Hands, and therefore would hearken to no Propositions that were made to her, for referring the matter to the Arbitration of some chosen on both sides.
A Session of Parliament followed in January, in which the King made the Decisions of the Universities, and the Books that were written for the Divorce, be first read in the House of Lords, and then they were carried down by Sir Thomas More, and 12 Lords, both of the Spirituality, and Temporality, to the Commons. There were twelve Seals of Universities shewed, and their Decisions were read, first in Latin, and then translated into English. There were also an hundred Books shewed, written on the same Argument: Upon the shewing these, the Chancellor desired them to report in their Countries; that they now clearly saw, that the King had not attempted this matter of his meer will and pleasure, but for the discharge of his Conscience, and the security of the Succession of the Crown. This was also brought into the Convocation, who declared themselves satisfied, concerning the unlawfulness of the Marriage: but the Circumstances they were then in, made that their Declaration was not much considered; for they were then under the lash. All the Clergy of England were sued, as in the case of a Premunire, for having acknowledged a Foreign Jurisdiction, and taken out Bulls, and had Suits in the Legatine Court.

The Kings of England did claim such a Power in Ecclesiastical matters, as the Roman Emperours had exercised before the fall of that Empire: Anciently they had
had by their Authority divided Bifhopricks, 
granted the Investitures, and made Laws, 
both relating to Eccleiaftical Caufes & Per-
sons. When the Popes began to extend 
their Power, beyond the Limits assigned 
them by the Canons, they met with great 
opposition in England, both in the matter 
of Investitures, Appeals, Legates, and 
the other Branches of their Uturpations; 
but they managed all the Advantages they 
found, either from the Weakness, or ill 
Circumstances of Princes, fo steadily, that 
in Conclusion, they subdued the World: 
And if they had not by their cruel Exaction-
s, fo opprefled the Clergy, that they were 
driven to feek Shelter under the Covert 
of the Temporal Authority, the World 
was then fo over-mastered by Superftiti-
on and Credulity, that not only the whole 
Spiritual Power, but even the Temporal 
Power of Princes, was likely to have fal-
ten into the Pope's hands: But the di-
contented Clergy supported the Secular Power, 
as much as they had before advanced the 
Papal Tyranny. Boniface the 8th had 
rased his Pretentions to that impudent 
pitch, that he declared, all Power, both 
Eccleiaftical, and Civil, was derived from 
him, and effablifhed that, as an Article of 
Faith, neceffary to Salvation; and he, and 
his Successors, took upon them, to dispose 
of all Eccleiaftical Benefices, by their 
Bulls and Provisions. Upon which, Laws 
were made in England, restraining thofe 
Invasions on the Crown; since thofe En-
dowments
Documents were made for informing the People of the Law of God, and for Hospitality, and Acts of Charity, which were defeated, as well as the Crown was disinherited by the Provisions which the Popes granted. Therefore they condemned them for the future, but no Punishment being declared for the Transgressors of that Fact, the Courtiers at Rome were not frightened at so general a Law; so these Abuses were still continued: But in Edward the Third's time, a more severe Law was made, by which, all that transgressed were to be imprisoned, to be fined at pleasure, and to forfeit all their Benefices. By an other Act, they were put out of the King's Protection. Several other Confirmations of this were made, both in that Reign, and under Richard the Second; and the former Punishments were extended, not only to the Provisors themselves, but to all that were employed by them, or took Farms of them: and because Licences might be granted by the King for Aliens, to hold Benefices in England, he did bind himself to grant none: Others took both Presentations in England, and obtained Provisions from Rome, which was likewise condemned. The Right of Presentations was tried, only in the King's Courts; but the Popes had a mind to take the Cognizance of that to their own Courts; upon which, the Parliament considering the great Prejudice the Nation was like to suffer, and the Subjection that the Crown
Book I. Crown would fall under, resolved to provide effectual Remedies; so all the Commons declared, they would live and die with the King, and desired him to examine all the Lords, whether they would uphold the Regality of the Crown. The Temporal Lords declared, they would do it: But the Spiritual Lords made some difficulty; yet in Conclusion, they also promised, they would adhere to the Crown: So a Law passed, that if any purchased, Translations, Excommunications, or Bulls, from Rome, that were contrary to the King, or his Crown, they, and all that brought them over, or that received, or executed them, were declared to be out of the King's Protection, and that their Goods and Chattels should be forfeited to the King, and their Persons imprisoned. And because the Proceedings upon this, were by a Writ, called, from the most material Words of it, Premunire facias; this Statute carried the name of the Statute of Premunire. There was also a Law passed in Henry the Fourth's Reign, against some Bulls, which the Cistercians had procured, and against the high Rates set on Bulls in the Apostolick Chamber; and whereas the King had been prevailed with, to give Licences for some Bulls, by which the Provisors put the Incumbents out of their Benefices, these were all declared to be of no force, when done in prejudice of the Subjects Rights. The Invasions that both the Popes and Kings made upon Elections, were
of the Reformation, &c.

were by another Law condemned, and the Liberty of Elections was again set up.

But those Kings being more concerned to preserve their own Prerogative, than the Rights of their People, were often prevailed with, to grant Pardons, and Licences, to those who obtained Provisions at Rome; so these were all again condemned in Henry the Fifth's time.

In all this time, the weakness of the Papacy, gave Princes some Advantages, which they had not in former Ages; for a great while the Popes sate at Avignon, where they were much eclipsed of their former Greatness: After that a Schism followed between the Popes that sate at Rome, and those that still sate at Avignon; and the Princes of Christendom, being then at liberty, to choose which of those they would acknowledg; the Popes durst not thunder against those Laws, as they had done in former times, upon much les Provocation. And indeed all the use that the Kings made of them, was, to oblige the Provisors to come and depend on them for their Licence to execute their Bulls; and the King's Authority being joyned with the Popes, it was hard for those who were oppressed to resist that double force: Nor was there any vigorous Execution made of those Laws, otherways than to draw Mony from the Provisors: For it fell out in this case, what is ordinary on all such occasions, that Favourites make use of good Laws; by which, Power is trusted to the Prince, for the Protection
Book I. Protection and Security of the Subjects, only for their own ends. It was a strange weakness in the Princes of Christendom, to take such pains as was done at Constance, for healing the Breach in the Papacy, for while that continued, they reigned in peace; and the Clergy was less oppressed than formerly: But that being once made up, the Popes were beginning again to raise their old Pretentions: And Pope Martin the 5th, not being willing to engage with so high spirited a King, as Henry the 5th was, he took Advantage in the Minority of Henry the Sixth's Reign, to propose a Repeal of those Laws, and first wrote very severely to Chichely, then Archbishop of Canterbury, for not opposing the Statute of Provisors, that had passed in the former Reign; nor standing up for the Rights of St. Peter: He therefore exhorted him to imitate his Predecessor, Thomas Becket; and required him to declare at the next Parliament, the unlawfulness of it; and that all who obeyed it, were under Excommunication: He also required him to order the Clergy, to preach everywhere against it. Yet Chichely did not proceed so zealously as the Pope expected, and therefore he suspended his Legatine Power. The Archbishop appealed upon this from the Pope, to the next General Council, or if none met, to the Tribunal of God: But the Pope wrote also to the Clergy, requiring them to do what in them lay, for the repeal of the Statute:

And
And in another Letter to the two Archbishops, in which, in spite to Chickeley, York is first named; he annulled the Statutes made by Edward the Third, and Richard the Second; and declared all to be excommunicated that executed them, reserving the absolution of them to himself, unless they were at the point of death: And he required them to publish, and affix this his Monitory Brief. The Archbishop humbled himself to the Pope; and got the other Bishops, and the University of Oxford, to write in his Favour to him; which they did, according to the flattering, and vain style of that Age: In his own Letter he says, he had not opened the Pope's Brief, and so did not know what it contained, being required by the King to bring it to him with the Seals intire. The Pope wrote also both to the King and Parliament, requiring them, under the pains of Excommunication, and Damnation, to repeal those Statutes. Upon the meeting of the next Parliament, the Archbishop, accompanied by several Bishops, and Abbots, went to the House of Commons, and made them a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are Gods; And exhorted them to repeal those Laws against the Pope's power, in granting Provisors; and with Tears laid out the mischiefs that would follow, if the Pope should proceed to Censures. But the Commons would
Book I. Book I. would not repeal those Laws; yet they were left as dead Letters among the Records, for no care was taken to execute them. The Pope was so far satisfied with Chichely's behaviour, that he received him again to favour, and restored to him the Legatine Power. This being hitherto mentioned by none of our Writers, it seemed no impertinent Digression to give this account of it.

The Clergy sued in a Prerogative. Now were those long forgotten Statutes revived, to bring the Clergy into a Snare: It was designed by the terror of this, to force them into an intire Submission; and to oblige them to redeem themselves by the grant of a considerable Subsidy. They pretended they had erred ignorantly; for the King by his favour to the Cardinal, seemed to consent, if not to encourage that Authority which he then exercised: It was a publick Error, and so they ought not to be punished for it. To all this it was answered, that the Laws which they had transgressed, were still in force, and so no Ignorance could excuse the Violation of them. The Convocation of Canterbury made their Submission, and in their Address to the King, he was called the Protector, and Supream Head of the Church of England; but some excepting to that, it was added, in so far as it is agreeable to the Law of Christ. This was signed by Nine Bishops, Fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greatest part of the Lower House; and with it they offered the King a Subsidy.
to procure his Favour, of an 100000 l. and
they promised for the future, not to make
nor execute, any Constitutions, without
his Licence. The Convocation of York did
not pass this so easily; they excepted to
the word Head, as agreeing to none but
Christ: Yet the King wrote them a long
expostulating Letter, and told them, with
what Limitations those of Canterbury had
passed that Title; upon which they also
submitted, and offered him 18840 l. which
was also well received; and so all the Cler-
gy were again received into the King's
Protection, and pardoned. But when the
King's Pardon was brought into the Par-
liament, the Laity complained, that they
were not included within it; for many of
them were also obnoxious on the same
account, in some measure, having had
Suits in the Legatine Court; and they did
apprehend, that they might be brought
in trouble: And therefore they addressed
to the King, and desired to be compre-
hended within it: But the King told them,
his mercy was neither to be restrained,
nor forced. This put the House of Com-
mons in great trouble; but they past the
Act: And soon after, the King sent a
Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, which
was received with great Joy; and they
acknowledged, that the King had temper-
ed his Greatness with his Clemency, in
his way of proceeding in this matter.

In this Session, one Rouse, that had poi-
don a great Pot of Porridge, in the Bi-
shop
Book I. the Shop of Rochester’s Kitchin, of which two had died, and many had been brought near Death, was attainted of Treason, and condemned to be boiled to death; and that was made the Punishment of Poisoning in time to come. By this Act the Parliament made a Crime to be Treason that was not so before, and punished the Person accordingly; which was founded on the Power reserved in the 25th of Edward the 3d to Parliaments, to declare in time coming what Crimes were Treason. This severe Sentence was executed in Smithfield; Rousé accusing none as his Complices, tho malicious Persons did afterwards impute that Action of his to a design of Anne Bollixrn upon Fisher’s Life; but his silence under so terrible a Condemnation, shewed he could not charge others with it.

After the Sessions of Parliament, new Applications were made to the Queen to persuade her to depart from her Appeal; but she remained fixed in her Resolution, and said, she was the King’s lawful Wife, and would abide by it till the Court at Rome should declare the contrary. Upon that the King desired her to choose any of his Houses in the Country to live in, and resolved never to see her more.

The Clergy were now raising the Subsidy, and the Bishops intended to make the inferior Clergy pay their share: But upon the Bishop of London’s calling some few of them together, on whom he hoped to prevail, and make them set a good Example.
ple to the rest, all the Clergy hearing of it, came to the Chapter-house and forced their way in, tho' the Bishop's Officers did what they could by Violence to keep them out. The Bishop made a Speech, setting forth the King's Clemency, in accepting such a Subsidy instead of all their Benefices, which they had forfeited to him, and therefore desired them to bear their share in it patiently. They answered that they had not meddled with the Cardinal's Faculties, nor needed they the King's Pardon, not having transgressed his Laws; and therefore since the Bishops and Abbots only were in fault, it was reasonable that they only should raise the Subsidy. Upon this the Bishop's Officers, and they came to very high Words, and it ended in Blows: But the Bishop quieted them all he could with good Words, and dismissed them with a Promise that none should be brought unto question for what had been then done; yet he complained to More of it, and he put many of them in Prison: But the thing was let fall.

This Year produced a new Breach between the Pope and the Emperour; the Pope pretended to Modeno and Regio as Fiefs of the Papacy; but the Emperour judged against him for the Duke of Ferrard. Upon this the Pope resolved to unite himself to the Crown of France; and Francis, to gain him more entirely, proposed a Match between his second Son Henry, and the Pope's Niece, the famous Catherine de Medici.
Book I. *dici*, which as it wrought much on the Pope's Ambition; so it was like to prove a great support to his Family. *Francis* also offered to resign all his Pretentions in Italy to his Son *Henry*, which was like to draw in other Princes to a League with him, who would have been much better pleased to see a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperor or the King of France. The King's Matter was now in a fairer way of being adjusted; for the Pope's Conscience being directed by his Interests, since he had now broken with the Emperor, it was probable he would give the King content. He saw the danger of losing England. The Interest of the Clergy was much sunk, and they were in a great measure subjected to the Crown. *Lutheranism* was also making a great Progress; and the Pope was out of any danger from the Emperor, on whom the whole Power of the *Turkish* Empire was now fallen, drawn in, as was believed, by the Practices of *Francis* at the *Port*, tho' that did not well agree with his Title of *Most Christian King*. The Princes of *Germany* took Advantage from this, to make the Emperor consent to some further liberty in matters of Religion, and to secure themselves; they were then also entered into a League with *Francis*, for preserving the Rights of the Empire, unto which King *Henry* was invited. All this raised *Francis* again very high; so he was the fittest Person to mediate an Agreement between the King and the Pope, and being himself a *Lover*
Lover of Pleasure, he was the more easily engaged to serve the King in the accomplishment of his Amours.

A new Session of Parliament was held, in which the Laity complained of the spiritual Courts, of their way of proceeding ex officio, and not admitting Persons accused to their Purgation. But this was not much considered, by reason of an ill understanding that fell in between the King and the House of Commons. There was a Custom brought in of making such Settlements of Estates, that the Heir was not liable to Wards, and the other Advantages to which the King or the Great Lords had otherwise a Right by their Tenures: So a Bill for regulating that was sent down by the Lords, but the Commons rejected it, which gave the King great Offence; upon that they addressed to the King for a Dissolution, since they had been now obliged to a long Attendance. The King answered them sharply, He said, they had rejected a Bill, in which he had offered a great Abatement of that which he might claim by Law; and therefore he would execute the Law in its utmost severity. He told them he had Patience while his Suit was in dependence, and so they must have likewise. For this Parliament was made up of Men very ill affected to the Clergy; so the King kept it still in being, to terrify the Court of Rome so much the more.

All that was remarkable that past in this Session was an Act against Annats; it sets forth
forth that they were founded on no Law, they were first exacted to defend Christendom against Infidels, and were now kept up as a Revenue to the Papacy, and Bulls were not granted till they were compounded for: for 800,000 Ducats had bin carried out of England to Rome, on that account since the beginning of the former Reign. The King was bound by his Royal Care of his Subjects to hinder such Oppressions; and therefore all that were provided to great Benefices, were required not to pay First Fruits for the future, under the pain of forfeiting all their Goods, and the profits of their Benefices; and those that were presented to Bishopricks were appointed to be consecrated, tho' their Bulls were denied at Rome, and they were required to pay no more but 5 per Cent. of the clear Profits of their Sees. If the Pope should upon this proceed to censures, they required all the Clergy to perform Divine Offices, these notwithstanding. But by an extraordinary Provifo, they referred it to the King to declare at any time between that and Easter next, whether this Act should take place or not: and the King by his Letters Patents declared that it should take place being provoked by the Pope.

In January the Pope, upon the motion of the Imperialists wrote to the King, complaining that notwithstanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one Anne as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibition...
tion served on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen again, and to put Anne away. Upon this the King sent Dr. Bennet to Rome with a large Dispatch; in it he complained that the Pope proceeded in that matter upon the Suggestion of others, who were ignorant and rash Men: the Pope had carried himself inconstantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Christ's Vicar: and the King had now for several Years expected a Remedy from him in vain. The Pope had granted a Commission, had promised never to recall it, and had sent over a Decretal Bull defining the Cause. Either these were unjustly granted, or unjustly recalled. If he had Authority to grant these things, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much more a Pope, since he had recalled them? If he had not Authority to grant them, he did not know how far he could consider any thing he did. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his Interests, than according to Conscience; and that, as the Pope had often confessed his own Ignorance in these matters, so he was not furnished with Learned Men to advise him, otherwise he would not maintain a Marriage which almost all the Learned Men and Universities in England, France, and Italy, had condemned as unlawful. He desired the Pope would excuse the Freedom he used, to which his Carriage had forced him. He would not question his Authority, unless he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its first and ancient Limits, which was much better than to let
Book I. 1532.

The King cited to Rome, excuses himself.

The Cardinal of Ravenna was then considered as an Oracle for Learning in the Consistory, so the King's Agents resolved to gain him with great Promises; but he said, Princes were liberal of their Promises, till their turn was served, and then forgot them; so he resolved to make sure work; therefore he made Bennet give him a Promise in writing of the Bishoprick of Ely, or the first Bishoprick that fell till that was vacant.
vacant, and he also engaged that the King should procure him Benefices in France to the value of 6000 Ducats a Year, for the Service he should do him in his Divorce. This was an Argument of so great Efficacy with the Cardinal, that it absolutely turned him from being a great Enemy, to be as great a Promoter, of the King's Cause, tho' very artificially. Several other Cardinals were also prevailed with, by the same Topicks. The King's Agents put in his Plea of Excuse in 28 Articles, and it was ordered that three of them should be discussed at a hearing before the Consistory, till they should be all examined: But that Court sitting once a Week, the Imperialists, after some of them were heard, procured an Order, that the rest should be heard in a Congregation or Committee of Cardinals, before the Pope, for greater Dispatch: but Karp refused to obey this, and so it was referred back to the Consistory. But against this the Imperialists protested, and refused to appear any more. News were brought to Rome from England, that a Priest that had preached up the Pope's Power, was cast into Prison; and that one committed by the Archbishop for Heresy, appealed to the King as supreme Head, which was received and judged in the King's Courts. The Pope made great Complaints upon this: but the King's Agents said, the best way to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King Justice. At this time a Bull was granted for suppressing some Monasteries,
ries, and erecting new Bishopricks out of them. *Chester* was to be one, and the Cardinal of *Revenue* was so pleased with the Revenue designed for it, that he laid his hand upon it, till *Ely* should happen to fall vacant. In conclusion, the Pope seemed to favour the King's Plea *Exculatory*, upon which the Imperialists made great Complaints. But this amounted to no more, save that the King was not bound to appear in Person: Therefore the Cardinals that were gained, advised the King to send over a Proxy for answering to the merits of the Cause, and not to lose more time in that Dilatory Plea; and they having declared themselves against the King in that Plea, before the bargain had been made with them, could with the better credit serve him in the other. So the Vacation coming on, it was resolved by the Cardinals neither to admit nor reject the Plea. But both the Pope and the Colledg wrote to the King to send over a Proxy for determining the matter next Winter. *Bonner* was also sent to *England* to assure the King, that the Pope was now so much in the French Interest, that he might confidently refer his matter to him; but whereas the King desired a Commission to judg (*in partibus*) upon the place: it was laid, that the Point to be judged, being the Pope's Authority to dispense with the King's Marriage, that could not be referred to Legates, but must needs be judged in the *Consistory*. 
At this time a new Session of Parliament was called in England. The Clergy gave in an Answer to the Complaints made of them by the Commons in the former Sessions: But when the King gave it to the Speaker, he complained, that one Temse, a Member of their House, had moved for an Address to the King, that the Queen might be again brought back to the Court; The King said, it touched his Conscience, and was not a thing that could be determined in that House. He wished his Marriage were good, but many Divines had declared it unlawful. He did not make his Suit out of Lust or foolish Appetite, being then past the Heats of Youth; he assured them, his Conscience was troubled, and desired them to report that to the House. Many of the Lords came down to the House of Commons, and told them, the King intended to build some Forts on the Borders of Scotland, to secure the Nation from the Inroads of the Scots; and the Lords approving of this, sent them to propose it to the Commons, upon which a Subsidy was voted; but upon the breaking out of the Plague, the Parliament was prorogued, before the Act was finished. At that time the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him he found that the Prelates were but half Subjects; for they swore at their Consecration an Oath to the Pope, that was inconsistent with their Allegiance, and Oath to the King. By their Oath to the Pope, they swore to
Book I. 1522.

...to be in no Council against him, nor to disclose his Secrets; but to maintain the Papacy, and the Regalities of S. Peter against all Men, together with the Rights and Authorities of the Church of Rome; and that they should honourably entreat the Legats of the Apostolick See, and observe all the Decrees, Sentences, Provisions, and Commandments of that See; and yearly, either in Person or by Proxy, visit the Thresholds of the Apostles. In their Oath to the King, they renounced all Clauses in their Bulls contrary to the King's Royal Dignity, and did swear to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him against all others, and to keep his Counsel; acknowledging that they held their Bishopricks only of him. By these it appeared that they could not keep both those Oaths, in case a Breach should fall out between the King and the Pope. But the Plague broke off the Consultations of Parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir Thomas More seeing a Rupture with Rome coming on so fast, desired leave to lay down his Office, which was upon that conferred on Sir Tho. Audley. He was satisfied with the King's keeping up the Laws formerly made in Opposition to the Papal Incroachments, and so had concured in the Suit of the Premunire; but now the matter went further, and so he not being able to keep pace with the Counsels, returned to a private Life, with a Greatness of Mind equal to what the ancient Greeks or Romans had expressed on...
such Occasions. Endeavours were used to be brought against him, to blemish his Integrity.

An Enterneiw followed between the Kings of France and England; to which, was carried; In which, after the first Ceremonies, and Magnificence was over, Francis promised Henry to second him in his Suit: He encouraged him to proceed to a second Marriage, without more adoe; and assured him, he would stand by him in it: And told him, he intended to restrain the payment of Annats to Rome; and would ask of the Pope a Redress of that and other Grievances; and if it was denied, he would seek other Remedies in a Provincial Council. An Enterneiw was proposed between the Pope and Him; to which he desired the King go with him; and King was not unwilling to it, if he could have assurance that his Business would be finally determined. The Pope offered to the King, to send a Legate to any indifferent place out of England, to form the Process, reserving only the giving Sentence to himself: And proposed to him, and all Princes, a General Truce, that so he might call a General Council. The King answered, that such was the present State of the Affairs of Europe, that it was not seasonable to call a General Council; that it was
was contrary to his Prerogative to send a Proxy to appear at Rome; That by the Decrees of General Councils, all Causes ought to be judged on the place, and by a Provincial Council; and that it was fitter to judge it in England, than any where else: And that by his Coronation Oath, he was bound to maintain the Dignities of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects; and not to appear before any foreign Court: So Sir Thomas Elliot was sent over with Instructions, to move, that the cause might be judged in England: Yet if the Pope had real Intentions of giving the King full Satisfaction, he was not to insist on that: And to make the Cardinal of Ravenna sure, he sent him the offer of the Bishoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, then vacant. Soon after this, the King married Ann Bolleyn; Rowland Lee (afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield) did officiate, none being present but the Duke of Norfolk, and her Father, her Mother, and her Brother, and Cranmer. It was thought, that the former Marriage being null of it self, the King might proceed to another: And perhaps, they hoped, that as the Pope had formerly proposed this Method, so he would now approve of it. But tho the Pope had joyned himself to France, yet he was still so much in fear of the Emperour, that he resolved not to provoke him; and so was not wrought on by any of the Expedients which Bennet proposed, which were either to
of the Reformation, &c.

To judge the Cause in England, according to Book I. the Council of Nice; or to refer it to the Arbitration of some, to be named by the King, and the King of France, and the Pope: for all these, he said, tended to the Diminution of the Papal Power. A new Citation was issued out, for the King, to answer to the Queen's Complaints; but the King's Agents protested, that he was a Soveraign Prince, that England was a free Church, over which the Pope had no just Authority; and that the King could expect no Justice at Rome, where the Emperor's Power was so great.

At this time, the Parliament met again, and passed an Act, condemning all Appeals to Rome: In it they set forth, 'That the Crown was Imperial, and that the Nation was a compleat Body, having full Power to do Justice in all Cases, both Spiritual, and Temporal: And that as former Kings had maintained the Liberties of the Kingdom against the Usurpations of the See of Rome; so they found the great Inconveniences of allowing Appeals in Matrimonial Causes; That they put them to great Charges, and occasioned many Delayes: Therefore they enacted, That thereafter those should be all judged within the Kingdom, and no regard should be had to any Appeals to Rome, or Censures from it: But Sentences given in England, were to have their full Effect: and all that executed any Censures from Rome, were
Book I. to incur the pains of Premunire. Appeals were to be from the Arch-deacon to the Bishop; and from him to the Archbishop: And in the Causes that concerned the King, the Appeal was to be to the upper House, of Convocation.

There was now a new Archbishop of Canterbury; Warham died the former Year: He was a great Patron of Learning, a good Canonist, and wise States-man; but was a cruel Persecutor of Hereticks, and inclined to believe Fanatical Stories. Cranmer was then in Germany, disputing in the King's Cause with some of the Emperour's Divines. The King resolved to advance him to that Dignity; and sent him word of it, that so he might make haste over: But a Promotion so far above his Thoughts, had not its common Effects on him: He had a true and primitive Sense of so great a Charge; and instead of aspiring to it, he was afraid of it, & he both returned very slowly to England, and used all his Endeavours, to be excused from that Advance-ment: But this declining of Preferment, being a thing, of which the Clergy of that Age were so little guilty, discovered, That he had Maximes very far different from most Church-men. Bulls were sent for to Rome, in order to his Consecration, which the Pope granted, tho it could not be very grateful to him, to send them to one who had so publickly disputed against his Power of dispensing; all the Composition that was payed for them, was, but
of the Reformation, &c. 93

900 Ducats, which was perhaps accord-
ing to the Regulation, made in the Act 1533.

against Annats. There were several Bulls
\footnote{Book I.} sent over, one, confirming the King's No-

mination; a Second, requiring him to ac-
cept it; a Third, absolving him from Cen-

sures; a Fourth, to the Suffragan Bishops;

a Fifth, to the Dean and Chapter; a Sixth,
to the Clergy; a Seventh, to the Laity;
an Eighth, to the Tenants of the See, re-
quiring all these to receive him to be their
Archbishop; a Ninth, requiring some Bi-

shops to consecrate him; the Tenth gave
him the Pall; and by the Eleventh, the
Archbishop of York was required to put
it on him. The putting all this in so many
different Bulls, was a good Contrivance,
for raising the Rents of the Apostolick
Chamber. On the 30 of \textit{March}, Cranmer
was consecrated by the Bishops of Lincoln,
Exeter, and St. Asaph. The Oath to the
Pope was of hard Digestion: So he made
a Protestation before he took it, that he
conceived himself not bound up by it in any
thing, that was contrary to his Duty to
God, to his King, or Country; and he
repeated this when he took it; so that
if this seemed too artificial for a Man of his
sincerity; yet he acted in it fairly, and
above Board.

The Convocation had then two Que-

tions before them; the first was, Concern-
ing the Lawfulness of the King's Marri-

age, and the Validity of the Pope's Dis-

densation; the other was, of Matter of Fact,

Whether P. Arthur had consummated the

The Convocation condemns the King's Marriage.
Book I. Marriage, or not. For the first, the Judgments of 19 Universities were read; and after a long Debate, there being 23 only in the Lower House, 14 were against the Marriage, and 7 for it, and two voted dubiously. In the upper House, Stokesly, Bishop of London, and Fisher, maintained the Debate long; the one for the Affirmitive, and the other the Negative: At last it was carried, Nemine contradicente, (the few that were of the other side it seems withdrawing) against the Marriage, 216 being present. For the other, that concerned matter of Fact, it was referred to the Canonists; and they all, except five or six, reported, That the Presumptions were violent; and these in a matter not capable of plain proof, were always received in Law. The small number in the Lower, and the far greater number in the upper House of Convocation, makes it probable, that then, not only Bishops, but all Abbots, Priors, Deans, and Arch-deacons, sat in the upper House, for they were all called Prelates, and had their Writs to fit in a General Council, as appears by the Records of the fourth Council in the Lateran, and the Council at Vienna, and so they might well fit in the upper House. And perhaps the two Houses of Convocation, were taken from the Patern of the two Houses of Parliament, and so none might, fit, in the lower House, but such as were chosen to represent the Inferiour Clergy. The Books of Convocation are now lost, having perished in the Fire of London, but the Author of
of Antiquitates Britannica, who lived in that time, is of that great credit, that we may well depend upon his Testimony.

The Convocation having thus judged in the matter, the Ceremoy of pronouncing the Divorce judicially, was now only wanting. The new Queen began to have a big Belly, which was a great Evidence of her living chaste before that with the King. On Easter Eve she was declared Queen of England. And soon after, Cranmer, with Gardiner (who was made upon Wolsey's death Bishop of Winchester) and the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many Divines and Canonists, went to Dunstable; Queen Katherine living then near it, at Ampthil. The King and Queen were cited; he appeared by Proxy, but the Queen refused to take any notice of the Court: So after three Citations, she was declared Contumax, and all the Merits of the Cause formerly mentioned, were examined. At last, on the 23 of May, Sentence was given, declaring the Marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the Archbishops Titles in the beginning of the Judgment, he is called, Legate of the Apostolick See, which perhaps was added to give it the more force in Law. Some days after this, he gave another Judgment, confirming the King's Marriage with Queen Ann, and on the first of June she was Crowned Queen: This was variously censured. It was said, that in the Intervals of a General Council, the asking the Opinions 

Book I.

Cranmer gives the final sentence.
Book I. ons of so many Universities, and Learned Men, was the only sure way to find out the Tradition of the Church: And a Pro-
vincial Council had sufficient Authority to judge in this Case: Yet many thought, the Sentence dissolving the first Marriage, should have preceded the second: And it being contracted, before the first was Legally annulled, there was great colour given to question the Validity of it. But it was answered, That since the first was judged null of it self, there was no need of a Sentence Declaratory, but only for form: Yet it was thought, either there ought to have been no Sentence past at all, or it should have been before the second Marriage. Some objected, That Cranmer having appeared so much against the Marriage, was no competent Judge; but it was said, that as Popes are not bound by the Opinions they held when they were private Men; so he having changed his Character, could not be challenged on that account, but might give Sentence, as Judges decide Causes, in which they formerly gave Counsel: And indeed, the Convocation had judged the Cause, he only gave Sentence in form of Law. The World wondered at the Pope's Stiffness; but he often confessed, he understood not those matters, only he was afraid of provoking the Emperour; or of giving the Luthe-
rans advantage to say, that one Pope condemned that, with which another had dis-
pensed. All People admired Q. Ann's con-
duct,
duct, who in a course of so many Years managed a King's Spirit, that was so violent, in such a manner, as neither to surfeit him with too many Favours, nor to provoke him with too much Rigour; and her being so soon with Child, gave hopes of a numerous Issue: They that loved the Reformation, lookt for better dayes under her Protection; but many Priests, and Friars, both in Sermons and Discourses, condemned the King's Proceedings. The King sent Ambassadors to all Courts, to justify what he had done: He sent also some to Queen Katherine, to charge her to assume no other Title, but that of Princess Dowager; and to give her hopes of putting her Daughter next in the Succession to the Crown, after his Issue by the present Queen, if she would submit her self to his Will, but she would not yield; she said, she would not take that Infamy on her self; and so resolved, that none should serve about her, that did not treat her as Queen. All her Servants adhered to her Interest, that no Threatnings nor Promises, could work on them: And the stir which the King kept in this matter, was thought below his Greatness, and seemed to be set on by a Woman's Resentments; for since she was deprived of the Majesty of a Crown, the Pageantry of a Title was not worth the noife that was made about it. The Emperour seemed big with Resentments. The French King was colder then the King expected; yet he
Book I. he promised to intercede with the Pope, and the Cardinals, on his account: But he was now so entirely gained by the Pope, That he resolved not to involve himself in the King's Quarrel, as a Party: And he also gave over the Designs he once had of setting up a Patriarch in France; for the Pope granted him so great a Power over his own Clergy, that he could not desire more. With this the Emperor was not a little pleased; for this was like to separate those two Kings, whose Conjunction had been so hurtful to him.

At Rome the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, complained much of the Attempt made on the Pope's Power; since a Sentence was given in England in a Process depending at Rome; so they press the Pope to proceed to Councils. But instead of putting the matter past reconciling, there was only Sentence given, annulling all that the Archbishop of Canterbury had done; and the King was required under the pain of Excommunication, to put things again in the state in which they were formerly; and this was affixed at Dunkirk. The King sent a great Embasy to Francis, who was then setting out to Marseilles, where the Pope was to meet him: Their Errand was to dissuade him from the Journey, unless the Pope would promise to give the King Satisfaction: The King of France said, he was engaged in Honour to go on; but assured them, he would mind the King's Concerns, with as much Zeal, as if they were his own.
In September the Queen brought forth a Daughter, the renowned Queen Elizabeth; and the King having before declared Lady Mary Princess of Wales, did now the same for her: Tho since a Son might put her from it, she could not be Heir Apparent, but only the Heir Presumptive to the Crown. At Marseilles, the Marriage was made up between the Duke of Orleans, and the Pope's Niece; to whom the Pope gave, besides 100000 Crowns, many Principalities, which he pretended were either Fiefs of the Papacy, or belonged to him in the Rights of the House of Medici. The Pope's Historian with some Triumph, boasted, that the Marriage was Consummated that very Night; tho it was thought not credible, that P. Arthur, that was Nine Months older than the now Duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry the Second, did Consummate his.

There was a secret Agreement made between the Pope and Francis; that if King Henry would refer his Cause to the Conclave, excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his Obedience to the See of Rome, then Sentence should be given in his Favour; but this to be kept secret: So Bonner not being trusted with it, and sent thither with an Appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, made it with great boldness, and threatened the Pope upon it, with so much Vehemence, that the Pope talked of throwing...
Book I.

ing him into a Cauldron of melted Lead, or burning him alive: And he apprehend-
ing some danger fled away privately. But
when Francis came back to Paris, he sent
over the Bishop of that City, to the King,
to let him know what he had obtained
of the Pope in his Favours, and the Terms
on which it was promised: This wrought
so much on the King, that he presently
consented to them. And upon that, the
Bishop of Paris, tho it was now in the middle
of Winter, took Journey to Rome; being
sure of the Scarlet, if he could be the In-
strument of regaining England, which was
then upon the point of being lost: What
these Assurances were which the Pope
gave, is not certain; but the Archbi-
shop of York, and Tontal of Duresm, in a
Letter which they wrote on that Occasion,
say, that the Pope said at Marseilles, That
if the King would send a Proxy to Rome, he
would give Sentence for him against the Queen,
for he knew his Cause was good and just. Upon
the Bishop of Paris’s coming to Rome, the
matter seemed agreed; for it was promi-
sed, that upon the King’s sending a Pro-
mise under his hand, to put things in their
former state; and his ordering a Proxy
to appear for him, Judges should be sent
to Cambray for making the Process, and
then Sentence should be given. Upon the
notice given of this, and of a Day that was
prefixt for the return of the Courier, the
King dispatched him with all possible hast;
and now the Business seemed at an end. But
the
the Courier had a Sea and the Alps to pass, and in Winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly: This made that he came not to Rome on the prefixed day; upon which, the Imperialists gave out, that the King was abusing the Pope's Eafiness; so they preft him vehemently to proceed to a Sentence: The Bishop of Paris mov-ed only for a delay of six days, which was no unreasonable time in that Seafon, and in favours of such a King, who had a Suit depending six Days, and since he had Pa-tience so many Years; the delay of a few days was no extraordinary Favour. But the design of the Imperialists was, to hinder a Reconciliation: for if the King had been set right with the Pope, there would have been so powerful a League formed against the Emperour, as would have broke all his Measures: And therefore it was neceflary for his Designes to imbroil them. It was also said, That the King was seeking Delayes, and Concessions, meerly to delude the Pope; and that he had proceed-ed so far in his Design against that See, that it was necessary to go on to Censures: And the angry Pope was fo provoked by them, and by the News that he heard out of England, that without consulting his or-dinary Prudence, he brought in the mat-ter to the Consistory; and there the Imperialists being the greater number, it was driven on with fo much Precipitation, that they did in one day that, which according to Form, should have been done in three.
They gave the final Sentence, declaring, the King's Marriage with Queen Katherine good; and required him to live with her as his Wife, otherwise they would proceed to Censures. Two days after that, the Courier came with the King's Submission, in due form: He also brought earnest Letters from Francis, in the King's Favours. This wrought on all the indifferent Cardinals, as well as those of the French Faction. So they prayed the Pope to recall what was done. A new Conclave was called, but the Imperialists pressed with greater Vehemence than ever, that they would not give such Scandal to the World, as to recall a definitive Sentence past, of the validity of a Marriage; and give the Heretics such Advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature: And so it was carried, that the former Sentence should take place; and the Execution of it was committed to the Emperor. When this was known in England, it determined the King in his Resolutions, of shaking off the Pope's Yoke, in which he had made so great a Progress, that the Parliament had past all the Acts concerning it, before he had the News from Rome: For he judged, that the best way to Peace was, to let them at Rome see, with what vigour he could make War. All the rest of the World lookt on astonished, to see the Court of Rome throw off England with so much scorn, as if they had been weary of the Obedience and Profits of so great
great a Kingdom, and their Proceedings look'd as if they had been secretly directed by a Divine Providence, that designed to draw great Consequences from this Rupture, and did so far infatuate those that were most concerned to prevent it, that they needlessly drew it on themselves.

In England they had been now examining the Foundations on which the Papal Authority was built, with extraordinary Care for some Years; and several Books being then and soon after written on that Subject, the Reader will be able to see better into the Reasons of their Proceedings by a short Abstract of these.

All the Apostles were made equal in the Powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their Contests about Superiorty, but never declared in St. Peter's Favour. St. Paul withstood him to his Face, and reckoned himself not inferiour to him. If the Dignity of a Person left any Authority with the City in which he sat; then Antioch must carry it as well as Rome; and Jerusalem, where Christ suffered was to be prefered to all the World, for it was truly the Mother-Church. Christ said to Peter, Upon this Rock will I build my Church. The Ancients understood by the Rock, either the Confession Peter had made, or which is all one upon the matter, Christ himself; and tho it were to be meant of St. Peter, all the rest of the Apostles are also called Foundations; that of, Tell the Church, was by many Doctors of the Church of Rome turned against
gainst the Pope for a General Council. The other Privileges ascribed to St. Peter, were either only a precedence of Order, or were occasioned by his Fall, as that, Feed my Sheep, it being a restoring him to the Apostolical Function. St. Peter had also a limited Province, the Circumcision; as St. Paul had the Uncircumcision, that was of far greater extent; which shewed that he was not considered as the Universal Pastor. In the Primitive Church, St. Cyprian, and other Bishops, wrote to the Bishops of Rome, as to their fellow Bishop, Colleague and Brother: they were against Appeals to Rome, and did not submit to their Definition, and in plain Terms asserted, that all Bishops were equal in Power as the Apostles had been. It is true, the Dignity of the City made the Bishops of Rome to be much esteemed; yet in the first Council of Nice, the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, were declared to have the same Authority in the Countries about them, that the Bishops of Rome, had over those that lay about them. It is true, the East being over-run with Arrianism, from which the West was better preserved, the oppressed Eastern Bishops did take shelter in the Protection the Bishops of Rome gave them; and, as is natural to all People, they magnified that Authority which was so useful to them. But the second General Council indirectly condemned all Appeals to Rome: for it decreed that every Province should be governed by its own Synod, and
and allowed no higher Appeal but to the Book I. Bishops of the Dioceses. Constantinople being made the Imperial City, the second and fourth General Council gave it equal Privileges with Rome, because it was new Rome: which shews that the Dignity of the Sees flowed from the greatness of the Cities. The African Churches condemned all Appeals to Rome, and the Popes, who complained of that, pretended only to a Canon of the Council of Nice for it; and then they did not talk of a Divine Right; but search being made into all the Copies of the Canons of the Council, that was found to be a Forgery. When the Emperor Mauricius gave the Title, Universal Bishop, to the Patriarch of Constantinople; Gregory the Great complained of the Ambition of that Title, which he calls equal to the Pride of Lucifer; and since England received the Faith by those whom he sent over, it appeared from thence what was the Doctrine of that See at that time, and by consequence, what where the first Impressions made on the English in that matter. It is true Boniface the third got the same Title by Phoca's Grant, and Boniface the eighth pretended to all Power both spiritual and temporal; but the Progress of their Usurpations, and the Wars raised to maintain them, were very visible in History. The Popes swore at their Consecrations to obey the Canons of the eighth first General Councils, which are manifested against Appeals and their Universal Jurisdiction; small regard is to be
be had to the Decrees of latter Councils, being Cabals pack'd and managed as the Popes pleased. Several Sees, as Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia pretended Exemption from the Papal Authority. Many English Bishops had asserted that the Popes had no Authority against the Canons, and to that day no Canon the Popes made was binding till it was received; which shewed the Pope's Authority was not believed founded on a divine Authority: and the Contests that the Kings of England had with the Pope's concerning Investitures, Bishops doing the King Homage, Appeals to Rome, and the Authority of Papal Bulls and Provisions, shewed that the Pope's Power was believed subject to Laws and Custom, and so not derived from Christ and St. Peter; and as Laws had given them some Power, and Princes had been forced in ignorant Ages to submit to their Usurpations, so they might as they saw cause change those Laws, and resume their Rights.

The next Point inquired into was, the Authority that Kings had in matters of Religion and the Church. The King of Israel judged in all Causes, and Samuel called Saul the Head of the Tribes. David made many Rules about the Service at the Temple, and declaring to Solomon what his Power was, he told him that the Priests were wholly at his Command; and it is also said, that Solomon appointed the Priests their Charges in the Service of God, and that they departed not from his Commandment in any matter; he turned out one High-Priest, and put another in
of the Reformation, &c.

in his room. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias, made also Laws about Ecclesiastical Matters. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the Civil Powers, and charged his Disciples not to affect Temporal Dominion. They also wrote to the Churches to be subject to the Higher Powers, and call them Supream, and charge every Soul to be subject to them: so in Scripture the King is called Head, and Supream, and every Soul is said to be under him, which joynd together, makes up this Conclusion, that He is the supreme Head over all Persons. In the Primitive Church the Bishops only made Rules or Canons, but pretended to no compulsive Authority, but what came from the Civil Magistrate. The Roman Emperours called Councils, presided in them, and confirmed them; and made many Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Matters; so did also Charles the Great. The Emperours did also either chuse the Popes themselves, or confirm their Elections. Church-men taking Orders, were not thereby discharged from the Obedience they formerly owed their Princes, but remained still Subjects. And tho the Offices of the Church had peculiar Functions, in which the People were subject to them, that did not deliver them from their Obedience to the King, as a Father's Authority over his Children cuts not off the King's Power over him. They found also that in all times the Kings of England had assumed an Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters. Ina, Alfred, Edgar, and
Book I. and Cænetus, had made many Laws about them; so had also most of the Kings since the Conquest, which appeared particularly in the Articles of Clarendon, and the Contests that followed upon them; and from the daies of King Ina, they had granted Exemptions to Monasteries from the Episcopal Jurisdiction, down to William the Conquerors time: besides many other Acts that clearly imported a Supremacy over all Persons, and in all Causes. But they did at the same time so explain and limit this Power, that it was visible they did not intend to subject Religion wholly to the Pleasure of the King; for it was declared that his Power was only a Coercive Authority, to defend the true Religion, to abolish Heresies and Idolatries, to cause Bishops and Pastors to do their Duties, and in case they were negligent, or would not amend their Faults, to put others in their room. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the Pope had no Power in England, and that the King had an intire Dominion over all his Subjects, which did extend even to the regulating of Ecclesiastical Matters.

These things being fully opened in many Disputes, and published in several Books, all the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors of England, Fisher only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, or so much in love with their Preferments, that they resolved to comply with the Changes which the King was resolved to make. Fisher was in great esteem for Piety and strictness of Life, and so much
much pains was taken on him. A little before the Parliament met, Cranmer proposed to him, that he, and any five Doctors he would choose, and Stokesly with five on his side, should confer on that point, and examine the Authorities that were on both sides; he accepted of it, and Stokesly wrote to him to name time and place, but Fisher's Sickness hindered the Progress of that motion.

The Parliament met the 15th of January, A Session there were but seven Bishops and twelve Abbots present, the rest it seems were unwilling to concur in making this change, tho' they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the Session, a Bishop preached at St. Paul's; and declared that the Pope had no Authority in England: Before this, they had only said that a General Council was above him, and that the Exactions of that Court, and Appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a strain higher, to prepare the People for receiving the Acts then in Agitation. On the 9th of March, the Commons began the Bill for taking away the Pope's Power, and sent it to the Lords on the 14th, who past it on the 20th without any dillent. In it they set forth the Exactions of the Court of Rome, grounded on the Pope's Power of dispensing; and that as none could dispense with the Laws of God; so the King and Parliament only had the Authority of dispensing with the Laws of the Land; and that therefore such Licenses or Dispensations as were
Book I.

1533.

formerly in use, should be for the future granted by the two Arch-bishops, some of these were to be confirmed under the Great Seal; and they appointed that thereafter all Commerce with Rome should cease. They also declared that they did not intend to alter any Article of the Catholic Faith of Christendome, or of that which was declared in the Scripture necessary to Salvation. They confirmed all the Exemptions granted to Monasteries by the Popes, but subjected them to the King's Visitation; and gave the King and his Council power to examine and reform all Indulgences and Privileges granted by the Pope: The Offenders against this Law were to be punished according to the Statutes of Premunire. This Act subjected the Monasteries entirely to the King's Authority and put them in no small Confusion. Those that loved the Reformation rejoiced both to see the Pope's Power rooted out, and to find the Scripture made the Standard of Religion.

After this Act, another past in both Houses in six Days time, without any Opposition, 'Settling the Succession of the Crown; confirming the Sentence of Divorce, and the King's Marriage with Queen Anne, and declaring all Marriages within the Degrees prohibited by Moses to be unlawful: All that had married within them were appointed to be divorced, and their Issue illegitimated; and the Succession to the Crown was settled upon
of the Reformation, &c.

upon the King's Issue, by the present Queen, or in default of that, to the King's right Heirs, for ever. All were required to swear, to maintain the Contents of this Act; and if any refused to swear to it, or should say any thing to the Slander of the King's Marriage, he was to be judged guilty of misprision of Treason, and to be punished accordingly. The Oath is also set down in the Journals of the House of Lords; by which, they did not only swear Obedience to the King, and his Heirs, by his present Marriage; but also to defend the Act of Succession, and all the Effects and Contents in it, against all manner of Persons whatsoever, by which they were bound to maintain the Divorce, both against the Pope's Censures, and the Emperour, if he went about to execute them.

At this time, one Philips complained to the House of Commons of the Bishop of London, for using him cruelly in Prison, upon Suspicion of Herefy; the Commons sent up this to the Lords, but received no Answer: So they sent some of their Members to the Bishop, desiring him to answer the Complaints put in against him: But he acquainted the House of Lords with it; and they all with one consent voted, that none of their House ought to appear, or answer to any Complaint at the Bar of the House of Commons. So the Commons let this particular Case fall, and sent up a Bill to which the Lords agreed, regulating the
Book I. the Proceedings against Heretics. 'That whereas, by the Statute made by King Henry the Fourth, Bishops might commit Men upon Suspition of Heresy; and Heresy was generally defined, to be whatever was contrary to the Scriptures, or Canonical Sanctions, which was liable to great Ambiguity; therefore that Statute was repealed, and none were to be committed for Heresy, but upon a Presentment made by two Witnesses: None were to be accused for speaking against things that were grounded only upon the Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken for Heretics, and they were to be brought to their Trials in open Court; and if upon Conviction, they did not abjure, or were Relapses, they were to be burnt; the King's Writ being first obtained. This was a great check to the Bishop's Tyranny, and gave no small comfort to all that favoured the Reformation.

The Convocation sent in a Submission at the same time, by which they acknowledged, That all Convocations ought to be assembled by the King's Writ; and promisfed upon the Word of Priests, never to make, nor execute any Canons, without the King's Assent. They also desired, That since many of the received Canons were found to be contrary to the King's Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land, there might be a Committee named by the King, of 32, the one half out of both Houses of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy,
Clergy, empowered to abrogate or regulate them, as they should see cause. This was confirmed in Parliament, and the Act against Appeals to Rome was renewed; and an Appeal was allowed from the Archbishop to the King, upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission for a Court of Delegates. A Proviso was added, that till the Committee of 32 should settle a Regulation of the Canons, those then in force should still take place, except such as were contrary to the King's Prerogative, or the Laws. But this last Proviso, tho' it seemed reasonable, to give the Spiritual Courts some Rules, till the 32 should finish their Work, made, that it came to nothing; for it was thought more for the Greatness of the King's Authority; and it subjected the Bishop's Courts more to the Prohibitions of the Temporal Courts; to keep this whole matter in such General Terms, than to have brought it to a Regulation that should be fixed and constant.

Another Act past, for regulating the Elections and Consecrations of Bishops; condemning all Bulls from Rome; and appointing that upon a Vacancy, the King should grant a Licence for an Election; and should by a missive Letter signify the Person's Name whom he would have chosen: And within twelve Days after these were delivered, the Dean and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, were required to return an Election of the Person named by the King, under their Seals.
Book I. Seals. The Bishop Elect was upon that to swear Fealty; and a Writ was to be issued out for his Consecration in the usual manner: After that, he was to do Homage to the King, upon which, both the Temporalities, and Spiritualities, were to be restored; and Bishops were to exercise their Jurisdiction as they had done before. All that transgressed this Act, were made guilty of a premu-

A private Act past, depriving Cardinal Campegio, and Jerome de Chinuccii of the Bishopricks of Salisbury and Worcester; the Reasons given for it are, because they did not reside in their Diocelles, for Preaching the Laws of God, and keeping Hospitality, but lived at the Court of Rome, and carried 3000 l. a Year out of the Kingdom.

The last Act of a publick Nature, tho relating only to private Persons, of which I shall give an account, was, concerning the Nun of Kent, and her Complices: It was the first occasion of shedding any Blood in this Quarrel, and it was much cherished by all the Superstitious Clergy, that adhered to the Queen’s Interests, and the Pope’s. The Nun, and many of her Complices, came to the Lord’s Bar, and confessed the whole matter. Among the Concealers of this Treason, Sir Thomas More, and Fisher, were named; the former wrote upon that a long Letter to Cromwel, giving him a particular account of all the Conver-
of the Reformation, &c.

He acknowledged he had esteemed her highly; not so much out of any regard he had to her Prophecies, but for the Opinion he conceived of her Holiness and Humility. But he adds, that he was then convinced, That she was the most false dissembling Hypocrite that had been known; and guilty of most detestable Hypocrisy, and dwelsh dissembled Falshood. He also believed that she had Communication with an evil Spirit. Concerning this Letter, a curious Discovery has been made. In Queen Mary's time, More's Works were published; and among them, other Letters of his to Cromwell, relating to that long one which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed; but that was left out, of which More kept a Copy, and gave it to his Daughter Roper; that Copy was in the MS. out of which the rest were published, and out of that I have transcribed it. The design of suppressing it, seems to be this: It is probable, there might have been some thoughts in Queen Mary's time, to Canonize the Nun, since she was called a Martyr for her Mother's Marriage; and there was no want of Miracles to justify it: Therefore, a Letter so plain and full against her, was thought fit to be kept out of the way. This Justification of Mores, prevailed so far, that his Name was struck out of the Bill. The Act contains a Narrative of that whole Story, which is in short, this.

Elizabeth Barton of Kent, fell in some Trances,
Book I. Trances, (it seems they were Hysterical Fits) and spake such things as made those about her think she was inspired of God. The Parson of the Parish, Master, hoping to draw Advantages from this, gave Archbishop Warham notice of it, who ordered him to observe her carefully, and bring him an account of what should follow. But she had forgot all that she said in her Fits, when they were over: Yet the Priest would not let it go so, but perswaded her that she was inspired, and taught her so to counterfeitt those Trances, that she became very ready at it. The matter was much noised about; and the Priest intended to raise the credit of an Image of the B. Virgin that was in his Church, that so Pilgrimages and Offerings might be made to it, by her means. He associated to himself one Bocking, a Monk of Canterbury, and they taught her to say in her Fits, that the B. Virgin appeared to her, and told her, she could not be well till she visited that Image. She spake many good Words against ill Life, and spake also against Heresy, and the King's Suit of Divorce then depending; and by many strange motions of her Body, she seemed to be inwardly possessed. A day was set for her cure; and before an Assembly of 2000 People, she was carried to that Image; and after she had acted her Fits all over, she seemed of a sudden quite recovered, which was ascribed to the Intercession of the Virgin, and the Virtue of that Image. She entered into a Religious Life; and
and Bocking was her Ghostly Father. There Book I.
were violent Suspicions of Incontinence be-
tween them; but the esteem she was in,
bore them down. Many thought her a
Propheteſs; and Warham among the rest.
A Book was also written of her Revelations,
and a Letter was shewed all in Letters of
Gold; pretended to be writ to her from
Heaven, by Mary Magdalene. She pre-
tended, that when the King was last at
Calais, she was carried invisibly beyond
Sea, and brought back again; and that
an Angel gave her the Sacrament; and
that God revealed to her, that if the King
went on in his Divorce, and married an-
other Wife, he should fall from his Crown,
and not live a Month longer, but should die
a Villain's Death.

Many of the Monks of the Charter-
House, and the Observant Friers, with
many Nuns, and B. Fisher, came to give cre-
dit to this, and set a great value on her,
and grew very insolent upon it; for Frier
Peyto preaching in the King’s Chappel, at
Greenwich, denounced the Judgments of
God upon him; and said, tho others as lying
Prophets deceived him, yet he in the name
of God told him, that Dogs should lick his
Blood as they had done Ahab's. The King
bore this patiently; but ordered one Dr.
Corren to preach next Sunday, and to an-
swer all that he had said, who railed a-
gainst Peyto, as a Dog and a Traitor.
Peyto had gone to Canterbury, but Elston, a
Franciscan of the same House, interrupted
him
him, and called him one of the lying Pro-
phets, that went about to establish the
Succession of the Crown by Adultery; and
spoke with such Vehemence, that the King
himself was forced to command him silence.
And yet so unwilling was the King to go
to Extremities, that all that was done
upon so high a Provocation, was, that they
were called before the Council, and rebu-
ked for their Insolence. But the Nun's Con-
federates publishing her Revelations in
all the parts of the Kingdom, she and Nine
of her Complices were apprehended in
November last Year; and they did all with-
out any Rack or Torture, discover the
whole Conspiracy, and upon that, were
appointed to go to St. Pauls; and after
a Sermon preached upon that Occasion,
by the Bishop of Bangor, they repeated
their Confession, in the Hearing of the
People; and were sent to Iy Prisoners in
the Tower. But it was given out, That
all was extorted from them by Violence;
and Messages were sent to the Nun, de-
siring her, to deny all that she had con-
fessed; which made the King judge it neces-
sary to proceed to further Extremities.
So she, and six of her chief Complices,
were Attainted of Treason: And the Bis-
shop of Rochester, and five more, were At-
tainted of Misprision of Treason. But at
the Intercession of Q. Ann, (as it is express
in the Act) all others that had been con-
terned with her, were pardoned.
This was as black an Imposture as any
ever was; and if it had fallen out in a darker Age, in which the World went mad after Villons, the King might have lost his Crown by it. The Discovery of this, disposed all to look on older Stories of the Trances of Monastical People, as Contrivances to serve base ends, and did make way for the ruine of that Order of Men in England; but all that was at present done upon it, was, that the Observants were put out of their Houses, and mixt with the other Franciscans, and the Austin Friers were put in their rooms. When all these Acts were passed, the King gave his Assent to them on the 29th of March, and prorogued the Parliament till November.

The Members of both Houses swore to the Oath of Succession on the day of the Prorogation. On the 20th of April, followed the Execution of the Nun and her Compli ces at Tyburn, where she freely acknowledged her Impostures, and the Justice of the Sentence, and laid the blame on those that suffered with her; who because the thing was profitable to them, praised her much, and tho they knew that all was feigned, yet gave out that it was done by the working of the Holy Ghost; and she concluded her Life, begging both God's and the King's Pardon.

Upon the first Discovery of this Cheat, Fisher in Cromwell sent Fisher's Brother to him to reprove him for his Carriage in that Business, and to advise him to ask the King's Pardon for the Encouragement he had given to the Nun, which he was confident
Book I. den t the King would grant him. But Fisher excused himself, and said, he had done nothing but only tried whether her Revelations were true or not? He confessed that upon the Reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high Opinion of her; and that he had never discovered any Falsehood in her. It is true, she had said some things to him concerning the King's Death, which he had not revealed, but he thought it was not necessary to do it; because he knew she had told it to the King herself; she had named no Person, that should kill the King, but had only denounced it as a Judgment of God on him; and he had reason to think that the King would have been offended with him if he had spoken of it to him; and so he desired to be no more troubled with that matter. But upon that, Cromwell wrote him a sharp Letter; he shewed him that he had proceeded rashly in that Affair; being so partial in the matter of the King's Divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it; he shewed him how necessary it was to use great Caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as Revelations; since otherwise the Peace of the World should be in the hands of every bold or crafty Imposter; yet in conclusion, he advises him again to ask the King's Pardon for his Rashness, and he assures him that the King was ready to forgive that, and every thing else, by which he had offended him. But Fisher was
was obstinate and would make no Submi-

**Book I.**

**1534.** And so included within the Act, yet it was not executed till a new Provocation drew him into further Trouble. The Secular and Regular Clergy did everywhere swear the Oath of Succession; which none did more zealously promote than Gardiner, who before the 6th of May got all his Clergy to swear it; and the Religious Orders being apprehensive of the King's Jealousies of them, took care to remove them, by sending in Declarations under the Seals of their Houses, that in their Opinion the King's present Marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledge him **Head of the Church of England**; that the Bishops of Rome had no Authority out of his own Dioces, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithstanding his Censures; that they would preach the Gospel sincerely according to the Scriptures, and the Tradition of the Catholick Doctors, and would in their Prayers pray for the King as Supreme Head of the Church of England.

A meeting of the Council-fate at Lambeth, to which many were cited in order to the swearing the Oath; among whom was Sir Thomas More and Fisher. More was first called on to take it: he answered that he neither blamed those that made the Acts, nor those that swore the Oath, and that he was willing to swear to maintain the Succession to the Crown, but could not take the Oath as it was conceived. Fisher made
made the same Answer, but all the rest that were cited before them, took it. More was much pres'd to give his Reasons against it; but he refused to do that, for it might be called a disputing against Law: yet he would put them into Writing if the King would command him to do it. Cranmer said, if he did not blame those that took it, it seems he was not persuaded it was a Sin, and so was only doubtful of it; but he was sure he ought to obey the Law, if it was not sinful; so there was a Certainty on the one hand, and only a Doubt on the other; and therefore the former ought to determine him: this he confessed did shake him a little, but he said, he thought in his Conscience, that it would be a Sin in him, and offered to take his Oath upon that, and that he was not led by any other Consideration. The Abbot of Westminister told him he ought to think his Conscience was misled, since the Parliament was of another Mind; an Argument well becoming a rich ignorant Abbot. But More said, if the Parliament of England was against him, yet he believed all the rest of Christendom was on his side: In conclusion, both he and Fisher declared that they thought it was in the Power of the Parliament to settle the Succession to the Crown, and so were ready to swear to that, but they could not take the Oath that was tendred to them; for by it they must swear to maintain all the Contents in the Act of Succession, and in it the King's former Marriage was declared unlawful; to which they
they could not assent, Cranmer press'd Book I, that this might be accepted: for if they once swore to maintain the Succession, it would conduce much to the Quiet of the Nation; but sharper Counsels were more acceptable: so they were both committed to the Tower, and Pen, Ink, and Paper was kept from them. The old Bishop was also hardly used both in his Cloaths and Diet; he had only Rags to cover him and Fire was often denied him, which was a Cruelty not capable of any Excuse, and was as barbarous as it was imprudent.

In Winter another Session of Parliament was held; the first Act that pass'd, declared the King to be the Suprem Head on Earth of the Church of England, and appointed that to be added to his other Titles; and it was enacted, that he and his Successors should have full Authority to reform all Heresies and Abuses in the Spiritual Jurisdiction. By an other Act they confirmed the Oath of Succession, which had not been specified in the former Act, tho' agreed to by the Lords. They also gave the King the first Fruits and Tenthes of Ecclesiastical Benefices, as being the Suprem Head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's room, it was thought reasonable to give him the Annats, which the Popes had formerly exacted. The Temporality were now willing to revenge themselves on the Spirituality, and to tax them as heavily as they had formerly tyrannized over them. Another Act past declaring some things
Book I

things Treason; one of these was the denying the King any of his Titles, or the calling him Heretick, Schisnatick, or Usurper of the Crown. By another Act, Provision was made for setting up 26 Suffragan Bishops over England, for the more speedy Administration of the Sacraments, and the better Service of God: It is also said, they had been formerly accustomed to be in the Kingdom: The Bishop of the Diocess was to present two to the King, and upon the King's declaring his choice, the Archbishop was to consecrate the Person, and then the Bishop was to delegate such parts of his Charge to his Care as he thought fitting, which was to last during his Pleasure. These were the same that the Ancients called the Chorepiscopi, who were at first the Bishops of some Villages; but were afterwards put under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the next City. They were set up before the Council of Nice, and continued to be in the Church for many Ages; but the Bishops devolving their whole Spiritual Power to them, they were put down, and a Decretal Epistle was forged in the name of P. Damasus, condemning them. The great Extent of the Diocesses in England made it hard for one Bishop to govern them with that Exactness that was necessary; these were therefore appointed to assist them in the discharge of the Pastoral Care.

In this Parliament Subsidies were granted payable in three Years, with the highest Preamble of their Happiness under the King's
King's Government all those 24 Years, in which he had reigned, that Flattery could dictate. Fisher and More by two special Acts were attainted of Misprision of Treason; five other Clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to swear the Oath of Succession. The See of Rochester was declared void; yet it seems few were willing to succeed such a Man, for it continued vacant two Years. This Severity against them was censured by some as Extream, since they were willing to swear to the Succession in other Terms, so that it was merely a point of Conscience, in which the common Safety was not concerned, at which they stuck, and it was thought the prosecuting them in this manner would so raise their Credit, that it might endanger the Government more than any Opposition which they could make.

But now that the King entered upon a new Scene, it will be necessary to open the Progress that the new Opinions had made in England all the time of the King's Suit of Divorce. During Wolsey's Ministry, those Preachers were gently used; and it is probable the King ordered the Bishops to give over their enquiring after them, when the Pope began to use him ill; for the Progress of Heresy was always reckoned up at Rome among the Misschiefs that would follow upon the Pope's denying the King's Desires. But More coming into Favour, he offered new Counsels; he thought the King's proceeding severely against Hereticks
ticks would be so meritorious at Rome, that it would work more effectually, than all his Threatnings had done: so a severe Proclamation was issued out both against their Books and Persons, ordering all the Laws against them to be put in Execution. Tindall and some others at Antwerp, were every Year either translating or writing Books against some of the received Errors, and sending them over to England. But his Translation of the New Testament gave the greatest Wound, and was much complained of by the Clergy, as full of Errors. Tonsfall then Bp of London being a Man of great Learning and Vertue, which is generally accompanied with much Moderation, returning from the Treaty of Cambray, to which More and he were sent in the King's Name, as he came through Antwerp, dealt with an English Merchant that was secretly a Friend of Tindall's, to procure him as many of his New Testaments as could be had for Mony. Tindall was glad of this; for being about a more correct Edition, he found he would be better enabled to set about it, if the Copies of the Old were sold off; so he gave the Merchant all he had, and Tonsfall paying the Price of them, got them in his hands; and burnt them publickly in Cheapside. This was called a burning of the Word of God; and it was said the Clergy had reason to revenge themselves on it, for it had done them more Mischief than all other Books whatsoever. But a Year after this, the second Edition being finished,
finished, great Numbers were sent over to England, and Constantine one of Tindall's Partners, hapned to be taken; so More believing that some of the Merchants of London furnished them with Mony, promised him his Liberty, if he would discover who they were that encouraged and assisted them: so he told him the Bishop of London did more than all the World besides, for he had brought up the greatest part of a faulty Impression. The Clergy when they condemned Tindall's Translation, promised a new one: but a Year after in a long Condemnation of several Books that were published by Warham, Tonstall, and other Canonists and Divines, they added this, that it was not necessary to publish the Scripture in English, and that the King did well not to set about it.

There came out a Book writ by one Fish of Grayes-Inn, that took mightily, called, the Supplication of the Beggars, by which they complained that the Alms of the People were intercepted by the Mendicant Friars, that were an useless Burden to the Government; they also taxed the Pope of Cruelty, for taking no Pity on the Poor, since none but those that could pay for it, were delivered out of Purgatory. The King was so pleased with this, that he would not suffer any thing to be done against the Author. More answered it by another Supplication in behalf of the Souls in Purgatory, setting forth the Miseries they were in, and the Relief which they received.
received by the Masses that were said for them, and therefore they called on their Friends to support the Religious Orders, that had now so many Enemies. This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take so much as the other; for such is the ill nature of Mankind, that Satyres are always better received than Apologies, and no Satyres are more acceptable than those against Church-men.

Frith answered More in a Book more gravely written, in which he shewed that there was no mention made of Purgatory in the Scripture, that it was inconsequent with the Merits of Christ, by which upon sincere Repentance, all Sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished: And tho Temporary Judgments, either as Medicinal Corrections, or for giving Warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true Penitents; yet terrible Punishments in another State, cannot consist with a free Pardon, and the remembering of our Sins no more. In expounding many Passages of the New Testament, he appealed to More's great Friend, Erasmus; and shewed, That the Fire which was spoken of by St. Paul, as that which would consume the Wood, Hay, and Stubble, could only be meant of the fiery Trial of Persecution. He shewed, That the Primitive Church received it not; Ambrose, Jerom, and Austin did not believe it; the last had plainly said, that no mention was made of it in Scripture. The Monks brought
brought it in; and by many wonderful Stories, possessed the World of the belief of it; and had made a very gainful Trade of it. This Book provoked the Clergy so much, that they resolved to make the Author feel a real Fire, for endeavouring to extinguish their Imaginary one. More objected Poverty, and want of Learning, to the new Preachers: But it was answered, The same thing was made use of to disgrace Christ and his Apostles; but a plain Simplicity of mind without Artificial Improvements, was rather thought a good Disposition for Men that were to bear a Cross; and the Glory of God appeared more Eminently, than the Instruments seemed Contemptible.

But the Pen proving too feeble, and too gentle a Tool, the Clergy betook themselves to that, on which they relied more: Many were vexed with Imprisonments for teaching their Children the Lord’s Prayer in English, for harbouring the Preachers, and for speaking against the Corruptions in the Worship, or the Vices of the Clergy; but these generally abjured. One Hitton, that had been a Curate, and went over to Tindall, was taken coming back with some Books; and was by Warham condemned and burnt.

Bilney, after his Abjuration formerly mentioned, returned to Cambridge, and fell under great Horror of mind; but overcame it, and resolved to expiate his Apostacy by a publick Acknowledgment: And that
Book I. that he might be able to do that on surer Grounds, he followed his Studies close two Years; for then he left the University, and went into Norfolk where he was born, and preached up and down that County, against Idolatry and Superstition; exhorting the People to live well, to give much Almes, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their Souls and Wills to him in the Sacrament: He openly confessed his own Sin of denying the Faith; and using no Precaution as he went about, he was taken by the Bishops Officers, and was condemned as a Relapse, and degraded. More not only sent down the Writ to burn him, but to make him suffer another way; he affirmed in Print that he had abjured: But no Paper signed by him was ever shewed, and little credit was due to the Priests who gave it out, that he did it by word of Mouth: But Parker (afterwards Archbishop) was an eye Witness of his Sufferings. He bore all the hardships he was put to, patiently; and continued very cheerful after his Sentence; and eat up the poor Provision that was brought him, heartily; for he said, he must keep up a ruinous Cottage till it fell. He had those Words often in his Mouth, When thou walkest thorow the Fire, thou shalt not be burnt: And by burning his Finger in the Candle, he prepared himself for the Eire, and said, it would only consume the Stubble of his Body, but would purify his Soul.

On the 10th of November he was burnt.

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At the Stake he repeated the Creed, to show he was a true Christian; for the Clergy made strange Representations of his Doctrine: Then he prayed earnestly, and with a deep sense, repeated those Words, Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant. Dr. Warner that waited on him, embraced him, shedding many Tears, and wished that he might die in as good a state as that in which he then was. The Friars desired him to declare to the People, that they had not procured his Death, and he did it; so the last Act of his Life was full of Charity to his Enemies. His Sufferings Animated others. Byfield that had formerly abjured, was taken dispersing Tindall's Books, and one Tewkesbury, were condemned by Stokesley, and burnt. Two Men and a Woman were also burnt at York. Upon these Proceedings, the Parliament that year complained to the King; but that did not cool the Heat of the Clergy. One Rainham a Councillour of the Temple, was taken on Suspicion of Heresy, and whipt in More's presence, and afterwards ract in the Tower: Yet he could not be wrought on to accuse any, but through Fear he abjured. After that, being discharged, he was in great trouble of Mind, and could find no quiet till he went publickly to Church, and openly confessed his Sins; and declared the Torments he felt in his Conscience, for what he had done. Upon this, he was again seized on, and condemned, for having said, 'That Thomas Becket was a Murderer, and was damned, if he did not repent.'
And that in the Sacrament Christ's Body was received by Faith, and not chewed with the Teeth. Sentence past upon him by Stokesly, and he was burnt. Soon after this, More delivered up the Great Seal, so the Preachers had some case. Crome and Latimer were accused, but abjured. Tracy, (Ancestor to the present Lord Tracy) made a Will, by which he left his Soul to God, in hopes of Mercy through Christ, without the help of any other Saint; and therefore he declared, that he would leave nothing for Soul-Masses. This Will being brought to the Bishop of London's Court to be proved, after his Death, provoked them so much, that he was condemned as an Heretick; and an Order was sent to the Chancellour of Worcester, to raise his Body; but he went further and burnt it, which could not be justified, since he was not a Relapse. Tracy's Heirs sued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined in 400 l. The Clergy proclaimed an Indulgence of fourty days Pardon to any that carried a Faggot to the burning of an Heretick, that so Cruelty might seem the more Meritorious. And an aged Man (Harding) being condemned by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, as he was tied to the Stake, one flung a Faggot with such force at him, that it dashed out his Brains.

After an Intermission of two Years, Gardiner represented to the King, That it would give him great Advantages against the Pope, if he would take hold of some occasion
of the Reformation, 

occasion to shew his hatred of Heresy. So Book I. Frith seemed a fit Person to offer as a Sac- 
crifice, to demonstrate his Zeal: He was a young Man, much famed for Learning: 
and was the first that writ against the Cor- 
poral Presence in the Sacrament, in Eng- 
land. He followed Zuinglius's Doctrine 
on these Grounds; Christ received in the 
Sacrament, gave Eternal Life; but this was 
only to those that believed; from which 
he inferred, that he was received only by 
Faith. St Paul said, that the Fathers be- 
fore Christ eat the same Spiritual Food 
with Christians; from which it appears, that 
Christ is now no more corporally present 
to us then he was to them: And he argued 
from the nature of Sacraments in gene- 
ral, and the ends of the Lord's Supper, 
that it was only a Commemoration. Yet 
upon these Premises, he built no other 
Conclusion but that Christ's presence was 
no Article of Faith. Frith put these Rea- 
sions in Writing, which falling into More's 
hands, was answered by him; but Frith 
ever saw that till he was put in Prison: 
And then, tho he was loaded with Irons, 
and had no Books allowed him, he replied. 
He insisted much on that Argument, That 
the Israelites did eat the same Food, and 
drank of the same Rock, that was Christ; 
and since Christ was only mystically, and 
by Faith received by them; he concluded, 
that he was now received only by Faith. 
He shewed, that Christ's Words, This is my 
Body, were accommodated to the Jewish 
Phrase of calling the Lamb the Lord's Pas-

K 3
and confirmed his Opinion with many Passages out of the Fathers; in which, the Elements were called Signes and Figures of Christ's Body; and they said that upon Consecration they did not cease to be Bread and Wine, but remained still in their own proper Natures. He also shewed, That the Fathers were Strangers to all the Consequences of that Opinion, as that a Body could be in more places than one at once, or could be in a place after the manner of a Spirit: Yet he concluded, That if that Opinion were held only as a Speculation; so that Adoration were not offered to the Elements, it might be well tolerated, but that he condemned as gross Idolatry. This was intended by him to prevent such Heats in England, as were raised in Germany, between the Lutherans and Helvetians, by reason of their different Opinions concerning the Sacrament. He was seized on in May 1533, and brought before Stokesly, Gardiner, and Longland. They objected to him his not believing Purgatory, nor Transubstantiation: He gave his Reasons that determined him to look on neither of these as Articles of Faith; but he thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined positively. The Bishops seemed unwilling to proceed to Sentence; but he continuing resolute, Stokesly pronounced it; and so delivered him to the Secular Arm, obtesting, that his Punishment might be moderated, so that the Rigour might not be too extream; nor yet the gentleness of it, too much mitigat-
ed. This Obteftation by the Bowels of Christ, was thought a Mockery; when all the World knew that it was intended that he should be burnt. One Hewet, a Prentice of London, was also condemned with him, on the same account. When they were brought to Smithfield, Frith expressed great Joy, and hugged the Faggots with some Transport: Cook, a Priest, that stood by, called to the People not to pray for them more then they would do for a Dog. Frith smiled at that, and prayed God to forgive him: The Fire was kindled, which consumed them to ashes. This was the last Instance of the Cruelty of the Clergy at this time; for the Act, formerly mentioned, regulating their Proceedings, followed soon after. Philips, at whose Complaint, that Bill was begun, was committed upon Suspicion of Herefy; a Copy of Tracy's Will was found about him, and Butter and Cheefe being also found in his Chamber in Lent: But he being required to abjure, appealed to the King as Suprem Head, and upon that he was set at Liberty; but whether he was tried by the King or not, is not upon Record.

The Act that was past, gave the new Preachers and their Followers, some Respite. The King was also impowered to reform all Heresies, and Idolatries: And his Affairs did now oblige him to unite himself to the Princes of Germany, that by their means, he might so imbrol the Emperour's Affairs, as not to give him leisure
Book I. leisure to turn his Arms against England; and this produced a slackning of all Seve-
rities against them: For those Princes, in that first fervour of the Reformation, made it an Article in all their Treaties, that none should be persecuted for favouring their Doctrine. The Queen did also openly protect them; she took Latimer, and Shaxton to be her Chaplains, and promoted them to the Bishopricks of Worcester, and Salisbury. Cranmer was fully convinced of the necessity of a Reformation, and that he might carry it on with true Judgment, and justify it by good Authorities, He made a great Collection of the Opinions of the Antient Fathers, and later Doctors, in all the Points of Religion; of which I have seen two Volumes in Folio: But by a Letter of the Lord Burghly's, it appears, there were then six Volumes of his Collections in his hands. He was a Man of great Candor, and much Patience and Industry; and so was on all accounts well prepared for that Work, to which the Providence of God did now call him: And tho he was in some things too much subject to the King's Imperious Temper, yet in the matter of the six Articles, he shewed that he wanted not the Courage that became a Bishop in so Critical an Affair as that was. Cromwell was his great and constant Friend; a man of mean Birth, but of excellent Qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his Master Wolsey, after his fall; a rare Demonstration of Gratitude in
in a Court, to a disgraced Favourite: And in his greatest height, he happening to see a Merchant of Lucca, who had pitied and relieved him when he was in Italy, but did not so much as know him, or pretend to any returns for the small Favours he had formerly shewed him, and was then reduced to a low condition, treated him with such acknowledgments, that it became the Subjects of several Pens, which strove who should celebrate it most.

As these set themselves to carry on a Reformation, there was another Party formed that as vigourously opposed it, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner; and almost all the Clergy went into it. They persuaded the King that nothing would give the Pope or the Emperour such Advantages, as his making any Changes in Religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he who had writ so learnedly for the Faith, should in spite to the Pope make any Changes in it. Nothing would encourage other Princes so much to follow his Example, nor keep his Subjects so much in their Duty to him, as his continuing steadfast in the Antient Religion. These things made great Impressions on him. But on the other hand, Cranmer represented to him that if he rejected the Pope's Authority, it was very absurd to let such Opinions or Practices continue in the Church, that had no other Foundation but Papal Decrees: and therefore he desired that this might be put to the Trial, he ought
ought to depend on God, and hope for good success if he proceeded in this matter, according to the Duty of a Christian Prince. England was a compleat Body within itself; and tho in the Roman Empire, when united under one Prince, General Councils were easily assembled, yet now that was not to be so much depended on; but every Prince ought to reform the Church in his Dominions by a National Synod; and if in the Antient Church such Synods condemned Heresies, and reformed Abuses, that might be much more done, when Europe was divided into so many Kingdoms. It was visible that tho both the Emperour and the Princes of Germany had for 20 Years desired a General Council, it could not be obtained of the Pope; he had indeed offered one at Mantua, but that was only an Illusion.

Upon that the King desired some of his Bishops to give their Opinion concerning the Emperour's Power of calling Councils: So Cranmer, Tonnall, Clark of Bath and Wells, and Goodrick of Ely, made answer, That tho Ancient Councils were called by the Roman Emperours, yet that was done by reason of the Extent of their Monarchy, that was now ceased, but since other Princes had an entire Monarchy within their Dominions. Yet if one or more of those Princes should agree to call a Council to a good Intent, and desire the Concurrence of the rest, they were bound by the Rule of Charity to agree to it: They were also of Opinion that none but Bishops and Priests had
had Right to a definitive Voice in matters of Doctrine.

Cranmer also made a long Speech at that time, setting forth the necessity of a Reformation. It is probable it was in the House of Peers, for it begins; My Lords — 'He begun with the Impostures and Deceit used by the Canonists and other Courtiers at Rome. Then he speak to the Authority of a General Councils; he shewed that it flowed not from the Number of the Bishops, but from the matter of their Decisions, which were received with an Universal Consent, for there were many more Bishops at the Council of Arimini, which was condemned, than either at Nice or Constantinople, which were received. Christ had named no Head of the whole Church, as God had named no Head of the World; but that grew up for Orders sake, as there were Arch-bishops set over Provinces; yet some Popes were condemned for Heresy as Liberius, and others. If Faith must be shewed by Works, the ill Lives of most Popes of late shewed that their Faith was to be suspected; and all the Priviledges which Princes or Synods granted to that See might be recalled. Popes ought to submit themselves to General Councils, and were be tried by them; he shewed what were the present Corruptions of the Pope and his Court, which needed Reformation.

The Pope according to the Decree of the Council of Basil was the Churches Vicar,
and not Christ's; and so was accounta-
ble to it. The Churches of France de-
clared the Council to be above the Pope,
which had been acknowledged by many
Popes themselves. The Power of Coun-
cils had also Bounds, nor could they judg
of the Rights of Princes, or proceed to a
Sentence against a King; nor were their
Canons of any force till Princes added
their Sanctions to them. Councils
ought also to proceed moderately, even
against those that held Errors, and ought
not to impose things indifferent too se-
verely. The Scriptures, and not Men's
Traditions, ought to be the Standards of
their Definitions. The Divines of Paris
held, That a Council could not make a new
Article of Faith that was not in the Scrip-
tures; and all Christ's Promises to the
Church were to be understood with this
condition, *if they kept the Faith: therefore
there was great reason to doubt concer-
ning the Authority of a Council, some of
them had contradicted others, and many
others were never received. The Fathers
had always appealed to the Scriptures, as
Superiour in Authority to Councils, by
which only all Controversies ought to be
decided; yet on the other hand, it was
dangerous to be wise in ones own Conceit,
and he thought when the Fathers all
agreed in the Exposition of any place of
Scripture, that ought to be look'd on as
flowing from the Spirit of God. He
shewed how little Regard was to be had

of the Reformation, etc.

141

Book I.

to a Council, in which the Pope presided, and that if any common Error had past upon the World, when that came to be discovered, every one was at liberty to shake it off, even tho' they had sworn to maintain that Error: this he applied to the Pope's Authority. In conclusion, he promised to entertain them with another Discourse of the Authority that all Bishops had in their Sees, and that Princes had within their Dominions. But I could never recover that, and probably it is lost.

This was the state of the Court after King Henry had shaken off the Pope's Power, and assumed a Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Nobility and Gentry were generally well satisfied with the Change; but the Body of the People was more under the Power of the Priests; and they studied to infuse in them great Fears of a Change in Religion. It was said the King was now joyning himself to Heretics, that both the Queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell favoured them. It was left free to dispute what were Articles of Faith, and what were only the Decrees of Popes; and Changes would be made under this Pretence, that they only rejected those Opinions which were supported by the Papal Authority. The Monks and Friars saw themselves left at the King's Mercy. Their Bulls could be no longer useful to them. The trade of new Saints, or Indulgences, was near an end; they had also some Intimations
tions that Cromwell was forming a Project for suppressing them; so they thought it necessary for their own Preservation to imbroil the King's Affairs, as much as was possible; therefore both in Confessions and Discourses, they were infusing into the People a dislike of the King's Proceedings, and this did so far work on them, that if the Emperour's Affairs had been in such a condition, that he could have made War on the King, he might have done it with great Advantage; and found a strong Party in England on his side. But the Practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal Pool abroad, the Libels that were published, and the Rebellions that were afterwards raised in England, wrought so much on the King's Temper, that was naturally imperious and boisterous, that he became too apt to commit Acts of the highest Severity, and to bring his Subjects into Trouble upon the slightest Grounds; and his new Title of Head of the Church, seemed to have encreased his former Vanity, and made him fancy that all his Subjects were bound to regulate their Belief by the measures he set them. He had now reigned 25 Years, in all which time none had suffered for Crimes against the State, but Pool Earl of Suffolk, and Stafford Duke of Buckingham; (the former was executed in Obedience to his Father's last Commands; the latter fell by Cardinal Wolsey's Malice; he had also been inveigled by a Priest to imagine he had a Right to the
the Crown) but in the last ten Years of his Life, Instances of Severity returned more frequently. The Bishops and Abbots did what they could to free the King of any Jealousies that might be raised in him concerning them; and of their own accord, before any Law was made about it, they swore to maintain the King's Supremacy. The first Act of it was the making Cromwell Vicar General, and Visitor of all the Monasteries and Churches of England, with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him; he was also empowered to give Commissions subaltern to himself; and all Wills, where the Estate was in value above 200 l. were to be proved in his Court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the King's Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Matters, and had the Precedence of all next the Royal Family; and his Authority was in all Points the same, that the Legates had in time of Popery: for as the King's came in the Popes room; so the Vicegerent was what the Legates had been. Pains was taken to engage all the Clergy to declare for the Supreamacy. At Oxford a publick Determination was made, to which every Member assented, that the Pope had no more Authority in England, than any other Forreign Bishop. The Franciscans at Richmond made some more Opposition; they said, by the Rule of St. Francis, they were bound to obey the Holy See. The Bishop of Litchfield told them that all the Bishops in England, all the Heads of Housés,
Book I. Houses, and the most learned Divines had signed that Proposition. St. Francis made his Rule in Italy, where the Bishop of Rome was Metropolitan, but that ought not to extend to England: and it was shewed that the Chapter cited by them, was not written by him, but added since; yet they continued positive in their refusal to sign it.

It was well known that all the Monks and Friars, tho' they complied with the Time, yet they hated this new Power of the King's; the People were also startled at it; so one Dr. Leighton, that had been in the Cardinal's Service with Cromwell, proposed a General Visitation of all the Religious Houses in England: and thought that nothing would reconcile the Nation so much to the King's Supremacy, as to see some good Effect flow from it. Others thought this was too hardy a Step, and that it would provoke the Religious Orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of such Disorders, that nothing could so effectually keep them in awe as the enquiring into these. Cranmer led the way to this by a Metropolitical Visitation, for which he obtained the King's Licence; he took care to see that the Pope's Name was struck out of all the Offices of the Church, and that the King's Supremacy was generally acknowledged.

In October the General Visitation of the Monasteries was begun; which was cast into several Precincts: Instructions were given
given them, directing them what things to enquire after, as whether the Houses had the full number according to their Foundation, and if they performed Divine Worship in the appointed Hours; what Exemptions they had, what were their Statutes? how their Heads were chosen? and how their Vows were observed? Whether they lived according to the Severities of their Orders? how the Master and other Officers did their Duties? how their Lands and their Revenues were managed? what Hospitality was kept? and what care was taken of the Novices? what Benefices were in their Gift, and how they disposed of them? how the Inclosures of the Nunneries were kept? whether the Nuns went abroad, or if Men were admitted to come to them? how they imploied their time, and what Priests they had for their Confessors? They were also ordered to give them some Injunctions in the King’s Name, That they should acknowledge his Supremacy, and maintain the Act of Succession, and declare all to be absolved from any Rules or Oaths that bound them to obey the Pope; and that all their Statutes tending to that, should be razed out of their Books. That the Abbots should not have choice Dishes, but plain Tables for Hospitality; and that the Scriptures should be read at Meals; that they should have daily Lectures of Divinity; and maintain some of every House at the University. The Abbot was required to instruct the Monks in true Religion, and to shew
Book I. shew them that it did not consist in outward Ceremonies, but in Cleanness of Heart, and Purity of Life, and the worshiping of God in Spirit and Truth. Rules were given about their Revenues, and against admitting any under 20 Years of Age. The Visitors were empower'd to punish Offenders, or to bring them to answer before the Visitor General.

What the Ancient Britifh Monks were is not well known; whether they were governed according to the Rules of the Monks of Egypt or France, is matter of Conjecture. They were in all things obedient to their Bishops, as all the Monks of the Primitive Times were. But upon the Confusions which the Gothick Wars brought upon Italy, Benedict set up a new Order with more Artificial Rules for its Government. Not long after, Gregory the Great raised the Credit of that Order much, by his Books of Dialogues: and Austin the Monk being sent by him to convert England, did found a Monastery at Canterbury, that carried his Name, which both the King and Austin exempted from the Arch-bishop's Jurisdiction. But there is great reason to suspect that most of those Antient Charters were forged. After that many other Abbies were founded and exempted by the Kings of England, if Credit is due to the Leiger Books or Chartularies of the Monasteries. In the end of the eighth Century, the Danes made Descents upon England, and finding the most Wealth and the
least Resistance in the Monasteries, they generally plundered them, in so much that the Monks were forced to quit their Seats, and they left them to the Secular Clergy; so that in King Edgar's time there was scarce a Monk left in all England. He was a lewd and cruel Prince; and Dunstan and other Monks taking Advantage from some hor- rours of Conscience that he fell under, persuaded him that the restoring the Monastic State, would be matter of great Merit; so he converted many of the Chapters into Monasteries: and by the Foundation of the Priory of Worcester, it appears he had then founded 47, and intended to raise them to 50, the number of Pardon; tho the Invention of Jubilees being so much later, gives occasion to believe this was also a Forgery: He only exempted his Monasteries from all Payments to the Bishops; but others were exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction. In some only the Precinct was exempted, in others; the Exemption was extended to all the Lands or Churches belonging to them. The latest Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction granted by any King, is that of Battel founded by William the Conquerour: After this the Exemptions were granted by the Popes, who pretendi- ng to an Universal Jurisdiction, assumed this among other Usurpations: Some Abbies had also the Privilegd of being Sanctu- aries to all that fled to them: The Foun- dation of all their Wealth, was the belief of Purgatory, and of the Virtue that was
in Mails to redeem Souls out of it; and that these eased the Torments of departed Souls, and at last delivered them out of them; so it pafs among all for a piece of Piety to Parents, and of care for their own Souls and Families, to endow those Houses with some Lands, upon condition that they should have Mails said for them, as it was agreed on more or less, frequently according to the measure of the Gift. This was like to have drawn in the whole Wealth of the Nation into those Houses, if the Statute of Mortmain had not put some restraint to that Superstition. They also persuaded the World, that the Saints interceded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great Offerings to their Shrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earnestly for them: The credulous Vulgar measuring the Court of Heaven by those on Earth, believed Presents might be of great Efficacy there, and thought the new Favourites would have the most Weight in their Intercessions: So upon every new Canonization there was a new Fit of Devotion towards the last Saint, which made the elder to grow almost out of request. Some Images were believed to have an extraordinary Virtue in them, and Pilgrimages to these were much extolled. There was also great Rivalry among the several Orders, and different Houses of the same Orders, every one magnifying their own Saints, their Images and Relicks most.
of the Reformation, &c.: 149

The Wealth of these Houses brought them under great Corruptions. They were generally very dissolute, and grossly ignorant. Their Priviledges were become a publick Grievance, and their Lives gave great Scandal to the World; So that, as they had found it easy to bear down the Secular Clergy, when their own Vices were more secret; the begging Friers found it as easy to carry the Esteem of the World from them. These under the Appearance of Poverty, and course Diet, and Cloathing, gained much Esteem, and became almost the only Preachers and Confessors then in the World. They had a General at Rome, from whom they received such Directions, as the Popes sent them; so that they were more useful to the Papacy then the Monks had been. They had also the School-Learning in their hands, so that they were generally much cherished. But they living much in the World, could not conceal their Vices so artificially as the Monks had done; and tho' several Reformations had been made of their Orders, yet they had all fallen under great Scandal, and a general Disesteem. The King intended to erect new Bishopricks; and in order to that, it was necessary to make use of some of their Revenues. He also apprehended a War from the Emperour, and for that end, he intended to fortify his Harbours, and to encourage Shipping, and Trade, upon which, the Ballance of the World began then to turn: And in order to that, he resol-
Book I.

resolved to make use of the Wealth of those Houses, and thought, the best way to bring that into his hands, would be to expose their Vices, that so they might quite lose the Esteem they might yet be in with some, and so it might be less dangerous to suppress them. Cranmer promoted this much, both because these Houses were founded on gross Abuses, and subsisted by them; and these were necessary to be removed, if a Reformation went on. The Extent of many Dioceses was also such, that one man could not oversee them; so he intended to have more Bishopricks founded, and to have Houses at every Cathedral for the Education of those who should be imploied in the Pastoral Charge. The Visitors went over England, and found in many places, monstrous Disorders. The Sin of Sodom was found in many Houses; great Factions, and Barbarous Cruelties, were in others; and in some, they found Tools for Coining. The Report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mentioned: Some of these were printed, but the greatest part is lost; only a Report of 144 Houses is yet extant.

The first House that was surrendered to the King, was Langden, in Kent; the Abbot was found a Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a Lay Brother: This perhaps made him more willing to give an Example to the rest; so he and ten of his Monks, signed a Resignation of their House.
to the King. Two other Houses in the same County, Folkeston, and Dover, followed their Example. And in the following Year, four other Houses made the like Surrenders: and these were all that I find before the Act of Parliament past, for suppressing the lesser Monasteries.

Q. Katherine was put to much trouble, for keeping the Title, Queen, but bore it resolutely, and said, That since the Pope had judged that her Marriage was good, she would die rather than do any thing in prejudice of it. Her Sufferings begot Compassion in the People; and all the Superstitious Clergy supported her Interests zealously. But now her Troubles ended with her Life. She desired to be buried among the Observant Friers, for they had suffered most for her. She ordered 500 Mallses to be said for her Soul; and that one of her Women should go a Pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, and give 200 Nobles on her way to the Poor. When she found Death coming on her, as she writ to the Emperour, recommending her Daughter to his care: So she writ to the King, with this Inscription, My dear Lord, King, and Husband. She forgave him all the Injuries he had done her; and wish’d him to have regard to his Soul. She recommended her Daughter to his Care, and desired him to be kind to her three Maids, and to pay her Servants a Years Wages; and ended thus, mine Eyes desire you above all things. She died on the Eighth
Book I. of January, at Kimbolton, in the 50th Year of her Age, 33 Years after she came to England. She was a Devout and Exemplary Woman: She used to work with her own hands, and kept her Women at work with her. The Severities and Devotions that were known to her Priests, and her Alms-Deeds, joined to the Troubles she fell in, begat a high Esteem of her in all sorts of People. The King complained often of her Pevvishness; but that was perhaps, to be imputed, as much to the Provocations he gave her, as to the Sowrness of her Temper. He ordered her to be buried in the Abbey of Peterborough, and was somewhat touched with her Death. But Q. Ann did not carry this so decently as became a happy Rival.

In February a Parliament met, after a Prorogation of 14 Months. The Act empowering 32 to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws, was confirmed; but no time was limited for finishing it, so it had no effect. The chief business of this Session, was the suppress of the Monasteries, under 200 l. a Year. The Report the Visitors made was read in the two Houses, and disposed them to great easiness in this matter. The Act sets forth the great disorders of those Houses, and the many unsuccessful Attempts that had been made to reform them; so the Religious that were in them, were ordered to be put in the greater Houses, where Religion was better observed, and the Revenues of them were given to the King. Those Houses were much richer;
than they seemed to be; for an abuse that had run over Europe, of keeping the Rents of the Church at their first Rates; and instead of railing them, the exacting great Fines for the Incumbent, when the Leases were renewed, was so gross in those Houses, that some rated but at 200 l. were in real value worth many Thousands. By another Act, a new Court was erected, with the Title of the Court of the Augmentations of the King’s Revenue, consisting of a Chancellor, a Treasurer, 10 Auditors, 17 Receivers, besides other Officers. The King was also empowered to make new Foundations, of such of those Houses now suppressed, as he pleased, which were in all 370, and so this Parliament, after six Years Continuance, was now dissolved.

A Convocation sate at this time, in which, a motion was made for Translating the Bible into English, which had been promised when Tindal’s Translation was condemned, but was afterwards, laid aside by the Clergy, as neither necessary nor expedient: So it was said, that those, whose Office it was to teach People the Word of God, did all they could to suppress it. Moses, the Prophets, and the Apostles, wrote in the Vulgar Tongue: Christ directed the People to search the Scriptures; and as soon as any Nation was converted to the Christian Religion, the Bible was translated into their Language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the People, till the Christian Religion was so corrupted, that it
it was not safe to trust them with such a Book, which would have so manifestly discovered those Errors; and the Legends, as agreeing better with those Abuses, were read instead of the Word of God. So Cranmer look'd on the putting the Bible in the People's hands, as the most effectual means for promoting the Reformation; and therefore moved, that the King might be prayed to give or der for it. But Gardiner, and all the other Party, opposed this vehemently. They said, All the extravagant Opinions then in Germany, rose from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. Some of those Opinions were at this time disseminated in England, both against the Divinity, and Incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the Sacraments, for which 19 Hollanders had been burnt in England the former Year. It was therefore said, That during these Divractions, the use of the Scriptures would prove a great Snare.:

So it was proposed, that instead of them, their might be some short Exposition of the Christian Religion put in the Peoples hands, which might keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church: But it was carried in the Convocation for the Affirmative. At Court, Men were much divided in this Point; some said, if the King gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his People, and that they would break into many Divisions. But on the other hand, it was said, That nothing would make the Difference between
between the Pope's Power, and the King's Book I. Supremacy, appear more eminently, than if the one gave the People the free use of the Word of God; whereas the other had kept them in Darkness, and ruled them by a blind Obedience. It would be also a great mean to extinguish the Interest that either the Pope or the Monks had in England, to put the Bible in the People's hands, in which it would appear, that the World had been long deceived by their Impostures, which had no Foundation in the Scriptures. These Reasons joined with the Interest that the Queen had in the King, prevailed so far with him, that he gave order for setting about this with all possible haste; and within three Years the Impression of it was finished. At this time, the King was in some Treaty with the German Princes, not only for a League in Temporal Concerns, but likewise in matters of Religion. The King thought the Germans should have in all things submitted to him; and the Opinion he had of his own Learning, which was perhaps heightened a little with his new Title of Head of the Church, made him expect, that they should in all points comply with him. Gardiner was then his Ambassador in France, and dissuaded him much from any Religious League with them, as that which would alienate the World abroad, and his People at home from him.

The Popish Party saw the interest the Queen had in him, was the great Obstacle of
Book I. of their Designes: She grew not only in the Kings Esteem, but in the Love of the Nation. The last Nine Months of her Life, She gave above 14000 l. in Alms to the Poor, and was much set on doing good. Soon after Queen Katherine's Death, she bore a dead Son, which was believed to have made some Impression on the King's mind. It was also considered, that now Queen Katherine being dead, the King might marry another, and be set right again with the Pope and the Emperour: And the Issue by any other Marriage would never be questioned; whereas, while Queen Ann lived, the ground of the Controversy still remained, and her Issue would be Illegitimated, her Marriage being null from the beginning, as they thought. With these Reasons of State, the King's Affections joyned, for he was now in Love with Jane Seymour, whose humour was tempered in a mean, between the Gravity of Queen Katherine, and the Pleasantness of Queen Ann. The poor Queen used all possible Arts to reinflame a dying Affection; but the King was changed, and instead of being wrought on by her Careless, he came to look on them as Artifices to cover some other Criminal Affection. Her cheerfulness was not always governed with Decency and Discretion: And her Brother's Wife being jealous of her Husband and Her, possessed the King with her own Apprehensions, and filled his Head with many Stories. Norris
Norris, Weston, and Breton the King's Servants, and Smeton a Musician, were observed to be particularly officious about her. Somewhat was pretended to have been sworn by the Lady Wyngfield at her Death, that determined the King; but there is little light left to judge of that Matter. The King was at Jufts at Greenwich, where it was reported, that he was displeased with the Queen, for letting her Handkerchief fall to one for wiping his Face; but this seems to be a Fiction; for a Parliament was summoned the day before that, and then it was resolved to destroy her. The King left her, upon which she was confined to her Chamber, and the five before mentioned were seized on, and sent to the Tower, and the next day she was carried thither. On the River, some Privy Counsellors came to examine her; but she made deep Protestations of her Innocence; and as she landed at the Tower, she fell down on her Knees, and prayed God to assist her, as she was free of the Crimes laid to her charge: After this she fell into fits of the Mother, sometimes she laughed, and at other times she wept excessively: She was also devout and light by turns; and sometimes she stood upon her Vindication, and at other times she confessed some Indiscretions, which she afterwards denied. All the People about her made the most of every Word that fell from her, and sent it immediately to Court. The others that were imprisoned on her account, denied every thing, only Smeton
Book I. Smeton confessed Leudness with her. The Duke of Norfolk, and others that came to examine her, made her believe that both Norris and Smeton had accused her; but tho that was false, yet it had this Effect on her, that it made her confess that which did totally alienate the King from her. She acknowledged that she had rallied Norris, that he waited for the King's Death, and then thought to have her, which tho he denied, yet upon that she fell out with him. She denied that Smeton was ever in her Chamber, but once when he came to play on the Virginals. She insinuated as if he had made Love to her; for seeing him one day pensive, she told him he must not expect that she should talk to him, since he was so mean a Person, and he answered, A Look would serve him. She also said, Weston had seemed jealous of Norris, for being oft in her Chamber, and had declared Love to her, upon which she defied him. Whether these Confessions were real Truths, or the Effects of Imagination and Vapors, cannot be certainly determined at this distance. It is probable there had been some Levities in her Carriage that were not becoming.

All the Court was now turned against her, and she had no Friend about the King but Cranmer; and therefore her Enemies procured an Order for him not to come to Court; yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long Letter upon this Critical Juncture. ‘He acknowledged that
If the Things reported of the Queen were true, it was the greatest Affliction that ever befell the King, and therefore exhorted him to bear it with Patience and Submission to the Will of God: he confessed he never had a better Opinion of any Woman than of her; and that next the King, he was more bound to her, than to all Persons living; and therefore he begged the King's leave to pray that she might be found Innocent; he loved her not a little, because of the Love which she seemed to bear to God, and his Gospel; but if she was guilty, all that loved the Gospel must hate her, as having given the greatest Slander possible to the Gospel: but he prayed the King not to entertain any Prejudice to the Gospel on her account, nor give the World reason to say, That his Love to it was founded on the Power that she had with him.

The King's Jealousy was now too deeply rooted to admit of any Cure, but an extremestream one: The Indictments were laid in the Counties of Kent and Middlesex, the former relating to what was done in Greenwich. Smeton pleaded Guilty, and confessed he had known the Queen carnally three times; the rest pleaded not guilty; but they were all condemned.

Three days after that, the Queen and her Brother (who was then a Peer) were tried before the Duke of Norfolk, as High Steward and a Court of 27 Peers. It has been oft given out to defame her the more, that
that her own Father's fate and condemned her: but the Record of the Attainder shews that is false, for he was not of the Number. The Crime charged on her was, That she had procured her Brother and four others to lie with her; and had often said to them, That the King never had her Heart; and this was to the Slander of the Issue begotten between the King and her, which was Treason by the Act that confirmed her Marriage: so that Act that was made for the Marriage, was now turned on her to ruin her. They would not now acknowledg her the King's lawful Wife, and therefore they did not found the Treason on the known Statute 25th Edw. 3. It does not appear what Evidence was brought against her: for Smeton being already condemned, could not be made use of; and his never being brought face to face against her, gave great suspicion that he was persuaded to confess by base practices. The Evidence, as appears by Spelman's Account of it, that was then a Judge, was only the Declaration of a dead Woman: but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great Day discovers it. The Judgment in case of Treason for a Woman, is Burning; but it was given either for that, or beheading at the King's Pleasure. The Judges complained of this as contrary to Law, but there was a secret Reason for it, into which they did not penetrate. The Earl of Northumberland was one of the Judges, he had been once in Love.
of the Recognition, &c.

love with the Queen, and either some return of that, or some other Accident made that he fell suddenly so ill, that he could not stay out the Trial; for after the Queen was judged, he went out of the Court before her Brother was tried, who was condemned upon the same Evidence. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged King; he resolved to illegitimate his Daughter, and in order to that to annul his Marriage with the Queen. It was re-membred that the Earl of Northumberland, had said to Cardinal Wolsey, that he had engaged himself so far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by some Promise conceived in Words of the Future Tense; but no Promise, unless in the Words of the Present Tense, could annul the Subsequent Marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not understand that Difference, or probably the fear of so terrible a Death as Burning, wrought so much on her, that she confessed a Contract; but the Earl de-nied it positively, and took the Sacrament upon it, wishing that it might turn to his Damnation, if there was ever either Con-tract or Promise of Marriage between them. She was secretly carried to Lambeth, and confessed a Precontract, upon which her Marriage with the King was judged null from the beginning; yet this was so little known at that time, that Spelman writes of it as a thing only talked of; but it was published in the next Parliament. These two Sentences contradicted one
another; for if she was never the King's Wife, she could not be guilty of Adultery, for there could be no breach of the Faith of Wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the King was resolved both to be rid of her, and to declare his Daughter by her a Bastard.

When she had Intimations given her to prepare for Death; among other things she reflected on her Carriage to Lady Mary, to whom she had been too severe a Step-mother: So she made one of her Women sit down, and she fell on her Knees before her and charged her to go to Lady Mary, and in that Posture, and in her Name, to ask her Forgiveness for all she had done against her. This Tenderness of Conscience seemed to give much Credit to the continual Protestations of her Innocence, which she made to the last. The day before her Death, she sent her last Message to the King, asserting her Innocence, recommending her Daughter to his Care, and thanking him for his advancing her, first to be a Marchioness, then to be a Queen, and now, when he could raise her no higher on Earth, for sending her to be a Saint in Heaven. The day she died the Lieutenant of the Tower writ to Cromwell, that it was not fit to publish the time of her Execution, for the fewer that were present it would be the better; since he believed she would declare her Innocence at the hour of her Death; for that morning she had made great Protestations of it, when she received the
the Sacrament, and seemed to long for Death, and had great Joy and Pleasure in it; she was glad to hear the Executioner was good, for she said she had a very short Neck, at which she laughed heartily. A little before Noon, she was brought to the place of Execution; there were present some of the Chief Officers and Great Men of the Court; she was, it seems prevailed on out of regard to her Daughter, to make no Reflections on the hard measure she met with, nor to say any thing, touching the Grounds, on which Sentence past against her, only she desired that all would judge the best; she commended the King highly, and so took her leave of the World: She was for some time in her private Devotions, and concluded, To Christ I commend my Soul; upon which the Executioner, who was brought from Calis on that occasion, cut off her Head, and so little regard was had to her Body, that it was put in a Chest of Elm-tree, made to send Arrows into Ireland, and was buried in the Chappel in the Tower. Norris was much dealt with to accuse her, and his Life was promised him if he would do it; but he said he knew she was Innocent, and would die a thousand times rather than defame her: so he and the other three were beheaded, and all of them continued to the last to vindicate her. Smeton was hanged, and it was said, that he retracted all before he died; but of that, there is no certainty.
When this was done, it was very variously censured. The Popish Party observed, that she who had supplanted Queen Katherine, did now meet with harder measure; her faint way of speaking concerning her Innocence at last, was judged too high a Complement to the King in a dying Woman, and shewed more regard to her Daughter than to her own Honour; yet she writ a Letter to the King in so high a Strain both of Wit and Natural Eloquence in her own Justification, that it may be reckoned one of the best composed pieces of that time. In her Carriage it seems there were some Freedoms that became not her Quality, and had encouraged those unfortunate Persons to make some Address to her, which is never done when there is such difference of Conditions, without some Encouragement is first given. It was said on the other hand, that the King of all Men, had the least reason to suspect her, since after six Years Courtship, he gained nothing from her, before he married her; but the Particulars she confessed, gave much matter for Jealousy, especially in so violent a Man, to work upon; and so it was no wonder if it transported him out of measure. Others condemned Cranmer as too obsequious for passing the Sentence annulling the Marriage; yet when she came and confessed a Precontract in Court, he could not avoid the giving Sentence upon it. All that hated the Reformation insulted, and said, it now appeared how
bad that Cause was, which was supported by such a Patron. But it was answered, that her Faults could not reflect on those, who being ignorant of them, had desired her Protection. Gregory the Great had courted and magnified Phocas and Brunichild, after he knew their Villanies; and Irene after her barbarous Cruelties, was not a little extolled for her Zeal in the matter of Images. It has seemed strange to some, that during her Daughter's long and glorious Reign, none writ in Vindication of her Mother, which officious Courtiers are apt to do often without any good Grounds, so that Silence was made an Argument of her Guilt, and that she could not be defended. But perhaps that was an effect of the Wisdom of the Ministers of that time, who would not suffer so nice a Point, upon which the Queen's Legitimation depended, to be brought into dispute. The day after Anne Boleyn's Death, the King married Jane Seymour, who gained more upon him, than all his Wives ever did: But she was happy that she did not out-live his Love to her.

Lady Mary was advised upon this turn of Affairs, to make her Submission to the King: she offered to confess the Fault of her former Obstinacy, and in General, to give up her Understanding entirely to the King; but that would not satisfy, unless she would be more particular; so at last she was prevailed with, to do it in the fullest Terms that could be desired; 'She ac-

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Book I.  

Knowledged the King to be the Supream Head on Earth under Christ of the Church of England, and did renounce the Bishop of Rome’s Authority; and promised in all things to be obedient to the Laws that were made; which she said flowed from her inward Belief, and Judgment, and in which she would for ever continue; and she did also acknowledg that the King’s Marriage with her Mother, was by God’s Law and Man’s Law unlawful and incestuous: all this she writ with her own Hand, and subscribed it, upon which she was again received into Favour; and an Establishment was made for a Family about her, in which 40 l. a quarter was all the Allowance for her Privy Purse, so great was the Frugality of that time. Lady Elizabeth continued to be educated with great Care, and was so forward, that before she was four Years old, she both wrote a good Hand, and understood Italian; for there are Letters extant written by her in that Language to Queen Jane, when she was with child, in which she subscribed Daughter.

On the 8th of June the Parliament met, which shews that it was summoned before the Justs at Greenwich. The Chancellour told them, that the King had called them to settle the Succession of the Crown, in case he should dye without Children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the Act made concerning his Marriage with Queen Anne. It seems the Parliament was not at first easily
easily brought to comply with these things; and that it was necessary to take some pains to prepare them to it. For the Bill of Succession, was not put in till the 30th of June, but then it was quickly dispatched without any Opposition: by it the Attainder of Queen Anne and her Complices is confirmed; both the Sentences of Divorces passed upon the King's two former Marriages were also confirmed; and the Issue by both was illegitimated and for ever excluded from claiming the Crown by Lineal Descent: And the Succession was established on the King's Issue by his present Queen, or any whom he might afterwards marry. But it not being fit to declare who should succeed in default of that, left the Person so named might be thereby enabled to raise Comotions, in Confidence of the King's Wisdom, and Affection to his People, they left it to him nominate his Successors, either by Letters Patents, or by his last Will signed by his Hand, and promised to obey the Persons so nominated by him. It was declared Treason to maintain the Lawfulness of his former Marriages, or of his Issue by them, and it was made not only Treason, but a forfeiture of the Right of Succession, if any of those whom the King should name in default of others, should endeavour to get before them. The Scots complained of this Act, and said, their Queen Dowager, being King Henry's Eldest Sister, could not be put by her Right, after the
the King’s lawful Issue. But by this the
King was now made Master indeed, and
had the Crown put entirely in his Hands,
to be disposed of at his Pleasure; and his
Daughters were now to depend wholly on
him. He had it also in his Power in a
great measure to pacify the Emperor by
providing, that his Kinswoman might suc-
cceed to the Crown.

Pope Clement the 7th, was now dead,
and Farnese succeeded by the Name of
Paul the 3d, who, after an unsuccessful At-
tempt, which he made for reconciling him-
self with the King, when that was rejected,
and Fisher was beheaded, thundered out
a most terrible Sentence of Deposition a-
gainst him: Yet now, since both Queen Ka-
therine and Queen Anne, upon whose ac-
count the Breach was made, were out of the
way, he thought it a fit time to try what
might be done; and ordered Caffali to let
the King know that he had always favou-
red his Cause when he was a Cardinal, that
he was driven very much against his Mind
to pass Sentence against him; and that
now it would be easy for him to re-
cover the Favour of the Apostolick
See.

But the King instead of hearkening to
the Proposition, got two Acts to be pas’d;
‘The one was for the utter extinguishing
of the Pope’s Authority; and it was made
a Premunire for any to acknowledg it, or
to perswade others to it: And a strict
Charge was given to all Magistrates under
‘severe
severe Penalties to enquire after all Offenders. By another all Bulls and all Privileges flowing from them, were declared null and void, only Marriages or Consecrations made by virtue of them, were excepted. All who enjoyed Privileges by these Bulls were required to bring them into the Chancery; upon which the Arch-bishop was to make them a new Grant of them, and that, being confirmed under the Great Seal, was to be of full force in Law.

Another Act past explaining an Exception, that was in the Act for the Residence of all Incumbents, by which those who were at the Universities were dispensed with, upon which many went and lived idly there. It was therefore now declared that none above the Age of forty, except Heads and publick Readers, should have the Benefit of that Proviso, and that none under that Age should be comprehended in it, except they performed their Exercises. Another Act past in Favour of the King's Heirs, if they should Reign before they were of full Age, that they might any time before they were 24, repeal by Letters Patents all Acts made during their Minority. All these things being concluded, the Parliament after it had sat six Weeks, was dissolved.

The Convocation sat at the same time, and was much employed: for the House of Lords was oft adjourned, because the Spiritual
Book I. Ritual Lords were busy in the Convocation. Latimer preached the Latine Sermon; he was the most celebrated Preacher of that time; the simplicity of his matter, and his zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate Compositions. They first confirmed the Sentence of the Divorce of the King's Marriage with Queen Anne. Then the lower House made an Address to the upper House, complaining of 67 Opinions that they found were much spread in the Kingdom: they were either the Tenets of the old Lollards, or the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; and many of them were only unflavou-ry and indiscreeet Expressions, which might have flowed from the Heat and Folly of some rash Zealots, who by petulant Jeers, and an Affectation of Wit, had endeavoured to disgrace both the received Doctrines and Rites. They also complained of some Bishops who were wanting in their Duty to suppress such Abuses; which was understood as a Reflection on Cranmer, Shaxton, and Latimer. It was hoped that Cranmer was now declining by Queen Anne's Fall; and the other two who were raised by her, would not have stood long, if he had been once disgraced; yet they premised to this a Protestation, that they intended to do nothing that might displease the King, whom they acknowledged to be their Supream Head; and they were resolved to obey his Laws, and they renounced the Pope's Authority with all his
his Laws. All these Projects failed, for Cranmer was now fully established in the King's Favour; & Cromwell was sent to them with a Message from the King, That they should reform the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Rules set down in Scripture, which ought to be preferred to all Glosses or Decrees of Popes. There was one Alesse a Scotch-man, whom Cromwell entertained in his House, and he being appointed to deliver his Opinion, largely shewed that there was no Sacraments instituted by Christ, but Baptism and the Lord's Supper: Stokesly answered him in a long Discourse upon the Principles of the School-Divinity; upon which Cranmer took occasion to shew the Vanity of that sort of Learning, and the Uncertainty of Tradition: and that Religion had been so corrupted in the latter Ages, that there was no finding out the Truth, but by resting in the Authority of the Scriptures. Fox Bishop of Hereford seconded him, and told them the World was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the Niceties and dark Terms of the Schools; for the Laity now did not only read the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongues, but searched the Originals themselves; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been in the Times of Ignorance: Among the Bishops, Cranmer, Goodrick, Shaxton, Latimer, Fox, Hilsby, and Barlow, press a Reformation; but Lee Arch-bishop of York, Stokesly, Tonstall, Gardiner,
Book I. Gardiner, Longland, and several others opposed it as much: But the Contest had been sharper, if the King had not sent some Articles to them to be considered of by them; so they whose chief Design it was to recommend themselves to Preferment, by the easiness of their Compliance with him in all Points, did agree on the following Particulars.

1. That the Bishops and Preachers ought to instruct the People according to the Scripture, the three Creeds, and the four first General Councils.

2. That Baptism was necessary to Salvation, and that Children ought to be baptized for the pardon of Original Sin, and obtaining the Holy Ghost.

3. That Penance was necessary to Salvation and that it consisted in Confession, Contrition, and Amendment of Life, with the External Works of Charity, to which a lively Faith ought to be joyned; and that Confession to a Priest was necessary where it might be had.

4. That in the Eucharist under the forms of Bread and Wine, the very Flesh and Blood of Christ, was received.

5. That Justification was the Remission of Sins, and a perfect Renovation in Christ, and that not only outward good Works, but inward Holiness was absolutely necessary: As for the outward Ceremonies the People were to be taught, that it was meet to have Images in Churches, but they ought to avoid all such Super-
Superstition as had been usual in time past, and not to worship the Image, but only God. 2. That they were to honour the Saints, but not to expect those things from them which God only gives. 3. That they might pray to them for their Intercession; but all Superstitious Abuses were to cease; and if the King should lessen the number of Saints Days, they ought to obey him. 4. That the use of the Ceremonies was good, and that they contained many Mystical Significations that tended to raise the mind towards God, such were Vesturests in Divine Worship, Holy Water, Holy Bread, the carrying of Candles, and Palms and Ashes, and creeping to the Cross, and the Hallowing the Font, with other Exorcisms. 5. That it was good to pray for departed Souls, and to have Masses and Exequies said for them; but the Scriptures having neither declared in what Place they were, nor what Torments they suffered, that was uncertain, and to be left to God: therefore all the Abuses of the Pope’s Pardons, or saying Masses in such or such Places, or before such Images were to be put away. These Articles were signed by Cromwel, the two Arch-bishops, sixteen Bishops, fourty Abbots, and Priors, and fifty of the lower House; to them the King added a Preface, declaring the Pains that he and the Clergy had been at, for the removing the Differences in Religion that were in the Nation, and that he approved of these Articles, and required
required all his Subjects to accept them with the like Unanimity with which they were consented to; and he would be thereby encouraged to take further Pains in the like Matters for the future.

When these things were published, those that desired a Reformation, tho they did not approve of every Particular, yet were well pleased to see things brought under Examination; and since some things were at this time changed, they did not doubt but more Changes would follow; they were glad that the Scriptures and the Ancient Creeds were made the Standards of the Faith, without adding Tradition, and that the nature of Justification and the Gospel-Covenant were rightly stated; that the immediate Worship of Images and Saints was condemned, and that Purgatory was left uncertain; but the necessity of Auricular Confession, and the Corporal Presence, the doing Reverence to Images, and praying to Saints, were of hard Digestion to them: yet they were glad to see some graver Abuses removed, and a Reformation once set on foot. The Popish Party were sorry to see four Sacraments past over in silence; and the Trade about Purgatory put down; and were very apprehensive of the Precedent of bringing matters of Religion under debate, which would bring on other Alterations. When these things were known beyond Sea, the Court of Rome made great use of them, to let all Princes see the necessity of adhering to the Holy
Holy See; for no sooner did England depart from that, than it began to change the Doctrine likewise. The Germans on the other hand, said, This was a Political Daubing, for satisfying all Parties; and that it favoured not of the Sincerity that became the Professors of True Religion, to allow of so many Errors. To this it was answered, That our Saviour did not deliver all things to his Disciples, till they were able to bear them. And the Apostles did not abolish all the Rites of Judaism at once, but by a gentle Progress intended to wean those that were converted to the Christian Religion from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by slow and easy Steps out of their Ignorance and Superstition; whereas the driving on things with precipitated haste, might spoil the whole Design, and alienate those who by slower Methods might be gained; and it might also much endanger the Peace of the Nation.

At the same time other things were in Consultation, tho' not finished. Cranmer offered some Queries to shew the Cheats that had been put on the World: as that Priestly Absolution without Contrition was of more efficacy than Contrition was without it: and that the People trusted wholly to outward Ceremonies; in which the Priests encouraged them because of the gain they made by them: That the exemption of Clergy-men was without good ground; that Bishops did ordain without due care and previous trial; and that the dignified Clergy
Book I. gy misapplied their Revenues, and did not reside on their Benefices; he also desired that the other four Sacraments might be enquired into: but these things were not at this time taken under any further consideration. It is true, Confirmation seems to have been examined: The Method in which they made their Enquiries, was this; the Point to be examined was brought under so many Heads, in the form of Queries; and to these every one gave his Answer with his Reasons: so I find two Papers, the one of Cranmer's, the other of Stokesly's, on this Head; the former runs wholly upon Scripture-Authority, and he thinks it was not instituted by Christ, but was done by the Apostles, by that extraordinary Effusion of the Holy Ghost, that rested on them: The other founds his Opinion for its being a Sacrament, on the Tradition of the Church; but nothing was determined in this point. Cranmer did at this time, offer another Paper to the King, exhorting him to proceed to a further Reformation, and that nothing should be determined without clear Proofs from Scripture; for the departing from that Rule, had been the Occasion of all the Errours that had been in the Church. Many things were now acknowledged to be Errours, for which, some not long before, had suffered Death. He therefore proposed several points to be discussed; as whether there was a Purgatory? Whether departed Saints ought to be invoked, or Tradition be believed? Whether Images ought to
to be considered only as Representations of History? And whether it was lawful for the Clergy to marry? He prayed the King not to give Judgment in these points, till he heard them well examined: And for the last he offered, that if those who would defend the lawfulness of it, should not in the Opinion of indifferent Judges, prove their Opinion to be true, they should be willing to suffer Death; but if they proved it, all that they desired was, that the King would leave them to the Liberty which God had allowed them in that matter: But all this was carried no further at this time.

The Pope had issued out a Summons for a General Council at Mantua, and had cited the King to it: From this, the King did appeal to a General Council, rightly constituted. So a motion being made by Fox, that the Convocation should deliver their Sense in this Particular; They drew up a Paper, in which they set forth the great Good that might follow in a General Council rightly called; but that nothing could be more mischievous, than one called on private malice, according to what Nazianzen observed of the Councils in his time; And they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince, had sufficient Authority to call one; but that all Princes who had an entire and supreme Government over all their Subjects, ought to concur to it. This was signed by them all, on the 20th of July; and so was the Convocation dismiss'd. Two days before it brake
Book I. brake up, Cromwel was made the King's Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Matters, of which, some Account was formerly given.

Soon after this, the King published a long and sharp Protestation, against the Council summoned by the Pope; he denied that he had any Authority to summon any of his Subjects: He shewed that the place was neither proper nor safe; and that no good could be expected from any Council in which the Pope presided, since the regulating his Power was one of the chief occasions that the World had for a Council: And while Christendom was in such Distractions, and the Emperour and the King of France were engaged in War, it was not a fit time for one to be called. The Pope had refused it long; and this Con juncture was chosen, in which the Bishops could not come to it, that so a packt meeting of Italian Bishops might do what they pleased, under the name of a General Council: But the World would be no longer cozened. No credit was due to a Pope's safe Conduct, for they had often broken their Oaths, as to himself in particular: And notwithstanding his former kindness to that See, they had been for three Years, stirring up all the Princes in Christendom against him. He protested against all Councils called by the Pope; but declared, He would be ready to concur with other Christian Princes for calling one, when it should be convenient: And in the mean time,
while, he would maintain all the Articles of the Faith; and lose his Life and Crown sooner than suffer any of them to be put down. Three Years after this, the King made a new Protestation to the same effect, when the Council was summoned to meet at Vincenza.

Reginald Pool began at this same time to raise that Opposition to the King, which proved so fatal to all his Family. He was by his Mother descended from the Duke of Clarence, Brother to Edward the Fourth; and was by his Father likewise, the King's near Kinsman. To this high Quality, there was joined a great Sweetness of Temper, and a Disposition for Letters, which the King cherished much, and gave him the Deanry of Exeter, and some other Preferments, in order to the carrying on of his Studies, being resolved to advance him to the highest Dignities in the Church. He lived many Years, both at Paris and Padua. In the latter of these, he joined himself to a Society of Learned Men, that gave themselves much to the Study of Eloquence, and of the Roman Authors, among whom were Contareno, Bembo, Caraffa, and Sadoletti, all afterwards honoured with the Scarlet; but Pool was esteemed the most Eloquent of all of them all. When he was at Paris, he first incurred the King's Displeasure, for he refused to joyn with those whom he employed, in order to the procuring the Determinations of the French Universities for the Divorce. Yet after that, he came

Cardinal Pool writes against the King.
Book I. to England, and was present when the Convocation declared the King to be their Supremant Head: And it is probable, that he joined in it, for he kept his Deanry some Years after this, which it is not likely would have been granted him, if he had not done that. The King suffered him after that to go beyond Sea, but could never draw him over again. Some time afterwards, he wrote plainly to the King, that he condemned both his Divorce, and his Separation from the Apostolick See. The King upon that, sent him a Book writ by Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, in defence of these things; and that set him on writing his Book, de Unione Ecclesiastica, which was printed this Year. It was full of sharp Reflections on the King, whom he compared to Nebuchadnezzar: It tended much to depress the Regal, and to exalt the Papal Authority. And in Conclusion, he addressed himself to the Emperour, praying him, rather to turn his Arms against the King, than the Turk. It was very Eloquently wrote; but there was little Learning or Reasoning in it; and it was full of Indecencies in the Language, that he bestowed not only on Sampson, but on the King. The King required him to come over, but that was not to be expected, after he had made such a step. So he devested him of all his Dignities; but that recommended him to a Cardinal's Hat. Stokesly, and Tomstal, wrote him a long and learned Letter, in the King's Vindication.
diner wrote also his Book, de vera Obedientia; to which, Bonner prefixed a vehement Preface against the Pope’s Power, and for justifying the King’s Supremacy. The King’s anger at Pool could not reach him, but it fell Heavy on his Kindred.

Visitors were appointed to survey all the lesser Monasteries: They were required to carry along with them the Concurrency of the Gentry near them, and to examine the estate of their Revenues and Goods, and take Inventories of them; and to take their Seals into their keeping: They were to try how many of the Religious would take Capacities, and return to a Secular Course of Life; and these were to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Chancellor for them; and an Allowance was to be given them for their Journey: But those who intended to continue in that state, were to be sent to some of the great Monasteries that lay next. A Pension was also to be assigned to the Abbot, or Prior, during Life: And of all this, they were to make their report by Michaelmas: And they were particularly to examine what Leafes had been made all the last Year. The Abbots hearing of what was coming on them, had been raising all the Mony they could; and so it was intended to recover what was made away by ill Bargains. There were great Complaints made of the Proceedings of the Visitors, of their Violencies and Briberies; and perhaps not without reason.
Book I. Son. Ten Thousand of the Religious were set to seek for their Livings, with Forty Shillings and a Gown a Man. Their Goods and Plate were estimated at an 10000 l. And the valued Rents of their Houses was 32000 l. but was really above ten times so much. The Churches and Cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the Materials sold.

which gave a general Discontent; and the Monks were now as much pitied, as they were formerly hated. It was thought strange to see the King devour what his Ancestors had dedicated to the Honour of God, and his Saints. The Nobility and Gentry, who provided for their younger Children, or Friends, by putting them in those Sanctuaries, were sensible of their Loss. The People who had been fed at the Abbot’s Tables, and as they travelled over the Country, found the Abbasies to be places of Reception to Strangers, saw what they were to lose. But the more Superstitious, who thought their Friends must now lie still in Purgatory, without that Relief which the Malles procured them, were out of measure offended at these Proceedings. The Books that were published of the Disorders in these Houses, had no great effect on the People: For it was said, There was no reason to destroy whole Houses for the sake of some vicious Persons, who ought to have been driven out of them, and punished. But to remove this general Disscontent, Cromwel advised the King
King to sell these Lands at very easy Rates, 

Book I.

1536.

of the Reformation, etc.

to the Nobility and Gentry, and to oblige

them to keep up the wonted Hospitality.

This would both be grateful to them, and

would engage them to assist the Crown

in the Maintenance of the changes that

had been made; since their own Interests

would be Interwoven with the Rights of

Crown; and the commoner sort, whose

grudges lay chiefly in their Stomachs, for

the want of the good Dinners they used to

find, would be easily pacified if these were

still kept up. And upon a Clause in the

Act empowering the King to found a-

new, such Houses as he should think fit;

there were 15 Monasteries, and 16 Nun-

neries, new founded. It seems these had

been more regular than the rest; so that

for a while they were reprived, till the

General Suppression came, that they

fell with the rest. They were bound to

obey such Rules as the King should send

them; and to pay him Tenths, and first

Fruits. But all this did not so pacify the

People, but there was still a great out-cry.

The Clergy studied much to inflame the

Nation; and built much on this. That an

Heretical Prince deposed by the Pope, was

no more to be acknowledged, which had

been for 500 Years received as an Article

of Faith, and was decreed in the same

Council, that Established Transubstantiation;

and had been received and carried down

from Gregory the Seventh's time, who pre-
tended, that it was a part of the Papal

Power
Book I. Power to depose Kings, and give away their Dominions, and had it been oft put in Practice in almost all the Parts of Europe, and some that had been raisers of great Seditions had been Canonized for it. The Pope had summoned the King to appear at Rome, and answer for putting away his Queen and taking another Wife, for the Laws he had made against the Church, and for putting the Bishop of Rochester and others to death for their not obeying them; if he did not appear nor reform these things, he excommunicated and deprived him, absolved his Subjects from their Obedience, dissolved his Leagues with Foreign Princes, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict. But tho' the force of these Thunders was in this Age much abated, yet they had not quite lost their Strength; and the Clergy resolved to make the most of them that could be.

Some Injunctions which were given by Cromwell, increased this ill Disposition. They were to this Effect: All Church-men were required every Sunday for a quarter of a Year, and twice every Quarter after that, to preach against the Pope's Power, and assert the King's Supremacy, and to explain the Articles lately set forth by the Convocation; and to publish the Abrogation of some Holy-days in Harvest time: They were no more to extol Images, Relicks, or Pilgrimages; but to exhort the People to do Works of Charity instead of them: And they were required to teach the People the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the
the Ten Commandments in English, and to Book I, explain these carefully, and instruct the Children well in them. They were to perform the Divine Offices reverently, and to have good Curats to supply their rooms when they were absent. They were charged not to go to Ale-houses, or sit too long at Games; but to study the Scriptures much, and be exemplary in their Lives: Those that did not reside, were to give the fortieth part of their Income to the Poor, and for every 100 l. a year that any had, they were to maintain a Scholar at some Gramar-School, or the University: and if the Parsonage-house was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their Benefice for repairing it. Such as did not obey these Injunctions, were to be suspended, and their mean Profits were to be sequestred. The Clergy detested this Precedent of the King's giving Injunctions without the Concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they said, they would be made Slaves to his Vicegerent: they also complained of those heavy Taxes that were laid on them, and that Images, Relicks, and Pilgrimages would be now brought under great Contempt. Both the Secular and Regular Clergy were so sensibly concerned in these things, that they inflamed the People all they could. The great Abbots were not wanting for their share to set that on, they were now oppressed with the Crowds of those who were sent to them from the Suppresse Houses, and they
they expected to fall next; nor were their Fears removed by a Letter that was sent about in the King's Name for silencing all Reports that were given out of his Intentions to suppress them; this rather increased than lessened their Jealousie.

The People continued quiet till they had reaped their Harvest, but in the beginning of October 20000 rose in Lincolnshire, led by a Priest, disguised into a Cobbler. They took an Oath to be true to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and sent a Paper of their Grievances to the King. They complained of some Acts of Parliament, of the suppressing of many Religious Houses, of mean and ill Counsellours, and bad Bishops; and prayed the King to address their Grievances by the Advice of the Nobility: but yet they acknowledged him to be their Supream Head, and that the Tenths and first Fruits of Livings belonged to him of right. The King sent the Duke of Suffolk to raise Forces against them, and gave an Answer to their Petition. 'He said it belonged not to the Rabble to direct Princes what Counsellours they should choose. The Religious Houses were suppress'd by Law, and the Heads of them had under their Hands confessed such horrid Scandals, that they were a Reproach to the Nation; and since in many of them there were not above four, and that they wasted their Rents in riotous living, it was much better to apply them to the common good of
of the Nation, than leave them in such hands; he required them to submit to his Mercy, and to put two hundred of their Leaders into the hands of his Lieu-
tenants. The Clergy having brought so many together, did all they could to put Heat and Spirit in them, they persuaded them that if they did not maintain their Faith and their Liberties, both would be lost. Some of the Gentry were forced to joyn with them for their own Preservati-
on; and they sent Advices to the Duke of Suffolk, to procure from the King, the offer of a General Pardon, which would effectually dissipate them.

At the same time there was a more formidable rising in Yorkshire, which being in the Neighbourhood of Scotland, was like to draw Affistance from that Kingdom: tho' their King was then gone into France, to marry Francis's Daughter; this inclined the King to make more haste to settle matters in Lincolnshire; he sent them secret Assurances of Mercy, which wrought on the greatest part, so they dispersed themselves, and the most obstinate went to over them in Yorkshire. The Cobler, and some others, were taken and executed. The distance that those in the North, were at from the Court, gave them time to rise, and form themselves into some Method: One Ask commanded in chief, and performed his part with great Dexterity: their March was called The Pilgrimage of Grace; they had in their Banners and on their Sleeves, the
Book I. the five Wounds of Christ: they took an
Oath that they would restore the Church,
1536. suppress Hereticks, preserve the King and
his Issue, and drive base-born Men and ill
Counsellours from him. They became
40000. strong in a few days, and met with
no Opposition, they forced the Arch-bishop
of York, and the Lord Darcey to swear
their Covenant, and to go along with
them. They besieged Skipton, but the
Earl of Cumberland, made it good against
them: Sir Ralph Evers held out Scarborough
Castle, tho for twenty days he and
his Men had no Provisions but Bread and
Water. There was also a rising in all the
other Northern Counties, against whom
the Earl of Shrewsbury made Head; and the
King sent several of the Nobility to his
Assistance, and within a few days the Duke
of Norfolk marched with some Troops,
and joyned him. They possessed themselves
of Doncaster, and resolved to keep that
pass till the rest of the Forces that the
King had ordered to be summoned, should
come up to them; for they were not in a
Condition to engage with such numbers of
desperate Men; and it was very likely
that if they met with any ill Accident, the
People might have risen about them every
where; so the Duke of Norfolk, resolved
to keep close at Doncaster, and let the Pro-
visions and Rage of the Rebels spend, and
then with the help of a little time, they
might probably fall into Factions, and melt
away. They had now fallen to 30000,
but the King’s Army was not above 5000. The Duke of Norfolk proposed a Treaty, and made some go among them as Desertors, and spread Reports that their Leaders were making Terms for themselves. They were persuaded to send their Petitions to the Court, and the King to make them more secure, discharged a Rendezvous that he had appointed at Northampton, and sent them a general Pardon, excepting six by name, and reserving four to be afterwards named; but this put them all in such Apprehensions, that it made them more resolute and desperate: Yet the King to give his People some Content, put out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the use of all the Ceremonies of the Church: 300 were employed to carry the Rebels Demands to the King; which were a General Pardon, a Parliament to be held at York; and that Courts of Justice should be set up there; they desired that some Acts of Parliament might be repealed, that the Princess Mary might be restored to her Right of Succession, and the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction; that the Monasteries might be again set up; that Audley and Cromwell might be put from the King, and that some of the Visitors might be imprisoned for their Bribery and Extortion. But these being rejected, the Rebels took heart again, upon which the Duke of Norfolk advised the King to gentle Methods; he in his Heart wished that all their Demands might be
be granted; and the Ld Darcy did accuse him afterwards as if he had encouraged them to make them. The King sent him a general Pardon without any Exceptions, to be made use of as he saw Cause. The Rebels finding that with the loss of time, they lost Heart, resolved to fall upon him and beat him from Doncaster: but at two several times, in which they had resolved to pass the River, such Rains fell out as made it unpassable, which was magnified as next to a Miracle, and made great Impressions on the Rebels Minds. The King sent a long Answer to their Demands, he assured them he would live and dye in the Defence of the Christian Faith: but the Rabble ought not to prescribe to him, and to the Convocation in that matter; he answered that which concerned the Monasteries, as he had done to the Men of Lincolnshire. For the Laws, a Multitude must not pretend to alter what was established; he had governed them now 28 Years, his Subjects had enjoyed great Safety, and been very gently used by him in all that time. It was given out that when he began to reign, he had many of the Nobility in his Council, and that he had then none but Men meanly born; this was false, for he found but two Noble Men of his Council, and at present there were 7 Temporal Lords, and 4 Bishops in it. It was necessary to have some that knew the Law of England, and Treaties with Forreign Princes, which made him
call Audley and Cromwell to the Board: 

If they had any Complaints to make of any about him, he was ready to hear them; but he would not suffer them to direct him what Counsellours he ought to employ: nor could they judge of the Bishops that were promoted, who were not known to them; he charged them not to believe Lies, nor be governed by Incendiaries, but to submit to his Mercy. On the 9th of December, he signed a Proclamation of Pardon without any Restrictions.

When this was known, and the Rage of the People cooled, they were willing to lay hold on it, and all the Artifices that some of the Clergy and their Leaders could use, had no other Effect but to draw as many together as brought them under new Guilt, and made them forfeit the benefit of the King's Pardon. Many came in and renewed their Oaths of Allegiance, and promising all Obedience for the future. Ask was invited to the Court and well used by the King, on design to learn from him all the secret Correspondencies they had in the other parts of the Kingdom, for the Disposition to Rebel was general, only they were not all alike forward in it. It was in particular believed that the great Abbots cherished it, for which some of them were afterwards attained. Darcy pleaded his great Age, being then fourscore, and the Eminent Service he had done the Crown for fifty Years together, and that he
he was forced for his own Preservation to go along with the Rebels; but yet he was put in Prison. This gave the Clergy Advantages to infuse it in the People, that the Pardon would not be well kept: So 8000 run together again, and thought to have surprized Carlile, but the Duke of Norfolk fell on them and routed them, and by Martial Law hanged their Captains; and 70 other Persons. Others thought to have surprized Hull, but were likewise routed; and many of them were hanged. Many other little Risings were quickly dispersed; and such was the Duke of Norfolk's Vigilance, that he was every where upon them before they could grow to any Number: and before the end of January, the Country was absolutely quieted. Ask left the Court without leave, but was soon retaken and hanged at York. The Lord Darcy and Hussy were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned by their Peers, the one for the Yorkshire, and the other for the Lincolnshire Insurrections. Darcy was beheaded on Tower-hill: his old Age and former Services made him to be much lamented. Hussy was beheaded at Lincoln. Darcy accused the Duke of Norfolk, but he desired a Trial by Combate upon it; yet the Services he had lately done were such, that the King would not seem to have any Jealousy of him. After these and several other Executions were over, the King proclaimed a General Oblivion in July, by which the Nation was again put in a quiet Condition,
of the Reformation, &c.

193

Book I.

1537.

dition, and this threatening Storm was now quite dissipated.

As soon as it was over, the King went on more resolutely in his Design of suppres-
sing the Monasteries: for he was now less apprehensive of any new Commotions, after so many had been so happily quaff: and that the chief Incendiaries had suffered.

A new Visitation was appointed to en-
quire into the Conversation of the Monks, to examine how they stood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's Supremacy. They were likewise ordered to examine what Impostures might be a-
mong them, either in Images or Relicks, by which the Superstition of the credulous People was wrought on. Some few Houses of greater value, were prevailed with the former Year to surrender to the King. Many of the Houses that had not bin disso-
vled, tho' they were within the former Act, were now suppressed, and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to surrender by several Motives: Some had been faulty during the Rebellion, and so to prevent a Storm, offered a Resignation. Others liked the Reformation, and did it on that account: Some were found guilty of great Disorders in their Lives; and to prevent a Shameful Discovery, offered their Houses to the King: and others had made such Waifs and Dilapidations, that having ta-
ken Care of themselves, they were less con-
cerned for others. At St. Albans, the Rents were let so low, that the Abbot O' could
Book I. could not maintain the Charge of the Abbey. At Battel, the whole Furniture of the House and Chappel was not above an 100 l. in value, and their Plate was not 300 l. In some Houses there was scarce any Plate or Furniture left. Many Abbots and Monks were glad to accept of a Pension for Life, and that was proportioned to the value of their House, and to their Innocence. The Abbots of St. Albans and Tewkesbury, had 400 Marks a Year: The Abbots of St. Edmondsbury was more innocent and more resolute: The Visitors wrote that they found no Scandals in that House: but at last he was prevailed with by a Pension of 300 Marks to resign. The Inferiour Governours had some 30, 20, or 10 l. Pensions, and the Monks had generally 6 l. or 8 Marks a piece. If any Abbot died, the new Abbot (they being chosen as the Bishops were upon a Conge delire, and a Missive Letter) was named for that purpose, only to resign the House. And all were made to hope for Advancement, that should give good Example to others by a quick and cheerful Surrender: by these means 121 of those Houses were this Year resigned to the King. In most Houses the Visitor made the Monks sign a Confession of their former Vices and Disorders, of which there is only one Original Extant, that escaped a general Rasure of all such Papers in Queen Mary's time; in which they acknowledged in a long Narrative, their former Idleness, Gluttony, and Sensuality,
ality, for which the pit of Hell was ready to swallow them up. Others acknowledged that they were sensible that the manner of their former pretended Religion consisted in some dumb Ceremonies, by which they were blindly led, having no true Knowledge of God's Laws, but that they had procured Exemption from their Diocesans, and had subjected themselves wholly to a Forreign Power, that took no care to reform their Abuses; and therefore since the most perfect way of Life was revealed by Christ and his Apostles, and that it was fit they should be governed by the King, their Suprem Head, they resigned to him. Of this sort I have seen six. Some resigned in hopes that the King would found them of new; these favoured the Reformation, and intended to convert their Houses to better Uses, for preaching, study, and Prayer; and Latimer prel Cromwell earnestly, that two or three Houses might be reserved for such purposes in every County. But it was resolved to suppress all, and therefore neither could the Intercessions of the Gentry of Oxfordshire, nor of the Visitors, preserve the Nunnery at Godstow, tho' they found great Strictness of Life in it, and it was the common place of the Education of young Women of Quality in that County. The common Preamble to most Surrenders was, 'That upon full Deliberation and of their own proper Motion, for just and reasonable Causes, moving
'their Consciences; they did freely give up their Houses to the King. Some surrendered without any Preamble, to the Visitors as Feoffees in trust for the King. In short, they went on at such a rate, that 159 Resignations were obtained before the Parliament met, and of these the Originals of 154 are yet extant. Some thought that these Resignations could not be valid, since the Incumbents had not the Property, but only the Trust for life of those Houses. But the Parliament did afterwards declare them good in Law. It was also said, that they being of the Nature of Corporations, all Deeds under their Seals were valid; and that at least by their Resignation and quitting their Houses, they forfeited them to the King. But this was thought to submit rather on a Nicety in Law, than natural Equity.

Others were more roughly handled. The Prior of Wooburn was suspected of a Correspondence with the Rebels, and of favouring the Pope; he was dealt with to submit to the King, and he was prevailed on to do it, but was not ease in it once, nor fixed to it; 'He complained that the new Preachers detracted from the Honour due to the Virgin and Saints; he thought the Religion was changed, and wondered that the Judgments of God on Q. Anne, had not terrified others from going on to subvert the Faith. When the Rebellion broke out, he joined in it, as did also the Abbots of Whaley, Garvaux, and Sawley,
and the Prior of Burlington, all these were all taken, and attainted of Treason, and executed. The Abbots of Glassenbury and Reading, had also sent a great deal of their Plate to the Rebels, the former to disguise it the better, had made one break into the House where the Plate was kept: So he was convicted both of Burglary and Treason, and at his Execution he confessed his Crime, and begged both God's and the King's Pardon for it. The Abbot of Colchester was also attainted, and executed; but the Grounds of it are not known: for the Records of their Attainders are lost. These had over and over again taken the Oaths, in which they acknowledged the King to be Supremam Head of the Church, and were present in those Parliaments in which the several Acts about it were pass'd, and did not dissent to them; and since they made no Opposition, when they might safely and legally do it, there is no Reason to think they would have done it afterwards, when it was more dangerous and criminal: So that all those who have represented them as having suffered for denying the King's Supremacy, have therein shewed their Unacquaintedness with the Journals of Parliament. The Abbot of Reading had complied so far, that he was grown into Favour with Cromwell; so that in some Contests between Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury and him, the Bishop, who was a proud ill-natured Man, complained that Cromwell supported the Abbot against him, and
writ upon that a very Insolent, Expostulatory Letter to him; which Cromwell answered with great strength of Reason and Decency of Stile; by which it appears that height of his Condition, had no other Effect on him, but to make him know himself and others better. Upon the Attainers of those Abbots, their Abbies were seized on; and this was thought a great stretch both in Law and Equity: for it seemed not reasonable, if an Incumbent was faulty, for that to feize on his Benefice, which upon his Attainer ought to continue entire, and pass to the next Successor, as if he were really dead. But a Clause was put in the Act of Treason, 26 Hen. 8, That whatsoever Lands of Estate of Inheritance, any that should be convicted of Treason, had in Use or Possession by any Right or manner, should be forfeited to the King. By which, as intailed Estates were certainly comprehended, so it seems they applied it likewise to Church-Benefices: yet when the Bishop of Rochester was attainted, this was not thought on. The words, Estate of Inheritance, seemed to exclude Church-Lands, but the mention that was made of Traitors Successors, that were cut off as well as their Heirs, seemed on the other hand to include Estates, to which Successors might come in a Traitor's room, as well as those which descended by Inheritance. The Words were ambiguous, and were stretched to justify those Seizures; and therefore in an Act of Treasons made in the next Reign, this was more cautiously worded:
for it was provided that Traitors should forfeit the Estates which they possessed in their own Right. But whatsoever illegality there might be in these Proceedings, they were confirmed by the following Parliament, in a special Proviso made concerning those Abbies that were seized on by any Attainders of Treason. Many of the Carthusians were executed for denying the King's Supremacy: Others were also suspected of favouring them, and of receiving Books sent from beyond Sea, against the King's Proceedings, and were shut up in their Cells, in which most of them died. The Prior was a Man of extraordinary Charity and Good-Works, as the Visitor reported: But he was made resign with this Preamble, 'That many of the House had offended the King, and deserved that their Lives should be taken, and their Goods confiscated; and therefore to avoid that, they surrendered their Houses. Great Complaints were made of the Visitors, as if they had used undue Practices to make the Abbots and Monks surrender: and it was said, that they had in many Places esbezzled much of the Plate to their own Uses; and in particular, it was complained that Dr. London had corrupted many Nuns. They on the other hand, published many of the vile Practices that they found in those Houses, so that several Books very indecently writ, were printed upon this Occasion; but on so foul a Subject it is not fit to stand long. No Story became so publick
publick as that of the Prior of the crossed Friers in London, who was found in bed with a Whore at Noon-day: He fell down on his Knees, and beg’d, that they who surprised him, would not discover his shame: They made him give them 30 l. which he protested was all he had; and he promised them as much more: But he not keeping his word to them, a Suit followed upon it. Yet all these personal Blemishes did not work much on the People. It seemed unreasonable to extinguish Noble Foundations, for the fault of some Individuals: Therefore another way was taken, which had a better effect.

They discovered many Impostures about Relicks, and wonderful Images, to which, Pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At Reading they had an Angel’s Wing, which brought over the Spear’s Point that pierced our Saviour’s Side: As many pieces of the Cross were found, as joined together, would have made a big Cross. The Rood of Grace at Boxley in Kent, had been much esteemed, and drawn many Pilgrims to it: It was observed to bow, and roll its Eyes; and look at times well pleased; or angry; which the credulous Multitude imputed to a Divine Power: But all this was discovered to be a Cheat, and it was brought up to St. Paul’s Cross; and all the Springs were openly shewed, that governed its several Motions. At Hales in Gloucestershire the Blood of Christ was shewed in a Vial; and it was believed, that none could
could see it who were in mortal Sin: And so after good Presents were made, the de-
luded Pilgrims went way well satisfied if 
they had seen it. This was the Blood of 
a Duck renewed every Week, put in a 
Vial very thick of one side, as thin on 
the other; and either side turned towards 
the Pilgrim, as the Priests were satisfied 
with their Oblations; Several other such 
like Impostures were discovered, which 
contributed much to the undeceiving the 
People.

The richest Shrine in England was Tho-
mas Becket's at Canterbury, whose Story is 
well known. After he had long imbroil-
ed England, and shewed that he had a Spi-
rit so turned to Faction, that he could not 
be at quiet; some of Henry the Second's 
Officious Servants killed him in the Church 
of Canterbury: He was presently Cano-
nized, and held in greater esteem than any 
other Saint whatsoever; so much more 
was a Martyr for the Papacy valued, than 
any that suffered for the Christian Religion: 
And his Altar drew far greater Oblations, 
than those that were dedicated to Christ, 
or the blessed Virgin; as appears by 
the accounts of two of their Years. In one, 
3 l. 2 s. 6 d. And in another, not a Penny 
was offered at Christ's Altar. There was 
in the one, 63 l. 5 s. 6 d. and in the other, 
4 l. 1 s. 8 d. offered at the Blessed Virgin's 
Altar. But in these very Years there was, 
832 l. 12 s. 3 d. and 964 l. 6 s. 3 d. offered 
at St. Thomas's Altar. The Shrine
grew to be of inestimable Value. Lewis the Seventh of France came over in Pilgrimage to visit it, and offered a Stone, valued to be the richest in Europe. He had not only one Holy Day, the 29th of December, called his Martyrdom; but also the Day of his Translation, the 7th of July, was also a Holy Day; and every 50th Year there was a Jubily, and an Indulgence, granted to all that came and visited his Tomb: And sometimes there were believed to be 100000 Pilgrims there on that Occasion. It is hard to tell whether the Hatred to his seditious Practices, or the Love of his Shrine, set on King Henry more to Unfaint him. His Shrine was broken, and the Gold of it was so heavy, that it filled two Chests, which took Eight men a piece to carry them out of the Church; and his Skull, which had been so much worshipped, was proved to be an Imposture; for the true Skull was with the rest of his Bones in his Coffin; his Bones were either burnt, as it was given out at Rome; or so mixed with other Bones, as our Writers say; that it had been a Miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards. The King called at this time, a Meeting of the Clergy, of 10 Bishops, 8 Archdeacons, and 17 Divines and Canonists; and made them finish an Explanation of the Christian Religion. But this was afterwards digested into a better form, as shall be told in its proper place.
When all these things were known at Rome, all the Eloquent Pens there were imploied to represent King Henry as the most Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was; that made War with Christ's Vicar on Earth, and his Saints in Heaven; and he was compared to the worst Princes that ever reigned; to Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Nero, and Diocletian; but the Parallel with Julian, the Apostate, was most insistified on. It was said, He copied after him in all things, save only, that his Manners were worse. In many of these, Cardinal Pool's Stile was pretended to be known; and they were all at least much encouraged by him, which provoked the King to hate him most Implacably. The Pope went further; for now he published all those Surethres, with which he had threatened him three Years before. 'He pretended, That as God's Vicar, he had power to root out, and to destroy; and had Authority over all the Kings in the World: And therefore, after he had enumerated all the King's Crimes, he required himself to appear within 90 days, at Rome, either in Person, or by Proxy, and all his Complices within 60 Days; and if he and they did not appear, he declared him to have fallen from his Crown; and them from their Estates. He put the Kingdom under an Interdict; and absolved his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance: He declared him and his Complices, Infamous; and put their Children
Book I. 'under Incapacities. He required all the
Clergy to go out of England, within 5
Days after the time prefixed should ex-
pire; leaving only so many as might
serve for Baptizing Children, or giving
the Sacrament to such as died in Penitence.
He charged all his Subjects to rise in Arms
against him, and that none should assist
him. He absolved all other Princes from
their Confederacies with him, and ob-
tested them to have no more Commerce
with him. He required all Christians to
make War on him; and to seize on the
Persons and Goods of all his Subjects;
and make Slaves of them. He charged
all Bishops to publish the Sentence with
due Solemnities; and ordained it to be
affixed at Rome, Tournay and Dunkirk. This
was first given out the 30 of August 1535;
but it had been all this while suspended,
till the Suppression of the Monasteries, and
the burning of Becket's Bones, did so in-
flame the Pope, that he resolved to for-
bear going to Extremities no longer. So
on the 17 of December this Year, the Pope
published the Bull, which he said he had
so long suspended at the Intercession of
some Princes; who hoped that King Henry
might have been reclaimed by gentler
Methods; and therefore since it appeared
that he grew still worse and worse, he
was forced to proceed to his Fulminations.
By this Sentence it is certain, That either
the Popes Infallibility, must be confessed to
be a Cheat put upon the World, or if any
believe
believe it, they must acknowledge, that the Power of deposing Princes, is really lodged in that Chair: For this was not a sudden fit of Passion, but was done ex Cathedra, with all the Deliberation they ever admit of. The Sentence was in some particulars without a Precedent; but as to the main Points of deposing the King, and absolving his Subjects from their Obedience, there was abundance of Instances to be brought in these last 500 Years, to shew that this had been all along asserted the Right of the Papacy. The Pope writ also to the Kings of France, and Scotland, with design to inflame them against King Henry. And if this had been an Age of Croisades, no doubt there had been one undertaken against him; for it was held to be as meritorious, if not more, to make War on him, than on the Turk. But now the Thunders of the Vatican had lost their force.

The King got all the Bishops, and Eminent Divines of England, to sign a Declaration against all Church-men, who pretended to the Power of the Sword, or to Authority over Kings; and that all that assumed such Powers, were Subverters of the Kingdom of Christ. Many of the Bishops did also sign another Paper, declaring the Limits of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Power, that both had their Authority from God, for several Ends, and different Natures; and that Princes were subject to the Word of God, as well as Bishops ought to be obedient to their Laws. The Bishops of England assert the King's Power, and the Nature of Ecclesiastical Offices.
There was also another Declaration made, signed by Cromwell, the 2 Archbishops, 11 Bishops, and 20 Divines; affenting the Distinction between the Power of the Keys, and the Power of the Sword. The former was not absolute, but limited by the Scripture. Orders were declared to be a Sacrament instituted by Christ, which were conferred by Prayer, and Impo- sition of Hands. And that in the New Testament, no mention was made of any other Ranks, but of Deacons, or Ministers; and of Priests, or Bishops. After this, the use of all the Inferior Degrees of Lectures, Acolyths, &c. was laid down. These were set up about the beginning of the 3d Century; for in the middle of that Age, mention is made of them, both by Cornelius, and Cyprian; and they were intended to be degrees of Probation, through which Men were to ascend to the higher Functions. But the Canonists had found out so many Distinctions of Benefices; and that a simple Tonsure, qualified a Man for several of them; that these Institutions became either a matter of Form only, or were made a Colour for Laymen to possess Ecclesiastical Benefices. In this, and several other Books of that time, Bishops and Priests are spoken of, as being both one Office. In the Ancient Church there were different Ordinations, and different Functions belonging to these Offices, tho the Superior was believed to include the Inferior. But in the latter Ages, both
the School-men & Canonists seemed on different grounds to have designed to make them appear to be the same Office; and that the one was only a higher degree in the same Order. The School-men, to magnify Transubstantiation, extolled the Office by which that was performed so high, and the Canonists, to exalt the Pope's Universal Authority, deprest the Office of Bishops so low, to make them seem only the Pope's Delegates; and that their Jurisdiction was not from Christ, that by these means, these two Offices were thought so near one another, that they differed only in degree: And this was so well observed at Trent, that the Establishing the Episcopal Jurisdiction, as founded on a Divine Right, was apprehended as one of the fatallest Blows that could have been given to the Papacy. This being at this time so commonly received, it is no wonder, if before that matter came to be more exactly inquired into, some of the Reformers writ more carelessly in the Explanations they made of these Offices, which is so far from being an Argument, that they were upon due enquiry of another mind; that it is to be look'd on as a part of the Dregs of Popery, flowing from the belief of Transubstantiation, and the Pope's Supremacy, of which all the Consequences were not so early observed.

This Year the English Bible was finished. The Translation was sent over to Paris to be printed there, for the Workmen in
England were not thought able to go about it. Bonner was then Embassador in France; and he obtained a Licence of Francis for printing it; but upon a Complaint made by the French Clergy, the Pres was stopt, and many of the Copies were seiz'd on, and burnt. So it was brought over to England, and was undertaken, and now finished, by Grafton. Cromwel procured a General Warrant from the King, allowing all his Subjects to read it; for which, Cranmer wrote his thanks to Cromwel; and rejoiced to see the day of Reformation now risen in England, since the Word of God did shine over it all, without a Cloud. Not long after this, Cromwel gave out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to set up Bibles in their Churches, and to encourage all to read them. He also exhorted the People not to dispute about the sense of difficult places, but to leave that to Men of better Judgments. Incurbents were required to instruct the People, and teach them the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English: And that once every Quarter there should be a Sermon, to declare the true Gospel of Christ; and to exhort the People to Works of Charity; and not to trust to other Men's Works, to Pilgrimages, or Relicts, or the saying their Beads, which tended to Superstition. Images, abused by Pilgrimages made to them, were to ordered be taken away. No Candle was to be before any Image, but the-
the Crucifix: And they were to teach the People, that it was Idolatry, to make any other use of Images, but meerly to put them in minde of those whom they represented: And such as had formerly magnified Images; or Pilgrimages, were required openly to recant and confess, that they had been led into an Error, which Covetousnes had brought into the Church. All Incumbents were required to keep Registers for Christnings, and Marriages; and to teach the People that it were good to omit the Suffrages to the Saints in the Litany. These struck at some of the main Points of the former Superstition, both about Images, Pilgrimages, and the Invocation of Saints: But the free Use of the Scriptures gave the deadliest Blow of all. Yet all the Clergy submitted to them without any Murmuring.

Prince Edward was this Year born; and this very much blasted the Hopes of the Popish Party, which were chiefly built on the probability of Lady Mary's succeeding to the Crown, which was now set at a greater distance. So both Lee, Gardiner, and Stokely, seemed to vie with the Bishops of the other Party, which of them should most zealously execute the Injunctions, and thereby insinuate themselves most into the King's Esteem and Favour. Gardiner was some Years Ambassador in France, but Cromwell got Bonner to be sent in his room, who seemed then to be the most zealous Promoter of the Reformation, that was then
Book I. in England. After that, Gardiner was sent to the Emperour's Court, with Sir Henry Knevet, and there he gave some occasion to suspect that he was treating a Reconciliation with the Pope's Legate. But the Italian that managed it, being sent with a Message to the Ambassador's Secretary, he mistook Knevet's Secretary for Gardiner's, and told his Business to him. Knevet tried what could be made of it, but could not carry it far: For the Italian was disowned, and put in Prison upon it: And Gardiner complained of it, as a Trepan laid to ruine him. The King continued still to employ him; but rather made use of him, than trusted him: yet Gardiner's Artifices and Flatteries were such, that he was still preserved in some Degrees of Favour, as long as the King lived; but he knew him so well, that he neither named him one of his Executors, nor one of his Son's Council, when he made his Will. Gardiner used one Topick which prevailed much with the King, that his Zeal against Heresy was the greatest Advantage that his Cause could have over all Europe: And therefore he pressed him to begin with the Sacramentaries (so were those of the Helvetian Confession called) and those being condemned by the German Princes, he had the least reason to be afraid of imbroiling his Affairs by his Severities against them.

This meeting so well with the King's own Perfwasions about the Corporal Presence, had a great effect on him; and an occasion
of the Reformation, &c.

occasion did quickly offer it self to him, to declare his Zeal in that matter. Lambert was at that time accused before the Archbishop of Canterbury: He had been Captain to the Factory of Antwerp, and there he associated himself to Tindall: Afterwards he was seized on coming over to England; but upon the changes that followed, he was set at Liberty. Dr. Taylor had preached on the Corporal Presence in his hearing: This offended him, and he drew up his Reasons against it, and gave them to Taylor. He communicated it to Barns, who was a hot man, and a fierce Lutheran: And they thought that the venting that Opinion would stop the Progress of the Reformation, give Prejudice to the People; and divide them among themselves: And therefore they brought this matter before Cranmer, who was at that time likewise a Lutheran; he dealt with Lambert to retract his Paper; but he took a fatal Resolution, and appealed to the King. Upon which, the King resolved to judge him in Person, and to manage the Trial with great Solemnity; and for that end, many of the Nobility and Bishops were sent for. When the day came, there was a vast Appearance. The King's Guards and Cloath of State, were all in White, to make it look the liker a Divine Service. Lambert begun with a Complement, acknowledging the King's great Learning, and his Goodness in hearing the Causes of his Subjects. The King stop'd him
him, and bad him forbear Flatteries, and
speak to the matter: And he argued against
him from Christ's Words, that the Sacra-
ment must be his Body. Lambert answered in
St. Austin's Words, That it was his Body
in a certain manner, but that a Body could
not be in two places at once. To this the
King commanded Cranmer to speak; and
he argued, That since Christ is still in Hea-
ven, and yet he appeared to St. Paul, that
therefore he may be in different places at
once. Lambert said, That was but a Vi-
sion, and was not the very Body of Christ.
Tonsftall argued, That the Divine Omni-
potence was not to be measured by our
Notions, of what was impossible. Stokefly
argued, That one Substance may be changed
into another, and yet the Accidents remain:
So Water when it boiled, did evaporate in
Air, and yet its Moisture remained. This
was received with great Applause; tho
it was an ill Inference, that because there
was an accidental Conversion, therefore
there might be a Substantial one, in which
one Substance was annihilated, and ano-
ther produced in its place. Ten, one after
another, disputed, and their Arguments,
with the stern Words and Looks that
the King interposed, together with the
length of the Action, in so publick an As-
sembly, put Lambert in some Confusion;
and upon his Silence, a great Shout of Ap-
plause followed. In Conclusion, the King
asked him if he was not convinced, and
whether he would live or die? But he

cconti-
continued firm to his Opinion: So Cromwell was commanded to read the Sentence of his Condemnation; and not many days after, it was executed in a most barbarous manner, in Smithfield: For there was not Fire enough put under him to consume him suddenly; so that his Legs and Thighs were burnt away while he was yet alive. He bore it patiently, and continued to cry out, *None but Christ, none but Christ.* He was a Man of considerable Learning, and of a very good Judgment. The Popish Party improved this, and persuaded the King of the good effects it would have on his People, who would in this see his Zeal for the Faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had said, as if it had been uttered by an Oracle; which proved him to be both *Defender of the Faith,* and *Supremum Head of the Church.* All this wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to call a Parliament, both for the suppressing the Monasteries, and the new Opinions.

Fox, Bishop of Hereford, died at this time: He had been much imploied in Germany, and had settled a League between the King and the German Princes. The King was acknowledged the Patron of their League, and he sent them over 100,000 Crowns a Year, for the support of it. There was a Religious League also proposed; but upon the turn that followed in the Court upon Queen Ann's Death, that fell to the ground; and all that was in put their League relating to Religion, was, *That*
they should joyn against the Pope as the common Enemy, and set up the true Religion according to the Gospel. But the Treaty about other Points was afterwards set on foot. The King desired Melancthon to come over; and several Letters passed between them, but he could not be spared out of Germany; tho' he was then invited both to France and England. The Germans sent over some to treat with the King; the Points they insisted most on were, the granting the Chalice to the People, and the putting down private Masses, in which the Institution seemed express; the having the Worship in a known Tongue, which both common sense, and the Authority of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, seemed to justify much. The third was, The Marriage of the Clergy; for they being extream sensible of the Honour of their Families, reckoned, that could not be secured, unless the Priests might marry. Concerning these things, their Ambassadors gave a long and learned Memorial to the King; to which an Answer was made, penned by Torstall; in which the things they complained of, were justified by the ordinary Arguments. Upon Fox's Death, Bonner was promoted to Hereford; and Stokesly dying not long after, he was translated to London. Cromwell thought that he had raised a Man that would be a faithful Second to Cranmer in his Designs of Reformation, who indeed needed help; not only to balance the Opposition
position made him by other Bishops, but to lessen the Prejudices he suffered by the Weakness and Indiscretion of his own Party, who were generally rather Clogs than Helps to him. Great Complaints were brought to the Court of the rashness of the new Preachers, who were flying at many things not yet abolished. Upon this, Letters were writ to the Bishops, to take care that as the People should be rightly instructed; so they should not be offended with too many Novelties. Thus was Cranmer's Interest so low, that he had none to depend on, but Cromwell. There was not a Queen now in the King's Bosom to support them; and therefore Cromwell set himself to contrive how the King should be engaged in such an Alliance with the Princes of Germany, as might prevail with him, both in Affection and Interest, to carry on what he had thus begun. And the Beauty of Anne of Cleve was so represented to him, that he set himself to bring about that Match.

A Parliament was summoned to the 28th of April, in which twenty of the Abbots sate in Person. On the 5th of May, a Motion was made, that some might be appointed to draw a Bill, against Diversity of Opinions in matters of Religion; these were Cromwell, Cranmer, the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Bath and Wells, Bangor, Carlile, and Worcester; they were divided in their Minds; and the Popish Party were five to four, yet the Authority that
Book I. Cromwell and Cranmer were in, turned the Ballance a little; but after they had met eleven days, they ended in nothing. Upon that the Duke of Norfolk proposed the six Articles; The first was for the Corporal Presence. 2. For Communion in one kind. 3. For observing the Vows of Chastity. 4. For private Masses. 5. For the Celi bate of the Clergy. And the sixth, was for Auricular Confession: Against most of these Cranmer argued several days. It is not like he opposed the first, both because of that which he had declared in Lambert's Case so lately, and in his own Opinion, he was then for it; but he had the Words of the Institution, and the constant Practice of the Church for twelve Ages to object to the second: and for the third, since the Monks were set at Liberty to live in the World, it seemed hard to restrain them from Marriage, and nothing did so effectually cut off their Pretensions to their former Houses, as their being married would do. For the fourth, if private Masses were useful, then the King had done very ill to suppress so many Houses, that were chiefly founded for that end: the Sacrament was also by its first Institution, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, to be a Communion; and all those private Masses were invented to cheat the World. For the fifth, it touched Cranmer in the quick, for it was believed that he was married, but the Arguments used for that will be found in the next Book. For Auricular Confession, Lee Gardiner
Gardiner and Tonstall, press'd much to have it declared necessary by the Law of God. Cranmer argued against this, and said it was only a good and profitable thing. The King came often to the House in Person, and disputed in these Points: for the greatest part he was against Cranmer; but in this particular he joined with him. Tonstall drew up all the Quotations, brought from Antient Authors for it, in a Paper which he delivered to the King; the King answered in a long Letter, written with his own Hand, in which he shewed, that the Fathers did only advise Confession, but did not impose it as necessary: and so it was concluded in general, only that it was necessary and expedient. On the 24th of May, the Parliament was prorogued a few days, but by a Vote it was provided that the Bills should continue in the state they were then in. At their next meeting, two Committees were appointed to draw the Bill of Religion; Cranmer was the chief of the one, and Lee of the other; both their Draughts were carried to the King, and were in many places corrected with his own Hand; in some Places he wrote whole Periods a new. That which Lee drew was more agreeable to the King's Opinion; so it was brought into the House. Cranmer argued three days against it, and when it came to the Vote, the King who was much set on having it past, desired him to go out, but he excused himself; for he thought he was bound in Conscience to vote against it.
Book I. it: But the rest that opposed it, were more compliant, and it also passed without any considerable Opposition in the House of Commons, and was assented to by the King. The Substance of it was, That the King being sensible of the good of Union, and of the mischief of Discord, in points of Religion, had come to the Parliament in Person, and opened many things of high Learning there; and that with the assent of both Houses, he set forth these Articles.

1. That in the Sacrament there was no Substance of Bread and Wine, but only the Natural Body and Blood of Christ.

2. That Christ was entirely in each kind, and so Communion in both was not necessary.

3. That Priests by the Law of God, ought not to marry.

4. That Vows of Chastity taken after the Age of 21, ought to be kept.

5. That Private Masses were lawful and useful.

6. That Auricular Confession was necessary, and ought to be retained. Such as did speak or write against the first of these, were to be burned without the benefit of Abjuration; and it was made Felony to dispute against the other five: and such as did speak against them were to be in a Premunire for the first Offence; the second was made Felony. Married Priests that did not put away their Wives, were to be condemned of Felony, in those that lived
lived incontinently, the first offence was a Book I.

women that offended were to be punished as the Priests were. Those that contemned Confession and the Sacrament, and abstained from it at the accustomed times, were for the first offence in a Premunire, the second was Felony. Proceedings were to be made in the forms of common Law, by Presentments, and a Jury, and all Church-men were charged to read the Act in their Churches once a Quarter.

This Act was received with great joy by all the Popish Party; they reckoned that now Heresy would be extirpated, and that the King was as much engaged against it, as he was when he writ against Luther: this made the Suppression of the Monasteries pass much the easier. The poor Reformers were now exposed to the rage of their Enemies, and had no Comfort from any part of it, but one, that they were not delivered up to the Cruelty of the Ecclesiastical Courts, or the Trials ex Officio, but were to be tried by Juries: yet the denying the benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity without a Precedent, and was a forcing Martyrdom on them, since they were not to be the better for their Apostacy. It was some Satisfaction to the married Clergy, that the incontinent Priests were to be so severely punished; which Cromwell put in, and the Clergy knew not how they could decently oppose it. Upon the passing the Act, the German Ambassados
Book I. dours being set on to it by those that fa-
1539. voured their Doctrine in England, desired an
Audience of the King, and told him of the
Grief with which their Masters would re-
ceive the News of this Act; and therefore
earnestly press'd him to stop the Execution
of it. The King answered that he found it
necessary to have the Act made, for re-
pressing the Insolence of some People, but
assured them it should not be put in Execu-
tion, except upon great Provocation.
When the Princes heard of the Act, they
writ to the King to the same purpose:
they warned him of many Bishops that
were about him, who in their Hearts lo-
vred Popery, and all the old Abuses; and
took this method to force the King to re-
turn back to the former Yoke, hoping that
if they once made him cruel to all those
they called Hereticks, it would be easy to
bring him back to submit to that Tyranny,
which he had shaken off; and therefore they
proposed a Conference between some Di-
vines of both sides in order to an Agree-
ment of Doctrine. The King was only con-
cerned upon State Maxims, to keep up their
League in Opposition to the Emperour;
but they still press'd a Religious as well as
a Civil League.

After the Act of the six Articles, the
Act for suppressing the Monasteries was
brought in; and tho' there were so many
Abbots sitting in the House, none of them
protested against it; 'By it no Monastery
' was suppressed, but only the Resignations
' made
of the Reformation, &c.

made or to be made, were confirmed; and
the King's Right, founded either on their
Surrenders, Forfeitures, or Attainders of
Treason, was declared good in Law.

Houses surrendered were to be managed
by the Court of Augmentations; but those

seized on by Attainders were to come to
the Exchequer. All Persons except the
Founders and Donors were to have the
same Rights to the Lands, belonging to
theses Houses, that they had before this Act
was made. All Deeds and Leases made
for a Year before this, to the prejudice of
theses Houses were annulled; and all the
Churches belonging to them, and formerly exempted, were put under the Juris-
diction of the Bishop, or of such as
should be appointed by the King.

This last Proviso has produced a great
Mischief in this Church; for many that
purchased Abby-Lands, had this Clause
put in their Grants, that they should be
the Visitors of the Churches, and by this
they continue still exempted from the Epis-
copal Jurisdiction; and this has em-
boldened many to break out into great
Scandals, which have been made use of by
prejudiced Men to cast an Obloquy on the
Church; tho this Disorder proceeds only
from the want of Authority in the Bishops
to censure them. A Question was raised
upon this Suppression, whether the Lands
should have reverted to the Donors, or
been escheated to the Crown. By a Judg-
ment of the Roman Senate in Theodosius' time,
Book I. time, all the Endowments of the Heathenish Temples were given to the Fisc, and the Heirs of the Donors pretended to them, yet it was said, that by the Gifts that their Ancestors made, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. When the Order of the Templers was suppressed, their Lands went to the Lord by an Escheat. This might seem reasonable in Endowments that were simple Gifts; without any Conditions: But the Grants to Religious Houses were of the nature of Covenants, given in consideration of the Masses, that were to be said for them and their Families; and therefore it was inferred, that when the Cheat of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory was discovered, and these Houses were suppressed, then the Lands ought to revert to the Heirs of the Donors; and upon that account it was thought necessary to exclude them by a special Proviso.

Another Bill was brought in, empowering the King to erect new Bishopricks by his Letters Patents; it was read three times in one day in the House of Lords. The Preamble set forth that the ill Lives of those that were called Religious, made it necessary to change their Houses to better Uses, for teaching the Word of God, instructing of Children, educating of Clerks, relieving of old infirm People, the endowing of Readers for Greek, Latine, and Hebrew, mending of Highways, and the bettering the Condition of the Parish Priests; and for this end the King
King was empowered to erect new Sees, and to assign what Limits and Divisions, and appoint them what Statutes he pleased. I have seen the first Draught of this Pre-amble all written with the King's own Hand; and indeed he used extraordinary Care in correcting both Acts of Parliament and Proclamations with his own Hand: All Papers in matters of Religion, that were set out by publick Authority in this Reign, were revised by him, and in many places large Corrections are to be seen, made with his own Hand, which shew both his great Judgment in those Matters, and his extraordinary Application to Business; but as he was fond of his two acquired Titles, of Defender of the Faith, and Supream Head of the Church; and loved to shew that he did not carry them in vain; so there was nothing which he affected more, then to discover his Learning and Understanding in matters of Religion. He writ also a List of all the new Sees which he intended to found, which were Waltham, for Essex, St. Albans, for Hartford, another for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire out of the Monasteries of Dunstable, Newenham, and Clowstown; another for Oxfordshire, and Berkshire, out of the Rents of Osney, and Tame, one for Northampton and Huntington, out of Peterborough, one for Middlesex out of Westminster; one for Leicester and Rutland, out of Leicester; one for Gloucestershire out of St. Peters in Gloucester; one for Lancashire out of
An Act for Proclamations.

The King had formed a great Design of endowing many Sees, and making many other noble Foundations; yet the great Change that was made in the Councils and Ministry before this took Effect, made that only a small part of that, which he now intended, was accomplished. Another Act was brought in, concerning the Obedience due to the King's Proclamations, which set forth, That great Exceptions had been made to the Legality of the King's Proclamations, by some who did not consider what a King might do by his Royal Power; which the King took very ill; and since many Occasions called for speedy Remedies, and could not admit of Delays till a Parliament might be called; therefore it was enacted, that such Proclamations as the King set
out by Advice of his Council, with Pains Book I. upon Offenders, shou'd be obeyed as if they were Acts of Parliaments; yet it was provided that no Laws nor Customs might be taken away by them, and that the Subjects should not suffer in their Estates, Liberties, or Persons, by them. If any offended against them, and fled out of the Kingdom, that was made Treason. It was also provided that if the King's Heirs should reign before they were of Age, the Proclamations set out by the Privy Council, should have the like force in Law. By this the Injunctions that had been given, or should be thereafter given, were now legally authorized. The Statute of Precedence past in this Parliament. The King's Vicegerent was to take place of all after the Royal Family, and next him among the Clergy, came the two Arch-bishops, then the Bishops of London and Duresme, after them the Bishop of Winchester, as Prelate of the Garter, and all the other Bishops were to take place according to the Date of their Consecrations.

A Bill of Attainder past, not only confirming the Sentences that had been given against the Marques of Exeter, the Lord Mountcure, and others, that had been condemned at common Law; but of some that were of new attainted without a Trial: of these some were absent, and others were in Prison; but it was not thought fit to bring them to make their Answers: The chief
It was questioned whether this could be done in Law or not. The Judges delivered their Opinion, that it was against natural Justice to condemn any without hearing them; and that when the Parliament proceeded as a Court, they were obliged to follow the common Rules of Equity; but if they did otherwise, yet since they were the Supreme Court of the Nation, whatsoever they did, could not be reversed. The latter part of this was laid hold on, and the former was neglected, so that Act past. This Council was ascribed to Cromwell, and he being the first that was executed upon such a Sentence, gave occasion to many to observe the Justice of God, in making ill Councils turn upon those that gave them.

When the Parliament was prorogued, the King ordered Cranmer to put in writing all the Arguments he had used against the six Articles, and bring them to him. He sent also both Cromwell and the Duke of Norfolk, to dine with him, and to assure him of the Constancy of his Kindness to him. At Table they expressed great Esteem for him, and acknowledged that he had opposed the six Articles with so much Learning and Gravity, that those who differed most from him, could not but value him highly for it; and that he need not to fear any thing from the King: Cromwell said the King made that difference * between

Book I. chief of these were the Marchionesses of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum (Mother to Cardinal Pool:) It was questioned whether this could be done in Law or not. The Judges delivered their Opinion, that it was against natural Justice to condemn any without hearing them; and that when the Parliament proceeded as a Court, they were obliged to follow the common Rules of Equity; but if they did otherwise, yet since they were the Supreme Court of the Nation, whatsoever they did, could not be reversed. The latter part of this was laid hold on, and the former was neglected, so that Act past. This Council was ascribed to Cromwell, and he being the first that was executed upon such a Sentence, gave occasion to many to observe the Justice of God, in making ill Councils turn upon those that gave them.

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of the Reformation, &c.

between him and the rest of his Council; that he would not so much as hearken to any Complaints that were made of him; and made a Parallel between him and Cardinal Wolsey; the one lost his Friends by his Pride, and the other gained on his Enemies, by his Humility and Mildness: the Duke of Norfolk said he could speak best of the Cardinal, having been his Man so long: this heated Cromwell, who answered, that he never liked his Mariners, and tho Wolsey had intended if he had been chosen Pope, to have carried him with him to Italy; yet he was resolved not to have gone, tho he knew the Duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this the Duke of Norfolk swore he lied, and gave him foul Language. This put all the Company in great Disorder: They were in some sort reconciled, but were never hearty Friends after this. Cranmer put his Reasons against the six Articles together, and gave them to his Secretary to be written out in a fair Hand for the King's use: but he crossing the Thames with the Book in his Bosom, met with such an Adventure on the Water as might have at another time sent the Author to the Fire. There was a Bear baited near the River, which breaking loose, run into it, and happened to overturn the Boat in which Cranmer's Secretary was, and he being in danger of his Life, took no care of the Book, which falling from him floated on the River, and was taken up by the Bear-Ward, and put

Q 2

in

Book I.

1539.
Book I. in the hand of a Priest that stood by, to see what it might contain; he presently found it was a Confutation of the six Articles, and so told the Bear-ward that the Author of it would certainly be hanged. So when the Secretary came to ask for it, and said it was the Arch-bishop's Book; the other that was an obstinate Papist, refused to give it, and reckoned that now Cranmer would be certainly ruined: but the Secretary acquainting Cromwell with it, he called for him next day, and chid him severely for presuming to keep a Privy-Counsellours Book, and so he took it out of his Hands: thus Cranmer was delivered out of this Danger. Shaxton and Latimer not only resigned their Bishopricks, but being presented for some Words spoken against the six Articles, they were put in Prison, where they lay till a recantation discharged the one, and the King's Death set the other at liberty. There were about 500 others presented on the same account, but upon the Intercessions of Cranmer, Cromwell, and others, they were set at liberty, and there was a stop put to the further Execution of the Act till Cromwell fell.

The Bishops of the Popish Party took strange Methods to insinuate themselves into the King's Confidence, for they took out Commissions by which they acknowledged, 'That all Jurisdiction, Civil and Ecclesiastical, flowed from the King, and that they exercised it only at the King's Courtesy: and as they had of his Bounty, *
of the Reformation, &c.

...they would be ready to deliver it up Book I. when he should be pleased to call for it; and therefore the King did empower them in his stead, to ordain, give Institution, and do all the other parts of the Episcopal Function, which was to last during his Pleasure: and a mighty charge was given them to ordain none but Persons of great Integrity, good Life, and well learned; for since the Corruption of Religion flowed from ill Pastors, so the Reformation of it was to be expected chiefly from good Pastors. By this they were made indeed the King's Bishops: in this Bonner set an Example to the rest, but it does not appear that Cranmer took out any such Commission all this Reign.

Now came on the total Dissolution of the Abbies, 57 surrenders were made this Year, of which 30 are yet extant; of these, 37 were Monasteries, and 20 were Nunneries; and among them 12 were Parliamentary Abbies; which were in all 28, Abington, St. Albans, St. Austin's Canterbury, Battell, St. Bennets in the Holm, Bardeny, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glastenbury, Gloucester, Hide, Malmesbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavestock, Tewkesbury, Thorny, Waltham, Westminster, and Winchelcombe. When all had thus resigned, Commissioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to seize on the Revenues and Goods belonging to these Houses, to establish the...
Book I. Pensions that were to be given to every one that had been in them, and to pull down the Churches, or such other parts of the Fabrick, as they thought superfluous, and to fell the Materials of them. When this was done, others began to get Hospitals to be surrendered to the King; Thirleby being Master of St. Thomas Hospital in Southwark, was the first that set an Example to the rest; he was soon after made a Bishop, and turned with every Change that followed, till Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, and then he refused to comply tho' he had gone along with all the Changes that were made in King Edward's time. The valued Rents of the Abbey-Lands as they were then let, was 132607 l. 6 s. 4 d. but they were worth above ten times so much in true value. The King had now in his hand the greatest Advantage that ever King of England had, both for enriching the Crown, and making Royal Foundations. But such was his Easiness to his Courtiers, and his Lavishness, that all this melted away in a few Years, and his Designs were never accomplished; he intended to have founded 18 new Bishoppricks, but he founded only six: Other great Projects did also become abortive. In particular one that was designed by Sir Nicholas Bacon, which was a Seminary for States-men: he proposed the erecting a House for Persons of Quality, or of extraordinary Endowments, for the study of the Civil Law, and of the Latine.
Latine and French Tongues; of whom, Book I.
some were to be sent with every Ambas-
sfadour beyond Sea, to be improved in
the Knowledg of Forreign Affairs, in
which they should be imploied as they
grew capable of them: And others were
to be set to work to write the Hiftory
of the Trafaotions abroad, and of Affairs
at home. This was to supply one Lo's that
was like to follow on the Fall of Abbies;
for in most of them there was kept a
Chronicle of the Times. These were
written by Men that were more credulous
than judicious; and so they are often
more particular in the recital of Trifles,
than of important Affairs, and an invinc-
cible Humour of lying, when it might
raise the Credit of their Order or House,
runs through all their Manuscripts. All
the Ground that Cranmer gained this Year,
in which there was so much lost, was a
Liberty that all private Persons might
have Bibles in their Houses, the managing
of which was put in Cromwell's Hands,
by a Special Patent: Gardiner opposed it
vehemently, and built much on this, that
without Tradition it was impossible to
underftand the meaning of the Scriptures;
and one day before the King, he challen-
ged Cranmer to shew any Difference be-
tween the Scriptures and the Apostles
Canons. It is not known how Cranmer
managed the Debate, but the Issue of it
was this, The King judged in his Fa-
vours, and said, He was an old experi-
enced
232 Abridgment of the History

Book I.

1539. enced Captain, and ought not to be troubled by fresh Men and Novices. The King was now resolved to marry again, and both the Emperor and the King of France proposed Matches to him, but they came to no Effect. The Emperor endeavoured by all means possible to separate the King from the Princes of the Smalcaldick League; and the Act of the six Articles had done that already in a great measure; for they complained much of the King's Severity in those Points, which were the principal Parts of their Doctrine; such as Communion in both kinds, Private Masses, and the Marriage of the Clergy. Gardiner studied to animate the King much against them; he often told him, it was below his Dignity to suffer dull GoLrians to dictate to him: and he sug-
gested that they who would not acknowledg the Emperours Supremacy in the matters of Religion, could not be hearty Friends to the Authority which the King had assumed in them. But the Ger-
mans did not look on the Emperor as their Soveraign, but only as the Head of the Empire; and they did believe that every Prince in his Dominions, and the Diet for the whole Empire, had sufficient Authority for making Laws in Ecclesiastical Affairs; but what other Considerations could not induce the King to, was like to be more powerfully carried on by the Match with Anne of Cleve, which was now set on foot.

There
of the Reformation, &c.

There had been a Treaty between her Father and the Duke of Lorrain, for the Prince of Lorrain and her; but it had gone no farther than a Contract between the Fathers. Hans Holbin, the Famous Painter of that Age, took her Picture very much to her Advantage; for the King never liked the Original so well as he had done the Picture. The Duke of Saxe disdained the Match, because the King was going backward in the matter of the Reformation: but Cromwell set it on vigorously. It was said, the Lady had great Charms in her Person; but she could speak no Language but Dutch, which the King understood not; nor was she bred to Music: And she had a stiffness in her Breeding, which was not at all accommodated to the King's Inclinations. The Match was at last agreed on; and in the end of December she was brought over. The King was impatient, and so went incognito to Rochester, but was struck when he saw her. There was a Rudeness in her, which did not at all please him: He swore they had brought over a Flanders Mare to him; and took up an incurable Aversion to her. He resolved to break the Match if it were possible; but his Affairs made the Friendship of the German Princes, to be then very necessary to him; so that he did not think it advisable to put any Affront on the Dukes of Saxe and Cleve, her Brother, and her Brother in Law. The Emperour had at this time made a hasty Journey through France; and
Book I. Francis and he had an Interview, where as the King was informed a Project was laid down against him, which was chiefly set on by the Pope. Francis was thinking how to take Calais, and the other places the King had in France, from him; it had been also easy for him to have engaged the King of Scotland against him: And the People in the North were thought to retain their former Disposition, to rise still; so that a War made on the King in such Circumstances, was like to find him at a great Disadvantage. This made the King more tender of offending the Germans. But he tried if that Precontract with the Duke of Lorrain's Son, could furnish him with a fair Excuse to break the Match. The King expressed the great Trouble he was in, both to Cromwel, and many of his other Servants; and one of them pleasantly told him, that Subjects had this Advantage over Princes, that they chose Wives for themselves, whereas Princes were obliged to take such as were brought them. But nothing could be built on that Precontract, which was only an Agreement between the Fathers, their Children being under Age; and that was afterwards annulled and broken by the Parents. So Cranmer, and Tonnall being required to give their Opinions as Divines, said, there was nothing in it to hinder the King's Marrying the Lady.

On the the 6th of January the King Married her; but expressed his dislike of her
so visibly, that all about him took notice of it: And the day after that he told Cromwell that he had not consummated his Marriage, and he believed he should never do it: He suspected she was not a Virgin; and she had ill Smells about her; so that his Aversion to her was increased to such a Degree, that he believed he should never be able to change it. Cromwell did what he could to overcome these Inclinations; but that was not to be done: And tho the King lived five Months with her, and lay often in the Bed with her, yet his Aversion to her rather increased than abated. She seemed little concerned at it, and expressed a great readiness to concur in every thing, that might disengage him from a Marriage that was so unacceptable to him. Instruments were brought over, to shew that the Contract between her and the Prince of Lorraine, was void: But they took some Advantage, because it was not declared whether the Contract was in the Words of the Present, or of the Future Tense.

In April there was a Session of Parliament, and at the opening of it, as the Lord Chancellour declared the matters relating to the State, for which the King had called them: So the Vicegerent spake to them concerning the matters of Religion: He told them there was nothing which the King desired so much as an entire Union among all his Subjects; but some Incendiaries opposed it as much as he promoted it.
it; and between the rashness on the one hand, and Inveterare Superstition on the other, great Dissentions had arisen. These were inflamed by the reproachful names of Papift and Heretic. And tho they had now the Word of God in all their hands, yet they studied rather to justify their Passions out of it, than to govern their Lives by it. In order to the removing this, the King resolved to set forth an Exposition of the Doctrine of Christ, without any corrupt Mixtures; and to retain such Ceremonies as might be of good use; and that being done, he was resolved to punish all Transgressours, of what side soever they might be: For that end, he had appointed the two Archbishops and the Bishops of London, Duresm, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. Davids; and 11 Divines, Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorpe, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symons, Robins, and Tresham, for settling the Doctrine. And the Bishops of Bath and Walls, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Landaff, for the Ceremonies. These Committees for Religion, sat as often as the Affairs of the Parliament could allow of. Two days after the Parliament met, Cromwell was made Earl of Essex, which shews it was not the King’s Dislike of the Queen that wrought his Ruine, otherwise he had not now raised his Title.

A Bill was brought in to the Parliament for suppressing the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. These were at first only an Hospital,
of the Reformation, &c. Book I.

spital, for entertaining the Pilgrims that went to visit the Holy Grave: And after that, they became an Order of Knights; and they and the Knights-Templars conducted and guarded the Pilgrims. It was thought for some Ages, one of the highest Expression of Devotion to Christ, to go and visit the places where he was crucified, buried, and ascended to Heaven: And it was look'd on as highly Meritorious, to go and fight for recovering the Holy-Land, out of the hands of Infidels; so that almost every one that died, either vowed to go to the Holy War, or left somewhat, to such as should go. If they recovered, they bought off their Vow, by giving some Lands for the Entertainment of those Knights. There were great Complaints made of the Templars; but whether it was their Wealth that made them a desirable Prey, or their Guilt that drew Ruine on them, is not certain. They were condemned in a Council, and all of them that could be found, were cruelly put to Death. But the other Order was still continued; and being beaten out of Judea, they settled at Rhodes, out of which they were lately driven; and were now settled in Malta. They were under a great Master, who depended on the Pope and the Emperour. But some they could not be brought to surrender of their own accord, as others had done; it was necessary to suppress them by Act of Parliament. Another House which they had in Ireland was also suppressed, and
and Pensions were reserved for the Priors and Knights. On the 14th of May, the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25th; a Vote having past, that the Bills should continue in the State they were in.

On the 12th of June, there was a sudden turn at Court, for the Duke of Norfolk arrested Cromwel of High Treason, and sent him Prisoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies: The meaness of his Birth made the Nobility take it ill, to see the Son of a Black-Smith made an Earl, and have the Garter given him; besides his being Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain of England, Lord Vicegerent; and a little while before, he had also the Mastership of the Rolls. All the Popish Clergy hated him violently: They imputed the Suppression of Monasteries, and the Injunctions that were laid on them, chiefly to his Counsels: And it was thought that it was mainly by his means that the King and the Emperour continued to be in such ill Terms. The King did now understand, that there was no agreement like to be made between the Emperour and Francis, for it stuck at the matter of the Dutchy of Milan; in which neither of them would yield to the other; and the King was sure, they would both court his Friendship in case of a War; and this made him less concerned for the Favour of the German Princes. So, now Cromwel's Counsels became unacceptable: With this a secret Reason concurred. The King did not only hate the Queen, but was now come to be
in Love with Katherine Howard, Niece to the Duke of Norfolk; which both raised his Interest, and deprefed Cromwel, who had made the former Match. The King was also willing to cast upon him all the Errors that had been committed of late, and by making him a Sacrifice, he hoped he should regain the Affections of his People. The King had also Informations brought him, that he secretly encouraged those that opposed the six Articles, and discouraged those who went about the Execution of it. His Fall came so suddenly, that he had not the least Apprehension of it before the Storm brake on him. He had the common Fate of all disgraced Ministers; his Friends forsook him, and his Enemies insulted over him; only Cranmer stuck to him; and wrote earnestly to the King in his Favourites. 'He said he found that he had always loved the King above all things; and had served him with such Fidelity and Success, that he believed no King of England had ever a faithfuller Servant: 'And he wished the King might find such a Councillour, who both could, and would, serve him as he had done. So great and generous a Soul had Cranmer, that was not turned by changes in his Friends Fortunes; and would venture on the displeasure of so Imperious a Prince, rather than fail in the Duties of Friendship. But the King was now resolved to ruine Cromwel, and that unjust Practice of Attainting, without hearing the Parties Answer for
Book I. for themselves, which he had promoted too much before, was now turned upon himself. He had such Enemies in the House of Lords, that the Bill of Attainder was dispatched in two days, being read twice in one day. Cranmer was absent, and no other would venture to speak for him. But he met with more Justice in the House of Commons; for it stuck ten days there. And in Conclusion, a new Bill was drawn against him, and sent up to the Lords, to which they consented; and it had the Royal Assent.

In it they set forth, That tho the King had raised him from a base State, to great Dignities; Yet it appeared by many Witenesses, that were Persons of Honour, that he had been the most Corrupt Traitor that ever was known: That he had set many at Liberty that were condemned, or suspected of Misprision of Treason: That he had given Licences for trans- sporting out of the Kingdom things prohibited by Proclamation: And had granted many Passports without search made: That he had said, he was sure of the King, That he had dispersed many Erroneous Books, contrary to the Belief of the Sacrament: And had said, That every Man might Administer it as well as a Priest: That he had licensed many Preachers suspected of Heresy: And had ordered many to be discharged that were committed on that account; and had dis- charged all Informers: That he had many
many Hereticks about him: That above a Year before, he had said, The preaching of Barns and others, was good; And that he would not turn, tho the King did turn; but if the King turned, he would fight in Person against him, and all that turned: And drawing out his Dagger, he wisht that might pierce him to the Heart, if he should not do it; he had also said, If he lived a year or two longer, it should not be in the King's Power to hinder it. He had likewise been found guilty of great Oppression and Bribery: And when he heard, that some Lords were taking Counsel against him, he had threatened, that he would raise great Stirs in England: For these things, he was Attainted both of High Treason and Heresy. A Provifo was added, for securing the Church of Wells, of which he had been Dean.

This was lookt on as very hard Meas- 

ure. It was believed, That he had at least Verbal Orders from the King, for the Licences and Orders that were complained of; and perhaps he could have shewed some in Writing, if he had been heard to make his Answers; Bribery seemed to be cast on him, only to render him odious; but no Particulars were mentioned. Nor was it credible, That he could have spoken such Words of the King, as were alleged, especially when he was in the height of his Favour; and if he had spoken them above a Year before, it is not to be imagined that they could have been so long kept.
This being done, The King went on to move for a Divorce. An Address was moved to be made to him by the Lords, that he would suffer his Marriage to be examined. Cranmer and others were sent down to desire the Concurrence of the Commons; and they ordered 20 of their number to go along with the Lords, who went all in a body to the King. He granted their desire, the matter being concerted before. So a Commission was sent to the Convocation, to discuss it: Gardiner opened it to them; and they appointed a Committee for the Examination of Witnesses. The Substance of the whole Evidence amounted to these Particulars; That the matter of the Precontract with the Prince of Lorraine, was not fully cleared; and it did not appear, if it was made by the Queen; or whether it was in the Words of the present time, or not. That the King had married her against her Will; and had not given an inward and compleat Consent; and that he had never consummated the Marriage; so that they saw he could have no Issue by the Queen. Upon these grounds the whole Convocation with one consent annulled the Marriage, and declared both Parties free. This was the grossest piece of Compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole Reign: For as they knew that there was nothing in the pre-
pretended Precontract; so by voiding the Marriage, because the Consent was not internal and free, they made a most pernicious Precedent for breaking all publick Treaties; for none can know Men's Hearts; it would be easy for every one to pretend that he had not given a perfect Consent; and that being allowed, there could be no Confidence nor safety among Men any more. And in the Process for the King's first Divorce, they had laid it down as a Principle, that a Marriage was compleat, tho it were never consummated. But in a Word, the King was resolved to be rid of the Queen; and the Clergy were resolved not to offend him: And they rather fought out Reasons to give a colour to their Sentence, then past it on the force of those Reasons. Cromwel was required to send a Declaration of all he knew concerning the Marriage, which he did; but ended in these most abject Words, 'Written with the heavy Heart, and trembling Hand, of your Highness's most heavy, and most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave, Tho. Cromwel: and under his Subscription he wrote, Most Sacred Prince, I cry for, Mercy, Mercy, Mercy. The Judgment of the Convocation was reported to the House of Lords by Cranmer, and the Reasons were opened by Gardiner. They were sent down to the Commons to give them the same account; and both Houses were satisfied with it. Next day, some Lords were sent to the Queen, who had retired to
to Richmond: They told her, The King was resolved to declare her his adopted Sister, and to settle 4000 l. a Year on her, if she would consent to it; which she cheerfully embraced; and it being left to her choice, either to live in England, or to return to her Brother; She preferred the former. They pressed her to write to her Brother, that all this matter was done with her good Will; that the King used her, as a Father; and that therefore he, and the other Allies, should not take this ill at his hands. She was a little averse to this, but was prevailed on to do it. When things were thus prepared, the Act confirming the Judgment of the Convocation, past, without any Opposition. An Act past, mitigating one Clause in the Act of the six Articles; by which, the pains of Death for the Marriage or Incontinence of the Clergy, were changed into a Forfeiture of their Goods and Benefices. Another Act past, Authorizing those Committees of Bishops and Divines that had been named by the King, both for the Doctrine and Ceremonies, to go on in it; and appointing, that what should be agreed on by them, and Published with the King's Approbation, should bind the Subjects as much as if every Particular in it had been enumerated in that Act, any Law or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding: But a Proviso was added, That nothing might be done by them contrary to the Laws then in force: Which Contradiction
of the Reformation, &c.

in the Provisos, seems to have been put in on design, to keep all Ecclesiastical Proceedings under the Inspection of the Secular Courts, since they are the only Ex-pounders of Acts of Parliament. Another Act past, That no Pretence of a Precontrack should be made use of to annul a Marriage duly Solemnized and Consummated: And that no Degrees of Kindred, but those enumerated in the Law of Moses, might hinder a Marriage. This last was added, To enable the King to marry Katherine Howard, that was Cousin German to Ann Boleyn, which was one of the Degrees prohibited by the Canon Law; but the reason of the former part is not known. It directly condemns the King’s Divorce of Ann Boleyn, grounded on a pretended Pre-contrack.

The Province of Canterbury gave the King a Subsidy of 4s. in the Pound, to be payed in two Years, with a Preamble of high Acknowledgments of their Happiness under his Protection. A Subsidy was also asked of the Laity, but in the House of Commons it was much opposed: Many said they had given the King the Abbey-Lands, in hopes that no Subsidies should have been any more demanded; and it shewed a strange Profuseness, that now within a Year after that, a Subsidy was demanded. But it was answered, That the King had been at great charge in fortifying his Coasts; and in keeping up such Leagues beyond Sea, as preserved the Nation in safety.
Book I. safety; a Tenth and four 15ths were granted. Several Bills of Attainder were past. And in Conclusion, the King sent a General Pardon, out of which, Cromwell, and divers others were excepted; and then the Parliament was dissolved. Cromwell's mean Address could not preserve him: So he was executed on the 28 of July. He thanked God for bringing him to die in that manner, which was just, on the account of his Sins against God, and his Offences against his Prince. He declared that he doubted of no Article of the Catholick Faith, nor of any Sacrament of the Church. He said, He had been seduced, but now he died in the Catholick Faith; and denied he had supported the Preachers of ill Opinions. He desired all their Prayers; and prayed very fervently for himself; and thus did he end his days.

He rose meerly by the strength of his Natural Parts; for his Education was suitable to his mean Extraction: Only he had all the New Testament in Latin, by Heart. He carried his Greatness with Extraordinary Moderation; and fell rather under the weight of Popular Odium, than Guilt. At his Death he mixed none of the Superstitions of the Church of Rome with his Devotions: So it was said, that he used the Word, Catholick Faith, in its true sense, and in Opposition to the Novelties of the Church of Rome: Yet his Ambiguous way of expressing himself, made the Papists say, that he died repenting of his Heresy.
of the Reformation, &c.

Here: But the Protestants said that he died in the same Persecutions in which he lived. With him fell the Office of the King's Vicegerent, and none after him have aspired to that Character, that proved so fatal to him who first carried it. It was believed that the King lamented his Death when it was too late; and the Miseries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of Norfolk, and his Family, were look'd on as Strokes from Heaven on them, for their cruel prosecuting this unfortunate Minister. With his Fall, the Progress of the Reformation stopt; for Cranmer could never gain much Ground after this, and indeed many hoped that he should be quickly sent after Cromwell; some complained of him in the House of Commons, and Informations were brought the King, that the chief Encouragement that the Hereticks had, came from him.

The Ecclesiastical Committees employed by the King, were now at work, and gave the last finishing to a Book formerly prepared, but at this time corrected and explained in many Particulars. They began with the Explanation of Faith, which according to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, was thought an implicit believing whatever the Church proposed: But the Reformers made it the chief Subject of their Books and Sermons, to persuade People to believe in Christ, and not in the Church; and made great use of those Places in which it was said, That Christians are justified.
**Fable of the History**

Book I. *by Faith only*: tho some explained this in such a manner, that it gave their Adversaries Advantages to charge them that they denied the necessity of Good Works; but they all taught that tho they were not necessary to Justification, yet they were necessary to Salvation. They differed also in their Notion of Good Works: The Church of Rome taught, that the Honour done to God in his Images, or to the Saints in their Shrines and Relicks, or to the Priests, were the best sort of Good Works: Whereas the Reformers prest Justice and Mercy most, and discovered the Superstition of the other. The Opinion of the Merit of Good Works, was also so highly raised, that many thought they purchased Heaven by them. This the Reformers did also correct, and taught the People to depend meerly upon the Death and Intercession of Christ. Others moved subtiller Questions, As whether Obedience was an essential part of Faith, or only a Consequent of it? This was a Nicety scarce becoming Divines, that built only on the Simplicity of the Scriptures, and condemned the Subtilties of the Schools; and it was said, that Men of ill Lives abused this Doctrine, and thought that if they could but assure themselves that Christ died for them, they were safe enough.

So now when they settled the Notion of Faith, they divided it into two sorts: The one was a Perswasion of the Truth of the Gospel; but the other carried with it
of the Reformation, &c. 249

It a Submission to the Will of God; and Book I.
both Hope, Love, and Obedience belon-
ged to it; which was the Faith professed
in Baptism, and so much extoll'd by St.
Paul. It was not to be so understood as if
it were a Certainty of our being predesti-
nated, which may be only a Presumption;
since all God's Promises are made to us on
Conditions; but it was an entire receiving
the whole Gospel according to our Baptis-
tal Vows. Cranmer took great Pains
to state this matter right; and made a
large Collection of many places, all writ-
ten with his own Hand, both out of An-
tient and Modern Authors, concerning
Faith, Justification and the Merit of Good
Works; and concluded with this, That
our Justification was to be ascribed only
to the Merits of Christ; and that those
who are justified must have Charity as well
as Faith, but that neither of these was the
meritorious Cause of Justification. After this
was stated, they made next a large and full
Explanation of the Apostles Creed with
great Judgment, and many excellent prac-
tical Inferences; the Definition they gave of
the Catholick Church runs thus: 'It com-
prehended all Assemblies of Men in the
whole World that received the Faith of
Christ, who ought to hold an Unity of
Love and Brotherly Agreement together,
by which they became Members of the
Catholick Church: After this they ex-
plained the seven Sacraments.
In opening these there were great Debates; for, as was formerly mentioned, the method used, was to open the point enquired into by proposing many Queries, and every one was to give in his Answer to these, with the Reasons of it; and then others were appointed to make an Abstract of those things, in which they all either agreed or differed. The Original Papers relating to these Points are yet preserved, which shew with how great Consideration they proceeded in the Changes that were then made. Cranmer had at this time some particular Opinions concerning Ecclesiastical Offices; That they were delivered from the King, as other Civil Offices were, and that Ordination was not indispensably necessary, and was only a Ceremony, that might be used or laid aside; but that the Authority was conveyed to Church-men only by the King's Commission; yet he delivered his Opinion in this matter with great Modesty, and he not only subscribed the Book in which the contrary Doctrine was established, but afterwards published it in a Book which he wrin King Edward's days, from whence it appears that he changed his Mind in this Particular. Baptism was explained as had been done formerly; Penance was made to consist in the Absolution of the Priests which had been formerly declared only to be desirable, where it could be had. In the Communion, both Transubstantiation, Private Masses, and Communion in one kind, were asserted: They asserted the Obligation of the
of the Reformation, &c.

the Levitical Law about the Degrees of Marriage, and the Indissolubleness of that Bond. They set out the Divine Institution of Priests and Deacons; and that no Bishop had Authority over another: they made a long Excursion against the Pope’s Pretensions, and for justifying the King’s Supremacy. They said, Confirmation was instituted by the Apostles, and was profitable, but not necessary to Salvation: and they asserted extrem Unction to have been commanded by the Apostles, for the Health both of Soul and Body. Then were the Ten Commandments explained, the second was added to the first, but the Words, For I am the Lord thy God, &c. were left out. It was declared, that no Godly Honour was to be done unto Images, and that they ought only to be reverenced, for their sakes whom they represented: therefore the preferring of one Image to another, and the making Pilgrimages and Offerings to them, was condemned; but the censing them or kneeling before them was permitted; yet the People were to be taught that these things were done only to the Honour of God. Invocation of Saints, as Intercessors, was allowed, but immediate Address to them for the Blessings that were prayed for, was condemned. The strict rest from Labour on the seventh day, was declared to be Ceremonial; but it was necessary to rest from Sin, and Carnal Pleasure, and to follow Holy Duties. The other Commandments were explained in a very
very plain and practical way. Then was the Lord's Prayer explained, and it was asserted that the People ought only to pray in their Vulgar Tongues, for exciting their Devotion the more: The Angels Salutation to the Virgin was also paraphrased. They handled Free-will and defined it to be a Power by which the Will guided by Reason, did without constraint discern and choose Good and Evil, the former by the help of God's Spirit, and the latter of it self. Grace was said to be offered to all Men, but was made effectual by the Application of the Free-will to it: and Grace and Free-will did consist well together, the one being added for the help of the other; and therefore Preachers were warned not to depress either of them too much, in order to the Exaltation of the other. Men were justified freely by the Grace of God, but that was applied by Faith, in which both the Fear of God, Repentance, and Amendment of Life were included. All curious reasonings about Predestination were condemned; for Men could not be assured of their Election, but by feeling the Motions of God's Holy Spirit appearing in a good and a vertuous Life, and persevering in that to the end. Good Works were necessary, which were not the Superstitions Inventions of Monks and Friars, nor only moral Good Works done by the Power of Nature, but were the Works of Charity flowing from a pure Heart and Faith unfeigned: Fasting and the other Fruits of Penance
Penance were also Good Works; but of Book I an Inferiour Nature to Justice and the other Vertues: Good Works were meritorious, yet since they were wrought in Men by God's Spirit; all boasting was excluded. They ended with an account of Prayer for Souls departed, almost the same that was in the Articles published before.

The Book was writ in a plain and Masculine Stile, fit for weak Capacities, and yet strong and weighty: and the parts of it that related to Practice were admirable. To this they added a Preface, declaring the Care they had used in examining the Scriptures and Antient Doctors, out of whom they compiled this Book. The King added another Preface, in which he condemned the Hypocrisy and Superstition of one sort, and the Presumption of another sort; to correct both, he had ordered this Book to be made, and published: and he required his People to read and print it in their Hearts, and to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility for receiving it aright: And he charged the Inferiour People to remember that their Office was not to teach, but to be taught, and to practice what they heard, rather than dispute about it. But this Preface was not added till two Years after the Book was put out; for it mentions the Approbation that was given to it in Parliament, and the Restraint that was put on reading the Scriptures, of which an account shall be given afterwards.
The Reformers were dissatisfied with many things in the Book, yet were glad to find the Morals of Religion so well opened; for the Purity of Soul, which that might effect, would dispose People to sound Opinions; many Superstitious Practices were also condemned, and the Gospel-Covenant was rightly stated. One Article was also asserted in it, which opened the way to a further Reformation; for every National Church was declared to be a compleat Body, with Power to reform Heresies, and do every thing that was necessary for preserving its own Purity, or governing its Members. The Popish Party thought they had recovered much Ground, that seemed lost formerly: They knew the Reformers would never submit to all things in this Book, which would alienate the King from them; but they were safe, being resolved to comply with him in every thing, and without doing that, it was like to be somewhat uneasy to live in England; for the King's Peevishness grew upon him with his Age. Now the Correspondence between the King and the German Princes fell upon the Change that was made in the Ministry, and a secret Treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperour. All the Changes that the Committee appointed for the Ceremonies made, was only the Rasure of some Offices and Collects, and the setting out of a new Primer, with the Vulgar Devotions for the Common People: But the Changes were not so great, as that it was necessary
necessary to reprint the Missals or Breviaries; for the old Books were still made use of. Yet these Rasures were such, that in Queen Mary's time the old Books were all called in, and the Nation was put to the Charge of buying new ones, which was considerable, so great was the Number of the Books of Offices.

The Popish Party studied now to engage the King into new Severities against the Reformers; the first Instances of these fell on three Preachers, Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, who had been early wrought on by Luther's Books. Barnes had during Wolsey's Greatness, reflected much on him in a Sermon which he preached at Cambridge; but Gardiner was then his Friend, and brought him off; he having abjured some Articles that were objected to him. Yet upon new Complaints he was again put in Prison, but he made his Escape and fled to Germany; and became so considerable, that he was sent over to England by the King of Denmark, as Chaplain to his Ambassadors; but he went back again. The Bishop of Hereford meeting him at Smalcald, sent him over to England, with a special Recommendation to Cromwell: he was after that, much employed in the Negotiations which the King had with the Germans; and had the misfortune to be the first that was sent with the Proposition for Anne of Cleve. In Lent this Year Bonner appointed those three to have their turns at St. Paul's Cross; Gardiner preached also there
there; and fell on Justification, which he handled according to the Notions of the Schools: But Barnes and the other two did directly refute his Sermon, when it came to their turns to preach, not without indecent Reflections on his Person. This was represented to the King as a great Insolence, he being both a Bishop and a Privy Counsellour; so the King commanded them to go and give him Satisfaction: he seemed to carry the matter with much Moderation, and readily forgave all that was personal, tho' it was believed that it stuck deep in him. In Conclusion, they confessed their Indiscretion, and promised for the future to be more cautious, and renounced some Articles of which it was thought their Sermons favoured; as that God was the Author of Sin, that Good Works were not necessary to Salvation, and that Princes ought not to be obeyed in all their just Laws. Some other Niceties were in dispute concerning Justification; but the King thought these were not of such Consequence, that it was necessary to make them abjure them. Barnes and his Friends were required to preach a Recantation Sermon at the Spittle, and to ask Gardiner's Pardon; but tho' they obeyed this, yet it was said that in one place, they justified what they recanted in another; at which the King was so much provoked, that without hearing them, he sent them to the Tower. At that time Cromwell either could not protect them, or would not interpose in a matter which
which gave the King so great Offence. When the Parliament came, they were attainted of Heresy, without being brought to make their Answers: no particular Errors were objected to them, only they were condemned to be burnt as detestable Hereticks in general Words. In the same Act by which they were condemned: four other were attainted of Treason, for being confederated with Reginald Pool, and for intending to surprize Calais, and as there was a strange mixture in their Condemnation, so the like was in their Executions: for Abel Featherston, and Powell, that were attainted in the same Parliament for owning the Pope's Supremacy, were executed with them, and were coupled together in the Hurdles in which they were carried to Smithfield; the King in this affecting an extravagant Appearance of Impartiality in his Justice.

Barnes being tied to the Stake, went over the Articles of the Creed, and declared his Belief of them all; and that he abhorred the impious Opinions of some German Anabaptists: He asserted the necessity of Good Works, but ascribed Justification wholly to the Merits of Christ; he professed all due Reverence to the Saints; but said he saw no Warrant to pray for them; he asked the Sheriff and the People, if they knew for what they were condemned, and what Heresies they were accused of: but none made Answer; he prayed God to forgive all that fought their Death, and
in particular, Gardiner, if he had done it: then prayed for the King and the Prince, and expressed his Loyalty to the King; that he believed all his just Laws were to be obeyed for Conscience sake, and that in no Case it was lawful to resist him: he sent some Desires to the King, as that he would apply the Abby-Lands to good Uses, and the Relief of his poor Subjects; that he would punish the Contempt of Marriage that was so common, and would put a stop to the Liberty many took of casting off their Wives, and living in Whoredom; that Swearers might be punished, and that since the King had begun to set forth the Christian Religion, that he would go on with it; for a great deal remained yet to be done: he asked the Forgiveness of all People whom he might have at any time offended, and so turned and prepared himself for Death: then the other two spoke to the same purpose; they declared their Faith, and exhorted the People to a good Life, and mutual Love; and they all prayed and embraced one another; after that, the Fire was set to. The Constancy they expressed, together with the Gentleness of their Deportment towards their Enemies, made great Impressions on the Spectators, and cast a heavy Imputation on Gardiner, as the Procurer of their Deaths, tho he justified himself in an Apology which he printed; in which he denied any other Accession to it, but giving his Vote to the Bill of Attainder, Bonner began now to shew himself in
his own Colours: He had courted Cromwell more than any Person whatsoever; yet the very day after his Disgrace, he shewed his Ingratitude; for Grafton that had printed the Bible, and was much in Cromwell's Favour upon that account; meeting Bonner, expressed his Sorrow for Cromwell's being sent to the Tower; but the other answered, that it had been good he had been there much sooner: Grafton saw his Error in speaking so freely, and went from him: but some Verses being printed in Cromwell's Praise; Bonner informed the Council what Grafton had said to him, and thought it was probable he had printed them, yet he had so many Friends that he was let go. He procured many to be indicted upon the Act of the six Articles; but an Order came from the King to stop further Proceedings; yet he pick'd out one Instance which did equally discover his brutal Cruelty, and his want of Judgment. One Mekins not above fifteen Years old, had said somewhat against the Corporal Prefence, and in Commendation of Dr. Barnes: The Witnesses differed in their Evidence, one swore he had said the Sacrament was only a Ceremony; the other swore he had said it was only a Signification: so two Grand Juries returned an Ignoramus on the Bill; upon which he fell into a fit of Cursting and violent Rage, and he made the second Grand Jury go aside and consider better of it, they being terrified, found the Bill, and he was condemned to be burnt; but hoping to be preserved.
served by what he should say at the Stake; he railed at Barnes, and praised Bonner
much: yet that did not save him. Two were burnt at Salisbury, and two at Lincoln,
upon the same Statute; besides great Numbers that were put in Prison.

In the end of this Year, the King began
to endow the new Bishopricks: Westminster
was the first, in which he endowed a Bishoprick, a Deanry, 12 Prebendaries, a Quire,
and other Officers. The Year after this, he
endowed Chester, Gloucester, and Peterboro-
rough; but in these Cathedrals he only en-
dowed six Prebendaries; two Years after
he likewise endowed Oxford and Bristol. The Foundations had Preambles are almost
the same with that of the Act of Parliament
that empowered him to erect them; he pro-
moted the Bishops to those Sees by a special
Writ; tho' that was to go thereafter in the
way of Election, as it was in the other
Sees: he also converted the Priories of
Canterbury, Winchester, Duresme, Worcester,
Ely, Rochester, and Carlile, into Collegiate
Churches, consisting of Deans and Preben-
daries. But as all this came much far short of
what the King had at first intended; so the
Channel in which those Foundations run, dif-
fered much from what Cranmer had pro-
jected, whose Interest was so low at Court, that
his Opinion was not now regarded as it had
been formerly. He intended to have resto-
red the Cathedrals to what they had been
at first, to be Colleges and Nurseries for the
Diocefs, and to have set up Readers of the

* Learned
of the Reformation, &c.

Learned Tongues, and of Divinity, in Book I. them, that so a considerable number of young Clerks might have been trained up under the Bishop's Eye, both in their Studies, and in a Course of Devotion; to be by him, put afterwards in Livings, according to their Merit and Improvements. The want of such Houses for the strict Education of those who are to serve in the Church, has been the occasion of many fatal Consequences since that time, by the Scandals which Men initiated to the Sacred Functions, before they were well prepared for them, have given the World. The Popish Party beyond Sea censured these Endowments, both as being a very defective Restitution of the Lands that had been invaded, and as an Invasion on the Spiritual Authority, when the King divided Diocesses, and removed Churches from one Jurisdiction and put them under another. To which it was answered, That as their Practices against the King had put him to such a charge, that he could not execute what he at first intended; so both the Roman Emperours, and other Christian Kings, had regulated and divided the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and made Primates and Patriarchs as they pleased. Ely in England, was taken out of Lincoln, only by the King and his Parliament; tho P. Nicolaus did officiously send a Confirmation of it, that being an Art of the Papacy to offer Confirmations unsought; and afterwards to found a Right on such a Precedent: So that the

S 3 receiv-
Book I. receiving a Confirmation, was made to pass, for an acknowledgment of an Authority in that See to grant it; upon which the Popes afterwards pretended, that such things could not be done without their consent. Here the Series of the King's Advances towards a Reformation, ends; what he did after this, was by Starts, backwards or forwards, as the humour took him: Nor was he steady in his Councils in State-Affairs: He had no Minister about him, that had an Ascendant over him. Sickness and Years increased his Imperious Temper; so that his Counsellors had a hard task to please him, and many Errours were committed by him.

A new Impression of the Bible was at this time finished: And the King required all Parishes to provide one of them by the next All-hallowtide, under the pain of 40s., a Month after that, till they had got one. The People were also charged not to dispute about it, nor to disturb Divine Service by reading it during the Mafs; but to read it humbly and reverently for their Instruction and Edification. Six of these were set up in divers Places of St. Pauls; But Bonner being afraid of the Mischief they might do, posted up near them an Admonition to the People, That none should read them with vain Glory, and corrupt Affections, or draw Multitudes about them when they read them. But great numbers gathered about those that read; and such as had good Voices, used to be reading them
them aloud a great part of the Day. Many set their Children to School, and when they had learned to read, they carried them to Church to read the Bibles; some began likewise to argue from them, particularly against taking away the Chalice in the Communion, and the Worship in an unknown Tongue. Upon which, Bomer set up a new Advertisement, and threatened to remove them, if these abuses were not corrected: And upon the Complaints made of those things, the free use of the Scriptures was afterwards much restrained. This Year the King added to his former Foundations, two Collegiat Churches at Burton upon Trent, and Thornton, consisting of a Dean and four Prebendaries apiece. Cranmer observing the Excesses in Bishops Tables, by which, under the name of Hospitality, so much was consumed in great Entertainments, that they were disabled from more necessary and profitable Acts of Charity, made a Regulation, that an Archbishop should not have above six Dishes of Meat, and four of Banquet; a Bishop not above five, of Meat, and four of Banquet; a Dean or Arth-deacon, not above four, and two of the one, and the other; and Inferior Church-men might not have above two Dishes. But this did not take effect; and Sumptuous Tables still continued; tho' the Revenues were much impaired; and thus besides the other ill Effects of these, a great part of the Church-rents goes for Entertaining the Rich, which should be applied to the Poor.

This
Book I. This Summer the King went to York, to meet his Nephew the King of Scotland, who promised him an Interview there. He was an Extraordinary Prince, a great Patron, both of Learning and Justice; but out of measure addicted to his Pleasures. The Clergy of Scotland were very Apprehensive of his seeing his Uncle, left King Henry might have persuaded him to follow the Copy he had set to his Neighbours: and they used such persuasions, that these seconded by a Message from France, diverted the King from his purpose. Here I shall digress a little, to give an account of the State of Scotland, at this time. The long Alliance between Scotland and France, made that Paris was the place where the Learned of that Nation had their Education: Yet after the Year 1412, Learning came to have more footing there, and Universities were set up in several Episcopal Sees. At the same time, some of Wickliff's Followers began to creep into Scotland; and one Resby, an Englishman, was burnt (1407) for teaching some Opinions contrary to the Pope's Authority. Some Years after that, Paul Craw, an Hussite and Bohemian, was burnt, for infusing the Opinions of that Party, into some at St. Andrews. About the end of that Century, Lollardy, as it was then called, was spread into many parts of the Diocess in Glasgow: For which, several Persons of Quality were accused: But they answered the Archbishop of that See, with such Assurance, that he dismissed them.
them; having admonished them, to content themselves with the Faith of the Church, and to beware of new Doctrines. The same Spirit of Ignorance, Immorality, and Superstition, had over-run the Clergy there, that was so much complained of in the other parts of Europe: only it may be supposed, that in Nations less Polite and Learned, it was in Proportion greater then it was elsewhere. The total neglect of the Pastoral Care, and the gross Scandals of the Clergy, possessed the People with such Prejudices against them, that they were easily disposed to hearken to new Preachers. Patrick Hamilton, nobly born, Nephew by his Father to the Earl of Aran, and to the Duke of Albany by his Mother, was bred up on design to be highly preferred; and had an Abbey given him for prosecuting his Studies. He went to travel, and in Germany grew acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, and being possessed with their Opinions, he returned to Scotland, and laid open the Errors and Corruptions then received in the Church. He was invited to St. Andrews, to confer concerning these Points, upon which he was condemned, and put in Prison. Articles were objected to him; and upon his refusing to abjure them, Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, with the Archbishop of Glasgow, 3 Bishops, and 5 Abbots, condemned him, as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered him to the Secular Power, and ordered the Execution to be
be that Afternoon; for the King had gone
in Pilgrimage to Ross; and they were
afraid, left upon his Return, Hamilton's
Friends might have interceded effectually
for him. He was tied to the Stake, and
expressed great Joyes in his Sufferings,
since by these he was to enter into Everlaft-
ing Life. A Train of Powder being fired, it
did not kindle the Fewel, but only burnt
his Face: So a stop was made till more
Powder was brought; and in that time
the Friars call'd oft to him to recant, and
pray to the Virgin, and to say the Salve
Regina: One Frier Campbel, was very
officious among the rest, who had been oft
with him in Prison. He answered him,
That he knew he was not an Heretick,
and had confess'd it to him in private; and
he charged him to answer for that to
God. By this time the Gun-powder was
brought, and the Fire was kindled, and
he died, often repeating these Words,
Lord Jesus receive my Soul. Campbel be-
came soon after, Frantick, and died with-
in a Year. Both these laid together, made
great Impressions on the People: And
now that these Points began to be inquir-
ed into, many received the new Opinions.
Seaton, a Dominican, the King's Confessor,
preaching in Lent, set out the Nature
of true Repentance, and the Method to
it, without mixing the Directions which
the Friars commonly gave on that Subject:
and when another Friar shewed the de-
ficiveness of what he had taught, he de-
fended
himself in another Sermon, and reflected on those Bishops that did not preach, and called them *dumb Dogs*. But the Clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill Terms with the King; and the freedom he used in reproving him for his Vices, quickly alienated the King from him, upon which they resolved to fall on him; but he withdrew into *England*, and wrote to the King, taxing the Clergy for their Cruelty, and praying him to restrain it. One *Forrest*, an ignorant Benedictine, was accused for having spoken Honourably of *Patrick Hamilton*, and was put in Prison. In Confession to a Friar, he acknowledged, he thought he was a good Man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. The Friar discovered this, and it was received as Evidence, and upon it he was condemned and burnt. Divers others were brought into the Bishop's Courts, of whom, the greatest part abjured; but two were more resolute: one *Gourley* denied Purgatory, and the Pope’s Authority; another was *David Smi- ton*, who being a Fisherman, had refused to pay the Tithe of his Fish; and when the Vicar came to take them, he said, the Tithe was taken where the Stock grew, and therefore he threw the tenth Fish into the Sea: For this and other Opinions, he was condemned, and they were both burnt at one Stake. Several others were accused; of whom some fled to England, and others went over to Germany. The Changes made in
England, raised in all the People a curiosity of searching into matters of Religion, and that was always fatal to Superstition. Pope Clement the 7th, wrote earnestly to the King of Scotland, to continue firm to the Catholick Faith: Upon which he called a Parliament, and made new Laws, for maintaining the Pope’s Authority, and proceeding against Hereticks; yet the Pope could not engage him to make War on England. King Henry sent Barlow, Bishop of St. Davids, to him, with some Books that were written in Defence of his Proceedings, and desired him to examine them Impartially. He also proposed the Interview at York, and a Match between him and Lady Mary, the King’s eldest Daughter; and promised that he should be made Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant of the whole Kingdom. Yet the Clergy diverted him from this, and persuaded him to go in Person to France, and court the Daughter of that King, Magdalene. He married her in January 1537; but she died in May. She had been bred in the Queen of Navarre’s Court, and so was well disposed towards the Reformation. Upon her Death, the King married Mary of Guise; she was a Branch of the Family of all Europe, that was most zealously addicted to the old Superstition; and her Interest joined with the Clergy’s, engaged the King to become a violent Persecuter of all that were of another mind.

The
The King was very expensive, both in his Pleasures, and Buildings; and had a numerous Race of Bastards; so that he came to want Money much. The Nobility proposed to him, the seizing on the Abbey-Lands, as his Uncle had done. The Clergy on the other hand advised him, to proceed severely against all suspected of Heresy: By which means, according to the Lists they shewed him, he might raise 100000 Crowns a Year: They also advised him to provide his Children to Abbies, and Priories; and represented to him, That if he continued steadfast in the old Religion, he would still have a great Party in England; and might be made the Head of a League, which was then in Project against King Henry. This so far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his Sons, Abbots and Priors, so he gave way to the persecuting Spirit of the Clergy: Upon which, many were cited to answer for Heresy; of these many abjured; and some were banished. A Canon Regular, a Secular Priest, two Friars, and a Gentleman, were burnt. Forrest, the Canon Regular, had been reproved by his Ordinary, the Bishop of Dunkell, for meddling with the Scriptures too much. He told him, he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Testament, but contented himself with his Portiose and Pontifical, and that he might come to repent it, if he troubled himself with such Fancies. The Archbishop of Glasgow, was
Book I. was a very moderate Man, and disliked cruel Proceedings. **Russel**, a Friar, and **Kennedy**, a young Man, of 18 Years of Age, were brought before him; they expressed wonderful Joy, and a steady Resolution in their Sufferings. And after a long dispute between **Russel** and the Bishop's Divines, **Russel** concluded, *This is your Hour, and the Power of Darkness; go on, and fill up the Measures of your Iniquities.* The Archbishop was unwilling to give Sentence; he said, he thought these Executions did the Church more Hurt than Good. But those about him, told him, He must not take a Way different from the rest of the Bishops; and threatened him so, that he pronounced Sentence. They were burned; but they gave such Demonstrations of Patience and Joy, as made no small Impression on all that saw it, or heard of it. Among those that were in trouble, George Buchanan was one, who at the King's Instigations, had writ a very sharp Poem against the Franciscans, but was now abandoned by him. He made his Escape, and lived 20 Years in Forraign Parts, and at last returned to do his Country Honour; and what by his Immortal Poems, what by his History of Scotland, he shewed both how great a Master he was in the Roman Tongue; and how true a Judge he was, both in Wit, and in the Knowledge of Human Affairs; (if Passion had not corrupted him towards the end of his History) that he is justly to be reckoned the...
the greatest and best of the Modern Writers. So much of the Affairs of Scotland, the Author's Native Country.

King Henry stayed not long at York, since his Nephew came not to him. He set out a Proclamation there, inviting all that had been of late oppressed, to come in and make their Complaints, and he promised to repair them. This was done to cast the Load of all past Errors upon Cromwel. The King was mightily wrought on by the Charms of his Wife; so that on the First of November, he gave publick thanks to God for the happy Choice he had made: But this did not last long; for the next day Cranmer came, and gave him an account of the Queen's ill Life, which one Lassells had revealed to him, as having learnt it from his Sister. She had been very lewd before her Marriage, both with one Deirham, and one Mannock. Cranmer, by the Advice of the other Privy Counsellors, put this in Writing, and delivered it to the King, not knowing how to open it in Discourse. The King was struck with it, and at first inclined to believe it was a Forgery; yet he ordered a strict enquiry to be made into it, but he quickly found Proof enough; for the Queen had so far cast off both Modesty, and the Fear of a Discovery, that several Women had been Witnesses to her Lewdness. It also appeared, that she had intended to continue in that ill Course, for she had brought Deirham into her Service; and at
Book I. at Lincoln, by the Lady Rochford's means, one Culpeper was brought to her in the Night, and stayed many Hours with her in a Cellar, and at his going away, she gave him a Gold Chain. The Queen, after a slight denial which she made at first, did at last confess all. Deirham, and Culpeper, were executed, and a Parliament was called upon it. When it met, a Committee was sent to examine the Queen: Their Report is recorded only in General, That she confessed, but no Particulars are mentioned. Upon that they passed an Act, in the Form of a Petition. 'In it they prayed the King, that the Queen and her Complices, with her Bawd the Lady Rochford, might be attainted of Treason: And that all those who knew of the Queen's Vicious Course before her Marriage, might be attainted of Misprision of Treason, for not revealing it to the King, before he married her. Among those were, her Father, and Mother, and her Grand-Mother, the Dutchess of Norfolk. It was also declared Treason, to know any thing of the Incontinence of any Queen for the future, and not to reveal it. And it was made Treason, in any whom the King intended to marry, judging they were Maids, not to reveal it, if they were not such. The Queen and the Lady Rochford were beheaded on the 14th of February. She confessed her Incontinence before her Marriage, but denied to the last that she had broken her
Wed-lock, tho the Lasciviousness of her former Life, made the World easy to believe the worst things of her. All observed the Judgments of God on the Lady Rochford, who had been so instrumental in the Ruine of Ann Bolleyn, and of her Husband: And when she, to whose Artifices their Fall was in a great Measure ascribed, was found to be so vile a Woman, it tended much to raise their Reputation again. The attainting her Kindred and Parents, for not discovering her former Lewdness, was thought extream Severity: for it had been a hard piece of Duty to the King, in them, to have discovered such a Secret: Yet tho they lay some time in Prison, the King pardoned them all afterwards, when his Rage was a little qualified. That other Proviso, obliging a young Woman to discover her own Faultiness, if the King should make Love to her, was thought a Piece of grievous Tyranny: And upon this, those that rallied that Sex, took occasion to say, that after this, none who was reputed a Maid, could be induced to marry the King: So that it was not so much choice, as necessity, that made him marry a Widow, two Years after. Some Hospitals were this Year resigned to the King; but there was good ground to question the Validity of those Deeds, because by their Statutes it was provided, that the Consent of all the Fellows, was necessary to make their Deeds good in Law. So those Statutes
The Bishops sitting in Convocation, took great pains to suppress the English Bible; but the King could not be prevailed on directly to call it in. So they complained much of the Translation then set out; and intended to procure a Condemnation of that, and then to set about a new one, in which it would be easy to put such Delayes, that it should not be finished in many Years. Gardiner did also propose a singular Conceit, that many of the Latin Words should be still retained in the English; for he thought they had either such a Majesty, or so peculiar a Signification, that they could not be fitly rendered. He proposed an hundred of those, and it seems hoped, that if this could be carried, the Translation would be so full of Latine Words, that the People should not understand it for all its being in English. Cranmer, perceiving that the Bible was the great Eye-sore of that Party; and that they were resolved to suppress it by all the means they could think of, procured an Order from the King, referring the Correction of the Translation to the two Universities. The Bishops took this very ill; and all of them, except the Bishops of Ely, and St. Davids, protested against it.

At this time Bonner, gave some Injunctions to his Clergy, which had a strain in
of the Reformation, &c.

in them, so far different from the other parts of his Life, that it is probable, he drew them not himself. 'He required his Clergy to read every day a Chapter in the Bible, with some Gloss upon it; and to study the Book set out by the Bishops: That they should employ no Curats, but such as he approved of: That they should take care to instruct young Children well, in the Principles of the Christian Religion: That they should not go to Taverns; nor use unlawful Games, chiefly on Sundays or Holy-days: That they should perform all the Duties of their Function, decently, and seriously: That they should suffer no Plays, nor Enterludes in Churches: And that in their Sermons, they should explain the Gospel and Epistle for the Day; and study to stir up the People to Good Works, and to Prayer; and should explain all the Ceremonies of the Church, but should forbear all railing or the reciting of fabulous Stories, and should chiefly set forth the Excellencies of Vertue, and the Vileness of Sin: and that none under the degree of a Bishop should preach without a License.

In the former times there had been few or no Sermons, except in Lent; for on Holy Days the Sermons were Panegyricks on the Saints, and on the virtue of their Relicks. But in Lent there was a more solemn way of preaching; and the Friars maintained their Credit much by the pathetick
Book I. the tick Sermons they preached in that time, by which they wrought much on the Affections of the People; yet these for the most part tended most to extol some of the Laws of the Church, as Fasting, Confession, and other Austerities, with the making Pilgrimages; but they were careful to acquaint the People as little as was possible, with the true Simplicity of Christianity, or the Scriptures; and they seemed to design rather to raise a sudden Heat, than to work a real Change in their Auditors. They had also mixt so much out of Legends with their Sermons, that the People came to disbelieve all that they said for the sake of those Fabulous things, with which their Sermons were embosed. The Reformers took great care to instruct their Hearers in the Fundamentals of Religion, of which they had known little formerly: This made the Nation run after these Teachers with a wonderful Zeal; but they mixed too much Sharpness against the Friars in their Sermons, which was judged indecent in them to do; tho' their Hypocrisy and Cheats did in a great measure excuse those Heats: and it was observed that our Saviour had expos'd the Pharisees in so plain a manner, that it did very much justify the treating them with some Roughness; yet it is not to be denied but Resentments for the Cruelties they or their Friends had suffered by their means, might have too much Influence on them. This made it seem necessary to suffer none to preach, at least out of their own Parishes, without
without Licence, and many were licensed to preach as Itinerants. There was also a Book of Homilies on all the Epistles and Gospels in the Year, put out, which contained a plain Paraphrase of those Parcels of Scripture; together with some practical Exhortations founded on them. Many Complaints were made of those that were licensed to preach, and that they might be able to justify themselves, they began generally to write and read their Sermons: and thus did this Custom begin, in which, what is wanting in the heat and force of Delivery, is much made up by the strength and solidity of the Matter; and has produced many Volumes of as excellent Sermons, as have been preached in any Age. Plays and Enterludes were a great Abuse in that time; in them Mock-Representations were made both of the Clergy and of the Pageantry of their Worship. The Clergy complained much of these as an Introduction to Atheism, when things Sacred were thus laught at; and said, They that begun to laugh at Abuses, would not cease till they had represented all the Mysteries of Religion as ridiculous: The graver sort of Reformers did not approve of it, but political Men encouraged it; and thought nothing would more effectually pull down the Abuses, that yet remained, than the exposing them to the scorn of the Nation.

A War did now break out between England and Scotland at the Instigation of the King of France. King Henry set out a
Book I. Declaration, pretending that the Crown of Scotland owed Homage to him: and cited many Precedents to shew that Homage was done not only by their Kings, but by consent of the States; for which Original Records were appealed to. The Scots on the other hand, asserted that they were a free and independent Kingdom; that the Homages antiently made by their Kings, were only for Lands which they had in England; and that those more lately made, were either offered by Pretenders in the case of a doubtful Title, or were extorted by Force: And they said, their Kings could not give up the Rights of a free Crown and People. The Duke of Norfolk made an In-road into Scotland, with 26000 Men in October: but after he had burnt some small Towns, and wasted Teviotdale, he returned back to England. In the end of November an Army of 15000 Scots with a good Train of Artillery, was brought together: They intended to march into England by the Western Road. The King went to it in Person; but he was at this time, much disturbed in his Fancy, and thought the Ghost of one whom he had unjustly put to death, followed him continually; he not only left the Army, but sent a Commission to Oliver Sinclare, then called his Mission, to command in chief. This disquieted the Nobility very much, who were become weary of the Insolence of that Favourite: so they refused to march, and were beginning to separate. While they were in this Disorder,
Disorder, 500 English appeared, and they apprehending it was a fore Party of the Duke of Norfolk's Army, refused to fight; so the English fell upon them and dispersed them: they took all their Ordinance and Baggage, and 1000 Prisoners, of whom 200 were Gentlemen. The chief of these were the Earls of Glencarn and Cassilis: The News of this so over-charged the Melancholy King, that he died soon after, leaving only an Infant Daughter newly born to succeed him. The Lords that were taken, were brought up to London, and lodged in the Houses of the English Nobility: Cassilis was sent to Lambeth, where he received those Seeds of Knowledge, which produced afterwards a great Harvest in Scotland. The other Prisoners were also instructed to such a degree, that they came to have very different Thoughts of the Changes that had been made in England, from what the Scotch Clergy had possessed them with; who had encouraged their King to engage in the War, both by the assurance of Victory, since he fought against an Heretical Prince, and the Contribution of 50000 Crowns a Year. The King's Death, and the Crowns falling to his Daughter, made the English Council lay hold on this as a proper Conjuncture for uniting the whole Island in one: therefore they sent for the Scotch Lords, and proposed to them, the marrying the Prince of Wales to their young Queen: this the Scots liked very well, and promised to pro-
Book I. mote it all they could: And so upon their
giving Hostages for the performing their
Promises faithfully, they were sent home,
and went away much pleased both with the
Splendor of the King's Court, and with the
way of Religion which they had seen in
England.

A Parliament was called, in which the
King had great Subsidies given him, of
six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in
three Years. A Bill was proposed for the
advancement of true Religion, by Cranmer,
and some other Bishops; for the Spirits of
the Popish Party were much fallen ever
since the last Queen's Death; yet at this
time a Treaty was set on foot between the
King and the Emperour, which raised
them a little: for since the King was like
to engage in a War with France, it was
necessary for him to make the Emperour
his Friend. Cranmer's Motion was much
opposed, and the timorous Bishops for-
took him; yet he put it as far as it would
go, tho in most Points things went against
him; 'By it Tindall's Translation of the
Bible was condemned as crafty and false,
and also all other Books contrary to the
Doctrine set forth by the Bishops. But
Bibles of another Translation, were still
allowed to be kept, only all Prefaces or
Annotations that might be in them, were
to be dashed or cut out: All the King's
Injunctions were confirmed: No Books
of Religion might be printed without
Licence; there was to be no Exposition
of
of Scripture in Plays or Enterludes; none of the Laity might read the Scripture, or explain it in any publick Assembly: But a Proviso was made for publick Speeches, which then began generally with a Text of Scripture, and were like Sermons. Noblemen, Gentlemen and their Wives, or Merchants might have Bibles, but no ordinary Woman, Tradesman, Apprentice, or Husbandman, might have any. Every Person might have the Book set out by the Bishops, and the Pflalter, and other Rudiments of Religion in English. All Churchmen that preached contrary to that Book, for the first Offence, were only required to recant; for the second, to abjure and carry a Faggot; but were to be burnt for the third: the Laity for the third Offence were only to forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and to be liable to perpetual Imprisonment; but they were to be proceeded against within a Year: The Parties accused, were not allowed Witnesses for their Purgation. The Act of the six Articles was confirmed, and it was left free to the King, to change this Act, or any Proviso in it. There was also a new Act past, giving Authority to the King's Proclamations, and any nine Privy Counsellours were empowered to proceed against Offenders: To this the Lord Mountjoy dissented, and it is the only Instance of any Protestation against any of the publick Acts that past in this whole Reign. By the Act about Religion, as the Laity were delivered from
from the fear of Burning; so the Clergy might not be burnt but upon the third Conviction. The Act being also put entirely in the King's Power, he had now the Reformers all at mercy; for he could bind up the Act, or execute it as he pleased: and he affected this much to have his People depend entirely upon him. The League offensive and defensive for England and Calais, and for the Netherlands, was sworn by the King and the Emperour: and Assurances were given, that tho' the King would not declare Lady Mary legitimate, upon which the Emperour insisted much, yet she should be put in the Succession to the Crown next Prince Edward. The Emperour was glad thus to engage the Kings of England and France in a War, by which the Germans were left without Support, and so he resolved to carry on his great design of making himself Master of Germany.

In Scotland the Earl of Arran, Hamilton, next in Blood to the young Queen, was established in the Government during the Queen's Minority: he was a Man of great Vertue, and much inclined to the Reformation; but was soft and easie to be wrought on. King Henry sent Sir Ralph Sadler to him, to induce him to set forward the Match; and to offer him Lady Elizabeth to his Son. It was agreed and confirmed in Parliament, that the Young Queen should be bred in Scotland till she was ten Years old; the King of England sending a Nobleman and his Lady with others not exceed-
of the Reformation, &c.

exceeding twenty, to wait on her: and after that Age, she was to be sent to England; and in the mean while six Hostages were to be given: but all the Clergy headed by Cardinal Beaton, set themselves much against this. The Queen-Mother opposed it much, and it was also said, a Match with the French, would be more for the Interest of the Nation, who being at so great a distance, could not oppress them so easily as the English might: for if the French oppress them, the English would be ready to protect them, but if they came under the Yoke of England, they could expect no Protection from any other Prince. This meeting with that Antipathy that was then formed between the two Nations, and being inflamed by the Clergy, turned the People generally to prefer a Match with France, to that which was proposed for the Prince of Wales. The French sent over the Earl of Lennox to make a Party against the Governor; they sent also over the Governor's Base-Brother, afterwards made Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, to take him out of the hands of the English: and he made him apprehend great danger if he went on in his Opposition to the Interests of Rome, that he would be declared illegitimate, as being begotten in a second Marriage, while the first that was annulled because of a Precontract, did subsist; for if the annulling the first should be reversed, then the second could be of no force; and if that were once done, the Earl of Lennox, who was next to

Book I.

1543.
Book I. to him in blood, would be preferred to him: These threatnings joined with his Brother's Artifices, had their full Effect on him: for he turned off wholly from the Interests of England, and gave himself up to the French Councils. When it was thus resolved to break the Match with England; the Lords that had left Hostages for their faithful performing the Promises they made to King Henry, were little concerned either in their own Honour, or in the safety of their Hostages: only the Earl of Cassilis, thought it was unworthy of him, to break his Faith in such a manner; so he came into England, and put himself in King Henry's Hands, who upon that called him another Regulus, but used him better; for he gave him his Liberty and a Noble Present, and sent him back with his Hostages, but resolved to take a severe Reparation of those who had failed him in that Kingdom. At the same time he began the War with France; one of the Reasons he gave for it was, that Francis had failed in the matter of shaking off the Pope's Authority, and advancing a Reformation, in which he had promised to second him.

The King married Katherine Parre, Widow to Nevill, Lord Latimer: She secretly favoured the Reformation, but could not divert a Storm which fell then on a Society at Windsor. Persson a Priest, Testwood and Marbeck, two Singing-men, and Filmer, one of the Town, were informed against by Dr. London, who had insinuated himself

Some burnt at Windsor.
Book I

1543.

himself much into Cromwell's Favour, and was eminently zealous in the Suppression of the Monasteries: But now he made his Court no less dextrously to the Popish Party. Gardiner moved in Council, That a Commission might be granted for searching all suspected Houses, for Books written against the six Articles: So the four before mentioned, were found to have some of them; and upon that account were seized on. Sir Philip Hobbey, and Dr. Hains, Dean of Exeter, were also put in Prison. There was a Concordance of the Bible, and some Notes upon it, in English, found written by Marbeck, which was look'd on as the Work of some learned Man, for it was known that he was illiterate. Marbeck said, the Notes were his own, gathered by him, out of such Books as he fell on. And for the Concordance, he said, he compiled it by the help of a Latin Concordance, and an English Bible, tho' he understood little Latin. He had brought it to the Letter L. This seemed so incredible, that it was look'd on only as a Pretence to conceal the true Author; so to try him, they gave him some Words of the Letter M, and shut him up, with a Latin Concordance, and an English Bible; and by his Performance in that, they clearly saw, that the whole Work was his own, and were not a little astonished at the Ingeniousness and Diligence of so poor a Man. When the King heard of it, he said, Marbeck was better employed than
they were that examined him: So he was preserved, tho' the other three were condemned, for some Words which they had spoken against the Mafs, and upon that were burnt. Dr. London, and Simonds an Attorney, had taken some Informations against several Persons of Quality at Court, and intended to have carried the Design very high. But a great Pocquet, in which all their Project was disclosed by them, being intercepted, they were sent for, and examined about it; but they denied it upon Oath, not knowing that their Letters were taken; and were not a little confounded when their own Handwriting was shewed them. So they were convicted of Perjury, and were set on a Pillory, and made ride about with their Faces to the Horses Tails, and Papers on their Breasts, in three several Places, which did so affect Dr. London, that he died soon after.

The chief thing aimed at by the whole Popish Party was Cranmer's Ruine; Gardiner imploied many to infuse it into the King, that he gave the chief Encouragement to Heresy of any in England, and that it was in vain to lop off the Branches, and leave the Root still growing. The King till then would never hear the Complaints that were made of him: But now to penetrate into the depth of this Design, he was willing to draw out all that was to be said against him. Gardiner reckoned, that this Point being gained, all the rest would follow;
follow: And judged, that the King was now alienated from him; and so more Instruments and Artifices than ever were now made use of. A long Paper, of many Particulars, both against Cranmer, and his Chaplains, was put in the King's hands. So upon this the King sent for him; and after he had complained much of the Heresy in England, he said, He resolved to find out the chief Promoter of it, and to make him an Example. Cranmer wished him first to consider well what Heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as Hereticks, who stood for the Word of God against humane Inventions. Then the King told him frankly, That he was the Man complained of, as most guilty; and shewed him all the Informations that he had received against him. Cranmer confessed, he was still of the same mind that he was of when he opposed the six Articles, and submitted himself to a Trial: He confessed many things to the King; in particular, that he had a Wife, but he said he had sent her out of England, when the Act of the six Articles past; and expressed so great a Sincerity, and put so entire a Confidence in the King, that instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than formerly. The King commanded him to appoint some to examine the Contrivance that was laid to destroy him. He answered, That it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a Cause, in which himself was concerned: Yet the King was positive; so he
so he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was found out. It appeared, that Gardiner, and Dr. London, had been the chief Sticklers, and had encouraged Informers to appear against him. Cranmer did not press the King to give him any Reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive Injuries, and to do Good for Evil, that it was commonly said, that the best way to obtain his Favour, was to do him an Injury; of this he gave signal Instances at this time, both in Relation to some of the Clergy and Laiety; by which it appeared that he was acted by that meek and lowly Spirit, that became all the Followers of Christ; but more particularly one, that was so great an Instrument in reforming the Christian Religion; and did in such eminent Acts of Charity, shew that he himself practised that, which he taught others to do.

A Parliament was now called, in which the great Act of Succession to the Crown past: 'By it the Crown was first provided to Prince Edward and his Heirs, or the Heirs by the King's present Marriage; after them to Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, and in case they had no Issue, or did not observe such Limitations or Conditions as the King should appoint, then it was to fall to any other whom the King should name, either by his Letters Patents, or by his last Will signed with his Hand. An Oath was appointed both against the Pope's Supremacy, and for the maintaining the
Succession according to this Act, which all were required to take, under the pains of Treason: It was made Treason to say or write any thing contrary to this Act, or to the Slander of any of the King’s Heirs named in it. By this, tho the King did not Legitimate his Daughters, yet it was made Criminal for any to object Bastardy to them. Another Act past, qualifying the Severity of the Act of the Six Articles; none were to be imprisoned but upon a Legal Presentment, except upon the King’s Warrant. None was to be challenged for Words, but within a Year; nor for a Sermon, but within 40 Days. This was made to prevent such Conspiracies as had been discovered the former Year. Another Act past, renewing the Authority given to 32 to reform the Ecclesiastical Law, which Cranmer promoted much; and to set it forward, he drew out of the Canon Law, a Collection of many things against the Regal, and for the Papal Authority, with several other very Extra-vagant Propositions, to shew how Indecent a thing it was, to let a Book, in which such things were, continue still in any credit in England: But he could not bring this to any good Issue, during this Reign. Another Act past, discharging all the King’s Debts; and they also required such as had received payment to bring back the Money into the Exchequer. This was taxed as a piece of gross Injustice; and it was thought strange, that since the King had done
done this once before, he could have the credit to raise more Mony, and be tempted to do it a second time. A General Pardon was granted, out of which, Heresy was excepted.

The King was now engaged in a War, both with France and Scotland; and to make his Treasure hold out the longer, he embased the Coin in a very Extraordinary manner. The Earl of Hartford was sent with an Army by Sea to Scotland; he landed at Grantham, a little above Leith. He burnt both Leith and Edinburgh; but he neither stayed to take the Cattle of Edinburgh, nor did he Fortify Leith, but only waited the Country, all the Way from that to Berwick. He did too much if it was intended to gain the Hearts of that Nation; and too little if it was intended to subdue them; for this did only inflame their Spirits more, by which, they were so united in their Aversion to England, that the Earl of Lennox, who had been cast off by France, and was gone over to the English Interest, could make no Party in the West, but was forced for his own Preservation to fly into England. Audley the Chancellour, dying at this time, Wriothesly, that was of the Popish Party, was put in his place: And Dr. Petre, that was hitherto Cranmer's Friend, was made Secretary of State: So equally did the King keep the Ballance between both Parties, and being to cross the Seas, he left a Commission for the Administration of Affairs, during
during his Absence, to the Queen, the Archbishop, the Chancellour, the Earl of Hartford, and Secretary Petre: And if they should have any occasion to raise any Force, he appointed the Earl of Hartford, his Lieutenant. He gave order also to Translate the Prayers, and Processions, and Litanies, into the English Tongue, which gave the Reformers some hopes again; that he had not quite cast off his Designes of corrupting such Abuses, as had crept into the Worship of God. And they hoped, That the Reasons which prevailed with the King for this, would also induce him to order a Translation, of all the other Offices into the English Tongue.

The King crossed the Sea with great Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He sat down before Bulloign, and took it after a Siege of two Months. It was soon after very near being retaken by a Surprise, but the Garrison being quickly put in order, beat out the French. Thus the King returned Victorious; and was as much flattered for taking this single Town, as if he had conquered a Kingdom. The Inroads that were made into Scotland this Winter, were InSuccessful.

The King of France set out a Fleet of above 300 Ships; and the King set out a hundred Sail: On both sides they were only Merchant-men hired upon this Occasion. The French made two Descents upon England, but was beat back with loss.
The English made a Descent in Norway, and burnt some Towns. The Princes of Germany saw their Danger, if this War went on; for the Pope and Emperour had made a League for procuring Obedience to the Council, that was now opened at Trent. The Emperour was raising an Army, tho' he had made Peace both with the King of France, and the Turk; and was resolved to make good use of this Opportunity, the two Crowns being now in War. So the Germans sent to mediate a Peace between them: but it stuck long at the business of Bullsgn.

Lee, Archbishop of York, died this Year. Holgate was removed from Landaffé thither, who in his Heart favoured the Reformation. Kitchin was put in Landaffé, who turned with every Change that was made. Heath was removed from Rochester to Worcester; and Holbeach was put in Rochester. Day was made Bishop of Chichester. All those were moderate Men, and well disposed to a Reformation, at least to comply with it.

This Year Wishart was burnt in Scotland: He was Educated at Cambridge, and went home the former Year. In many places he preached against Idolatry, and the other Abuses in Religion. He stayed long at Dundee; but by the means that Cardinal Beaton used, he was driven out of that Town; and at his Departure, he denounced heavy Judgments on them, for rejecting the Gospel. He went and preach-
Ed in many other places, and Enterance to the Churches being denied him, he preached in the Fields. He would not suffer the People to open the Church Doors by Violence, for that, he said, became not the Gospel of Peace which he preached to them. He heard the Plague had broke out in Dundee, within four Days after he was banished; so he returned thither, and took care of the Sick, and did all the Offices of a faithful Pastor among them. He shewed his Gentleness towards his Enemies, by rescuing a Priest that was coming to kill him, but was discovered, and was like to have been torn in pieces by the People. He foretold several extraordinary things; particularly his own Sufferings, and the Spreading the Reformation over the Land. He preached last in Lothian, and there the Earl of Bothwel took him, but promised upon his Honour, that no harm should be done him; yet he delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to St. Andrews, and called a Meeting of Bishops thither, to destroy him with the more Solemnity. The Governor being much press'd to it, by a Worthy Gentleman of his Name, Hamilton of Preston, sent the Cardinal word not to proceed against him, till he should come and hear the Matter examined himself. But the Cardinal went on, and in a publick Court condemned him as an Heretick, upon several Articles that were objected to him, which he confessed, and offered to justify.
The Night after that he spent in Prayer; next Morning he desired he might have the Sacrament according to Christ's Institution in both kinds; but that being denied him, he consecrated the Elements himself, and some about him were willing to communicate with him. He was carried out to the Stake near the Cardinal's Palace; who was set in State in a great Window, and looked on this sad Spectacle. Wishart declared that he felt much Joy within himself, in offering up his Life for the Name of Christ, and exhorted the People not to be offended at the Word of God, for the sake of the Cross. After the Fire was set to and was burning him, he said, 'This Flame hath scorched my Body, but hath not daunted my Spirits;' and he foretold that the Cardinal should in a few days be ignominiously laid out in that very place where he now sat in so much State; but as he spoke that, the Executioner drew the Cord that was about his Neck so strait, that these were the last Words.

The Clergy rejoiced much at his Death, and extolled the Cardinal's Courage, for proceeding in it against the Governour's Orders. But the People look'd on him as both a Prophet and a Martyr. It was also said that his Death was no less than Murder, since no Writ was obtained for it; and the Clergy could burn none without a Warrant from the Secular Power: so it was inferred that the Cardinal deserved to dy for it; and if his Greatness set him above
above the Law, then Private Persons might execute that which the Governor could not do: Such Practices had been formerly too common in that Kingdom; and now upon this occasion some Gentlemen of Quality came to think it would be an Heroical Action to conspire his Death. His Insolence had rendered him generally very hateful: so private and publick Sentiments concurring, twelve Persons entered into a fatal Engagement of killing him privately in his House. On the 30th of May, they first surprized the Gate early in the Morning, and tho there were an hundred lodged in the Castle, yet they being asleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or shut them up in their Chambers: Having made all sure, they came to the Cardinal's Chamber-door; he was fast asleep, but by their Rudeness, he was both awakened, and perceived they had a design on his Life: upon the assurance of Life, he opened his Door, but they did cruelly and treacherously murder him, and laid out his Body in the same Window, from which he had looked on Wisbarts Execution. Some few justified this Fact, as the killing of a Robber and Murderer; but it was more generally condemned by all sorts of People, even by those who hated him most; yet the Accomplishment of Wisbarts's Prediction made great Impressions on many. On the other hand, it was afterwards observed that scarce any of the Conspirators died an ordinary Death. They kept out
the Castle, and about 140 came in to them, and they held it near two Years, being assisted both by Mony and Provisions that were sent from England. They had also the Government at their Mercy, for they kept his eldest Son, whom the Cardinal had taken into his Care for his Education. An Absolution was brought from Rome, and a Pardon was offered them; and at last, being straitened both at Sea and Land, they rendered the Place upon Assurance of Life. This Infamous Action was a great Blemish upon the Reformers, who, tho they did not directly justify it, yet extenuated it, and gave it some Countenance; for two of them went in and preached to the Garrison in the Castle.

In England, a Parliament met, in which as the Spirituality gave a Subsidy of six Shillings in the Pound, payable in two Years; so the Temporality not only gave a Subsidy for the War, but confirmed all the Surrenders that had been made of Chantries, Chappels, Colledges, Hospitals, and other Foundations, for saying Masses for departed Souls: and they empowered the King during his Life to grant Commissions for seizing on the rest of them. Yet the King found this was like to give new Discontent to the Gentry, to whom these belonged, so he made but a small Progress in it, and many were reserved to his Sons Courtiers to feed on. The King dismissed the Parliament with a long Speech, 'In which after he had thanked them for their Bills
of the Reformation, &c. Book I.

Bills, he exhorted them to Charity and Concord in matters of Religion; and to forbear all Terms of Reproach, such as Papist and Heretick: he complained much of the Stifness of some Church-men, and of the Indiscretion of others, who both gave ill Example, and sowed the Seeds of Discord among the Laity. He, as God's Vicar, thought himself bound to see these things corrected: he reproved the Temporality for the ill use they made of the Scripture; for instead of being taught out of it to live better, and to be more charitable to one another, they only railed at one another, and made Songs out of it, to disgrace those that differed from them; so he exhorted them to serve God, and love one another, which he would esteem the best Expression of their Duty and Obedience to him. The King had appointed a Distribution of 550 l. a year in several Cathedrals, for the Poor, and about 400 l. for High-ways; so this Year some Bishops were appointed to see whether those Payments were made as he had ordered or not. The Universities were now in danger of having their Colledges suppressed, but upon their Applications to the King, they were delivered from their Fears.

Now came on the last Year of this Reign, the War with France was this Year unsuccessful, but upon the Earl of Surrey's being recalled, and the Earl of Hartford's being sent in his room, things turned a little.
Book I. This raised such Animosity between those two Lords, that they became fatal to the former. The two Kings were at last brought to consent to a Peace; the main Article of it was, that within eight Years Buligoine should be delivered up, the taking and keeping of which, cost England 1300000l. Upon this Peace Annebault the French Admiral, was sent over Ambassadour. The Council of Trent was now sitting, Paul was made a Legate to do the King the more Spite: the Emperor and the Pope governed it as they pleased: so the two Crowns resolved to unite more firmly; particularly it was proposed, that the Mass should be turned to a Communion; and Cranmer was ordered to prepare the Office for it. But this was too great a Design for two old Kings to accomplish.

There was at this time a new Prosecution of those that denied the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, Shaxton was accused of some Words about it, but he abjured, and complied so entirely, that soon after he preached the Sermon at the burning of Anne Aiscough; he made no noise all King Edward's time, yet in Queen Mary's Reign, he was a Persecutor of Protestants, but was so little esteemed, that tho' he had been Bishop of Salisbury, he was raised no higher than to be Bishop Suffragan of Ely. Several other Persons were at this time indicted upon the same Statute, but most of them recanted; Anne Aiscough stood
stood firm, she was descended from a good Family, and had been well educated, but was unhappily married; for her Husband being a violent Papist, drove her out of his Houfe, when he discovered her Inclina-
tions to the Reformation; she was put in Prison on the account of the Sacrament, but signed a Recantation, and so was set at Liberty; yet not long after she was com-
mited again upon a new Complaint, and was examined before the Privy Council, but answered with extraordinary Resoluti-
on; yet it was thought by some that she was too forward in her manner of speaking: she had been much at Court, and it was believed she was supported by some Ladies there: so in order to the Discovery of this, she was carried to the Tower and rack'd; yet she confess'd nothing. Wriothesly was present, and commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to draw the Rack a little more, but he refused to do it; upon which the Chancellour laid aside his Gown and drew it himself with so much Force, as if he had intended to rend her Body asunder; and the Effects of this were so violent, that she was not able to go to Smithfield, but was carried thither in a Chair when she was burnt: Two others were also con-
demned on the same account, and Shaxton to compleat his Apostacy, after he had in vain endeavoured to perswade them to ab-
jure, preached the Sermon at their Burn-
ing, in which he inveighed severely against their Errors. The Lord Chancellour came to
to Smithfield, and offered them their Pardons if they would recant, but they chose rather to glorify God by their Deaths, than to dishonour him by so foul an Apostacy. There were two burnt in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, on the same account this Year.

But the Popish Party hoped to have greater Sacrifices offered up to their Revenge: They had laid a Train last Year for Cranmer, and they had laid one now for the Queen. They persuaded the King, that Cranmer was the Source of all the Heresy that was in England; but the King's Partiality to him was such, that none would come in against him: So they desired, that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him. The King seemed to consent to this; and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the Night the King sent for Cranmer, and told him, what was resolved concerning him. Cranmer thanked the King for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be surprised. He submitted to it, only he desired he might be heard answer for himself; and that he might have indifferent Judges who understood those matters. The King wondered to see him so little concerned in his own Preservation; but told him, he must take care of him, since he took so little care of himself. The King therefore gave him Instructions to appear before the Council, and to desire to see his Accusers before he
he should be sent to the Tower; and that he might be used by them, as they would desire to be used in the like Case: And if he could not prevail by the force of Reason, then he was to appeal to the King in Person, and was to shew the King's Seal-Ring, which he took from his Finger and gave him; and they knew it all so well, that they would do nothing after they once saw that; so he being summoned next Morning, came over to White-Hall: He was kept long in the Lobbey before he was called in: But when that was done, and he had observed the Method the King had ordered him to use, and had at last shewed the Ring, they rose all in great Confusion, and went to the King. He chid them severely for what they had done, and expresed his Esteem and Kindness to Cranmer, in such Terms, that his Enemies were glad to get off, by pretending, that they had no other Design, but to have his Innocence declared in a publick Trial; and were now so convinced of the King's unalterable Favour to him, that they never made any more Attempts upon him.

But what they durst not do in Relation to Cranmer, they thought might be more safely tried against the Queen, who was known to love the New Learning, which was the common Phrase for the Reformation. She used to have Sermons in her Privy Chamber, which could not be so secretly carried, but that it came to the King's Knowledge. Yet her Conduct in all other things
things was so exact, and she expressed such a tender care of the King's Person, that it was observed, she had gained much upon him; but his Peevishness, growing with his Distempers, made him sometimes uneasily, even to her. They used often to talk of Matters of Religion; and sometimes she held up the Argument for the Reformers so stifly, that he was offended at it; yet as soon as that appeared, she let it fall; but once the Debate continuing long, the King expressed his Displeasure at it to Gardiner, when she went away. He took hold of this Opportunity, to persuade the King, that she was a great Cherisher of Hereticks. Wriothesly joined with him in the same Artifice, and filled the angry King's Head with many Stories; in so much, that he signed the Articles upon which she was to be Impeached. But Wriothesly let that Paper fall from him carelessly, and it happened to be taken up by one of the Queen's Friends, who carried it to her: Upon which she went to the King, and brought on a Discourse of Religion; and after a little Opposition, she yielded, and seemed convinced by the King's Reasons, and told him, That she only held up that Argument to be instructed by him, and sometimes to engage him in Discourse, and so to make him forget his pains; and this she seconded with such Flattery, that he was perfectly satisfied, and reconciled to her. Next day, as he was walking with her in the Garden, Wriothesly
of the Reformation, 

The ly came thither on design to have carry-
ed her to the Tower; but the King chid
him severely for it, and was heard to call
him Knave and Fool. The good natured
Queen interposed to mitigate his Dis-
pleasure, but the King told her, She had
no reason to be concerned for him: Thus
the Design against her, vanished; and
Gardiner that had set it on, lost the King's
Favour entirely by it.

But now the Fall of the Duke of Nor-
folk, and his Son the Earl of Surry, came
on. The Father had been long Treasu-
er, and had served the King with great
Fidelity and Success: His Son was a Man
of rare Qualities; he had a great Wit,
and was more than ordinary learned.
He particularly hated the Earl of Hart-
ford, and scorned an Alliance with him,
which his Father had projected. The
Duke of Norfolk had intended to unite
his Family to the Seimours, by marrying
his Son to the Earl of Hartford's Daughter;
and his Daughter the Duchess of Rich-
mond, to Sir Thomas Seimour: But both
his Children refused to comply with him
in it. The Seimours were apprehensive of
the Opposition they might meet with, if
the King should die, from the Earl of Sur-
ry, who was a high spirited Man, had a
vast Fortune, and was the Head of the Po-
pish Party. It was likewise suspected, that
he kept himself unmarried in hopes of
marrying the Lady Mary. The Duke's
Family was also fatally divided: His
Duchess
Dutchess had been separated from him about four Years, and now turned Informer against him. His Daughter did also hate her Brother, and was a Spy upon him. One Holland, a Whore of the Duke's, did also betray him, and discovered all she could; yet all amounted to no more than some Complaints of the Fathers, who thought the Services he had done the Crown were little regarded; and some Threatnings of the Sons. It was also said, that the Father gave the Coat of Arms that belonged to the Prince of Wales, and the Son gave Edward the Confessors Coat; but that was only a Pretence to make a noise among the People, and to cover the want of more important matter against them. One Southwel objected things of a higher Nature to the Earl of Surry. He denied them, and desired, that according to the Martial Law, they might have a Trial by Combate, and fight in their Shirts: But that was not granted; yet both Father and Son were put in the Tower.

The Earl of Surry was tried by a Jury of Commoners, and was found guilty of Treason; and executed on the 19th of January. He was much lamented; and the Blame of his Death being cast on the Seemours, raised a General Odium against them. The old Duke saw a Parliament called to destroy him by an Act of Attainder, for there was not matter enough to ruine him at Common Law; so to prevent that
that he made such humble Submission to the King, as would have mollified any that had not Bowels of Brafs. He wrote to him,

' That he had spent his whole Life in his Service, without having so much as a Thought to his Prejudice. He had obeyed all the King's Laws, and was resolved to obey all that ever he should make. He begged that he might be heard, with his Accusers face to face. He prayed that the King would take all his Lands, and Goods, and only restore him to his Favour, and grant him such an Allowance to live on, as he thought fit. He went further, and set his Hand to a Confession of several Crimes; as 1. His revealing the Secrets of the King's Council. 2. His concealing his Son's Treason, in giving the Arms of Edward the Confessor. 3. His own giving the Arms of England, with the Labels of Silver which belonged only to the Prince, which he acknowledged was High Treason, and therefore he begged the King's Mercy. But all this had no effect on the King, tho' his drawing so near his end, ought to have begot in him a greater regard to the shedding of Innocent Blood.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able to come to Westminster, but he sent his Pleasure to them by a Commission. He intended to have Prince Edward Crowned Prince of Wales; and therefore desired they would make all possible haste in the

And the Duke attainted by all of Parliament.
Book I. Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, that so the Places which he held by Patent, might be disposed of to others, who should assist at the Coronation; which, tho' it was a very slight Excuse, for so high a piece of Injustice, yet it had that effect, that in seven Days, both Houses past the Bill. On the 27th of January, the Royal Assent was given by those Commissioned by the King; and the Execution was ordered to be next Morning. There was no special Matter in the Act, but that of the Coat of Arms, which he and his Ancestors were used to give, according to Records in the Herald's Office; so that this was condemned by all Persons, as a most Inexcusable Act of Tyranny. But the Night after this, the King died, and it was thought contrary to the Decencies of Government, to begin a new Reign with so Unjustifiable an Act, as the beheading of the old Duke; and so he was preserved: Yet both Sides made Inferences from this Calamity that fell on him. The Papists said, It was God's just Judgment on him, for his Obsequiousness to King Henry. But the Protestants said, It was a just return on him, for what he had done against Cromwell, and many others, on the account of the six Articles. Cranmer would not meddle in this Matter, but that he might be out of the way, he retired to Croydon, whereas Gardiner that had been his Friend all along, continued still about the Court.
The King's Distemper had been growing long upon him. He was become so corpulent, that he could not go up and down stairs, but made use of an ingine, when he intended to walk in his Garden, by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old sore in his leg, that pain ed him much; the humours of his body discharging themselves that way, till at last all settled in a dropfy. Those about him were afraid to let him know that his death seemed near, lest that might have been brought within the statute of foretelling his death, which was made treason. His will was made ready, and as it was given out, was signed by him on the 30th of December. He had made one at his last going over to France. All the change that he made at this time was, that he ordered Gardiner's name to be struck out, for in that formerly made, he was named one of the executors. When Sir Anthony Brown endeavoured to persuade him not to put that disgrace on an old servant, he continued positive in it; for he said, he knew his temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a trust. The most material thing in the will, was, the preferring the children of his second sister, by Charles Brandon, to the children of his eldest sister the queen of Scotland, in the succession to the crown. Some objections.
ons were made to the Validity and Truth of the Will. It was not signed by the King's Hand, as it was directed by the Act of Parliament, but only stamped with his Name; and it was said, this was done when he was dying, without any Order given for it by himself; for proof of which, the Scots that were most concerned, appealed to many Witnesses; and chiefly, to a Deposition which the Lord Paget had made, who was then Secretary of State. On his Death-bed he finished the Foundation of Trinity-Colledge in Cambridge, and of Christ's-Church Hospital near Newgate; yet this last was not so fully settled as was needful, till his Son compleated what he had begun.

On the 27th of January, his Spirits sunk so, that it was visible he had not long to live. Sir Anthony Denny took the courage to tell him, that Death was approaching, and desired him to call on God for his Mercy. The King expressed in general his Sorrow for his past Sins, and his Trust in the Mercies of God in Christ Jesus. He ordered Cranmer to be sent for, but he was speechless before he could be brought from Croydon; yet he gave a Sign that he understood what he said to him, and soon after, he died, in the 57th Year of his Age, after he had reigned 37 Years, and nine Months. His Death was concealed three days, for the Parliament which was dissolved with his last Breath, continued to do
do business till the 31st, and then his Death was published. It is probable the Seimours concealed it so long, till they made a Party for the putting the Government into their own Hands.

The Severities he used against many of his Subjects in matters of Religion, made both sides write with great Sharpness of him: His Temper was Imperious and Cruel: He was both sudden and violent in his Revenges, and stuck at nothing by which he could either gratify his Lust, or his Passion. This was much provoked, by the Sentence the Pope thundered against him, by the virulent Books Cardinal Pool and others published, by the Rebellions that were raised in England, and the Apprehensions he was in of the Emperour's Greatness, and of the Inclinations his People had to have joined with him, together with what he had read in History of the Fates of those Princes, against whom Popes had thundered in former times; all which, made him think it necessary to keep his People under the Terror of a severe Government; and by some publick Examples to secure the Peace of the Nation; and thereby to prevent a more profuse Effusion of Blood, which might have otherwise followed if he had been more gentle. And it was no wonder if after the Pope deposed him, he proceeded to great Severities against all that which supported that Authority.
Book I. The first Instance of Capital Proceedings upon that account, was in Easter-Term, 1535, in which, three Priors and a Monk of the Carthusian Order, were condemned of Treason, for saying, that the King was not Supream Head of the Church of England. It was then only a Premunire, not to swear to the Supremacy, but it was made Treason to deny it, or speak against it. Hall, a Secular Priest, was at the same time condemned of Treason, for calling the King a Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; and saying, that he would die as King John, or Richard the Third died; and that it would never be well with the Church till the King was brought to Pot: And that they looked when Ireland and Wales would rise; and were assured that three parts of four in England would join with them. All these pleaded not Guilty; but being condemned, they justified what they had laid. The Carthusians were hanged in their Habits. Soon after that, three Carthusians were condemned, and executed at London, & two more at York, upon the same account, for opposing the King’s Supremacy. Ten other Monks were shut up in their Cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemned, and hanged. These had been all Complices in the Business of the Maid of Kent; and tho that was pardoned, yet it gave the Government ground to have a watchful Eye over them, and to proceed
of the Reformation, &c.

Book I.

proceed more feverly against them upon the first Provocation,

After these, Fisher and More were brought to their Trials; Pope Clements officious Kindness to Fisher in declaring him a Cardinal, did hasten his Ruine, tho he was little concerned at that Honour that was done him. He was tried by a Jury of Commoners, and was found guilty of Treason, for having spoken against the King's Supremacy: but instead of the Common Death in Cases of Treason, the King ordered him to be beheaded. On the 22th of June he suffered. He dressed himself with more then ordinary Care that day; for he said it was to be his Wedding-Day. As he was led out, he opened the New Testament at a Venture, and prayed, that such a place might turn up as might comfort him in his last Moments. The Words on which he cast his Eyes were, This is Life Eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou haft sent. So he shut the Book, and continued meditating on these Words to the last. On the Scaffold he repeated the Te Deum, and so laid his Head on the Block, which was severed from his Body. He was a learned and devout Man, but much addicted to Superstition, and too cruel in his Temper against Hereticks. He had been Confessor to the King's Grand-Mother, and perswaded her to found two Colledges in Cambridge, Christ's and St John's; in Acknowledg-
ment of which, he was chosen Chancellor of the University. Henry the Seventh made him Bishop of Rochester: He would never exchange that for any other: He said his Church was his Wife, and he would not part with his Wife because she was Poor. He was much esteemed by this King, till the Suit of the Divorce was set on foot; and then he adhered stiffly to the Marriage, and the Pope's Supremacy; and that made him too favourable to the Nun of Kent. But the Severities of his long Imprisonment, together with this bloody Conclusion of it, were universally condemned all the World over; only Gardiner imploied his Servile Pen to write a Vindication of the King's Proceedings against him. It was writ in Elegant Latin, but the Stile was thought too Vehement.

It was harder to find matter against Sir Thomas More, for he was very cautious, and satisfied his own Conscience by not swearing the Supremacy, but would not not speak against it. 'He said the Act had two Edges, if he consented to it, it would damne his Soul; and if he spoke against it, it would condemn his Body. This was all the Message he sent to Fisher, when he desired to know his Opinion about it; he had also said the same to the Duke of Norfolk and some Counsellors that came to examine him. And Rich, then the King's Solicitor, coming as a private Friend, to persuade him to swear the Oath, urged him
of the Reformation, &c.

him with the Act of Parliament, and ask
ed him, if he should be made King by
Act of Parliament, would not he Ac-
knowledge him: He answered, he would;
because a King might be made, or de-
prived by a Parliament. But the Mat-
ter of the Supremacy was a point of Re-
ligion, to which the Parliament's Au-
thority did not extend itself. All this
Rich witnessed against him; so these Par-
ticulars were laid together, as amount-
ing to a Denial of the King's Supremacy,
and upon this he was judged guilty of
Treason. He received his Sentence with
that equal Temper of Mind which he had
shewed in both Conditions of Life. He ex-
pressed great Contempt of the World, and
much Weariness in living in it. His ordi-
ary Facetiousness remained with him to
his last Moment on the Scaffold. Some
censured that as affected and indecent, and
as having more of the Stoick than the Chri-
tian in it. But others said, that way of
Railery had been so Customary to him,
that Death did not discompose him, nor
put him out of his ordinary Humour. He
was beheaded on the 6th of July, in the 52d
or 53d Year of his Age. He had great
Capacities, and eminent Vertues. In his
Youth he had freer thoughts, but he was af-
terwards much corrupted by Superstition,
and became fierce for all the Interests of the
Clergy. He wrote much in Defence of all the
old Abuses. His Learning in Divinity was
but
but ordinary; for he had read little more than some of St. Austin's Treatises, and the Canon Law, and the Master of the Sentences, beyond whom, his Quotations do seldom go. His Stile was Natural and Pleasant; and he could turn things very dextrously to make them look well or ill as it served his Purpose. But tho he suffered for denying the Kings Supremacy, yet he was at first no Zealot for the Pope: For he says of himself, That when the King shewed him his Book in Manuscript, which he wrote against Luther, he advised him to leave out that which he had put in it concerning the Pope's Power, for he did not know what Quarrels he might have afterwards with the Pope's, and then that would be turned against him. But the King was perhaps fond of what he had written, and so he would not follow that wise Advice which he gave him.

There were no Executions after this, till the Rebellions of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire gave new Occasions to Severity; and then not only the Lords of Darcy and Hussy, but six Abbots, and many Gentlemen; the chief of whom was, Sir Thomas Piercy, Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, were attainted. They had not only been in the Rebellion, but had forfeited the General Pardon, by their new Attempts, after it was proclaimed: Yet some said, the King took Advantage on very flight Grounds to break his Indemnity. But on the other hand,
of the Reformation, &c.

hand, it was no Wonder if he proceeded Book I. with the utmost Rigour against those who had raised such a Storm in the Kingdom, and in particular against those Abbots and Monks who had sworn to maintain his Supremacy, and yet were the chief Incendiaries that had set the Kingdom on Fire.

One Forrest, an Observant Friar, had been Queen Katherine's Confessor, but forook her Interests; and not only swore to the King's Supremacy, but used such In- sinuations, that he had a large share of the King's Favour and Confidence. He was looked on as a Reproach to his Order, and used great Cruelties in their House at Greenwich. He shut up one that he believed gave Intelligence of all they did to the Court; and used him so ill, that he died in their hands. It was also found, that in secret Confession, he had alienated many from the King's Supremacy; and being questioned for it, he said, he had taken the Oath for it only with his outward Man, but his inward Man had never consented to it. But he offered to recant and abjure this Opinion; yet being afterwards diverted from that, he was condemned as an Heretick, and was burnt in Smithfield. A Pardon was offered him at the Stake, if he would recant; but he refused it. A great Image that was brought out of Wales, was hewed in pieces, and served for Fewel to burn him. The Writers of that time say, he denied the Gospel, and that he had little Knowledge of God in his
Book I.

his Life, and shewed less Trust in him at his Death.

The Winter after this, a Correspondence was discovered between Cardinal Pool, and Courtney, Marquess of Exeter, and Pool's Brother, the Lord Mountacute, and several others. It was believed, that Sir Geoffrey Pool, another of the Brothers, betrayed the rest. They had expressed some Kindness for the Cardinal and his Proceedings; and had said, that they looked to see a Change in England; and that they hoped the King would die ere long, and then all would go well; with several other Words to that purpose, for which they were Attainted, and Executed. Others were also condemned for calling the King a Beast, and worse than a Beast; and that he would be certainly damned for plucking down the Abbies. Cardinal Pool, and several others, that had fled out of the Kingdom, and had Confederated themselves with the Pope against the King, were also Attainted. Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter, was likewise condemned, for having said, that the Attainder of the Marquis of Exeter was cruel and unjust. He renounced the Superstitions of Popery, and embraced the Reformation before he suffered.

After these Judgments and Executions were over, a new and unheard of Precedent was made, of Attainting some without bringing them to make their Answers, which
which is a Blemish on this Reign, that can never be washed off, and was a Breach of the most sacred and unalterable Rules of Justice. The first that were so condemned were, the Marchioness of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum, Mother to Card. Pool. The special Matter charged on the former, was, her Confederating herself with Sir Nicholas Carew; and that against the other was, the Confederating with her Son, Cardinal Pool. No Witnesses were examined to prove these things against them; perhaps some Depositions might have been read in Parliament. Cromwell shewed a Coat which was found among the Countess of Sarum's Cloaths, on which the Standard used by the Yorkshire Rebels was wrought; from which it was inferred, that she approved of them. Fourteen others were Attainted by the same Act: six of them were Priests, one was a Knight Hospitaller, four were Gentlemen, one was a Merchant, and two were Yeomen; all were condemn ed for Confederating with the Pope or Cardinal Pool; or asserting the Pope's Supremacy; or endeavouring to raise Rebellion: But against four of them, there is nothing but Treason in General Words alleged. This Bill was past in two days by the Lords, and in five by the Commons: But of all these, only three were executed, these were the Countess of Sarum; tho not till two Years after this; and Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Dingley, the Knight of St. John of
of Jerusalem. In the Countess of Sarum did the Name of Plantagenet end: She was about 70 Years old, but shewed that in that Age she had a Vigorous and Masculine Mind.

In the Parliament that late in the Year 1540, several others were Attainted in the same manner, without being heard, and for the same Crimes. Fetherston, Abel, and Powel, and six more, were so condemned; but those three only suffered. By another Act of the same Parliament, the Lord Hungerford, and his Chaplain, Bird, were Attainted: His Chaplain had often Perfwaded him to rebel; and had said, that the King was the greatest Heretick in the World. Hungerford had also ordered some of his other Chaplains to use Conjuring, that they might know how long the King would live, and whether he would be Victorious over his Enemies. He was also charged for having lived in Sodomy with several of his Servants, three Years together. He was soon after executed, and died in great disorder.

In the Year 1541, Five Priests, and ten Laymen, were stirring up the People in the North to a new Rebellion; but it was prevented, and they suffered for it. In the Year 1543, Gardiner that was the Bishop of Winchester's Secretary, and three other Priests, were condemned, and executed, for denying the King's Supremacy: and this was the last Occasion that was given to the King to shew his Severity on that account.
In all these Executions it cannot be denied but the Laws were excessively severe, and the Proceedings upon them were never tempered with that Mildness which ought to be often applied for the mitigating the rigour of Penal Laws: But tho' they are much aggravated by Popish Writers; they were far short of the Cruelties used in Queen Mary's Reign.

To conclude, We have now gone through the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, who is rather to be reckoned among the Great, than the Good Princes. He exercised so much Severity on Men of both Perswasions, that the Writers of both sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him; so none have taken so much care to set forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worst.
BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of King EDWARD the VI.

EDWARD was the only Son of King Henry, by his best beloved Wife Jane Seymour; born the 12th. of October 1537. His Mother died the day after he was born, of a Distemper incident to Women in her condition, and was not ripped up by Chirurgeons, as some Writers have reported, on design to represent King Henry as barbarous and cruel to all his Wives. At six years of Age he was put into the hands of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek, the one was to form his mind, and to teach him Philosophy and Divinity, the other was to teach him the Tongues and Mathematicks: other Masters were also appointed for the other parts of his Education. He discovered very early a good disposition to Religion and Vertue.
Vertue, and a particular Reverence for the Scriptures: for he took it very ill when one about him laid a great Bible on the Floor, to step up on it to somewhat which was out of his reach, without such an advantage. He profited well in Letters, and wrote at eight Years old Latin Letters frequently both to the King, to Q. Katherine Parre, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Uncle the Earl of Hartford, who had been first made Viscount Beauchamp, being the Heir by his Mother of that Family, and was after that advanced to be an Earl.

In the end of his Fathers life, it had been designed to create him Prince of Wales: for that was one of the reasons given to haften the attainder of the D. of Norfolk, because he held some places during life, which the King intended to put in other hands, in order to that Ceremony. Upon his Fathers death the E. of Hartford and Sir Anth. Brown were sent to bring him up to the Tower of London: and when King Henry's death was published, he was proclaimed King.

At his coming to the Tower his Fathers Will was opened, by which it was found that he had named 16. to be the Governors of the Kingdom, and of his Sons person till he should be eighteen Years of Age. These were the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Lord Wriothesly Lord Chancellor, Lord St. John Great Master, Lord Russel Lord Privy Seal, Earl Hartford Lord Great Chamberlain, Vis. Lisle Lord Admiral, Tolstall B. of Duresme, Sir Anth. Brown Master of the Horse,
of the Reformation, &c.

Horse, Sir William Paget Secretary of State, Sir Edward North Chancellour of the Augmentations, Sir Edward Mountague Lord Chief Just. of the Common Pleas, Judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Sir Edward Wotton Treasurer of Cullis, & Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury and York. They were also to give the Kings Sisters in Marriage, and if they married without their consent, they were to forfeit their right of succession: for the King was empowered by Act of Parliament to leave the Crown to them with what limitations he should think fit to appoint. There was also a Privy Council named to be their Assistants in the Government; if any of the 16. died, the Survivors were to continue in the Administration, without a power to substitute others in their rooms who should die. It was now proposed that one should be chosen out of the 16. to whom Ambassadors should address themselves, and who should have the chief direction of affairs; but should be restrained to do nothing but by the consent of the greater part of the other Co-executors. The Chancellor, who thought the Precedence fell to him by his Office, since the Archbishop did not meddle much in secular Affairs, opposed this much, and said it was a change of the Kings will; who had made them all equal in power and dignity; and if any were raised above the rest in Title, it would not be possible to keep him within due bounds, since great Titles make way for High Power; but the Earl of Harbord.
ford had so prepared his Friends, that it was carried that he should be declared the Governor of the Kings Person, and the Protector of the Kingdom, with this restriction, that he should do nothing but by the advice and consent of the rest. Upon this advancement, and the opposition made to it, two Parties were formed, the one headed by the Protector, and the other by the Chancellors: the favourers of the Reformation were of the former, and those that opposed it were of the latter. The Chancellor was ordered to renew the Commissions of the Judges and Justices of Peace, and King Henry's great Seal was to be made use of, till a new one should be made. The day after this all the Executors took their Oaths to execute their trust faithfully, the Privy Councillors were also brought into the Kings presence, who did all express their satisfaction in the choice that was made of the Protector: and it was ordered that all dispatches to foreign Princes should be signed only by him. All that held Offices were required to come and renew their Commissions, and to swear Allegiance to the King: among the rest, the Bishops came and took out such Commissions as were granted in the former Reign, only by those they were subaltern to the Kings Vicegerent, but there being none now in that Office, they were immediately subaltern to the King; and by them they were to hold their Bishopricks only during the Kings pleasure, and were impowered in the Kings name, as

Bishops take out Commissions.
of the Reformation, &c.

his Delegates, to perform all the parts of the Episcopal function. Cranmer set an Ex. ample to the rest in taking out one of those. It was thought fit thus to keep the Bishops under the terror of such an Arbitrary pow- er lodged in the King, that so it might be more ease to turn them out, if they should much oppose what might be done in points of Religion: but the ill consequences of such an unlimited power being well fore- seen, the Bishops that were afterwards pro- moted were not so fettered, but were provi- ded to hold their Bishopricks during life.

The late King had in his Will required his Executors to perform all the promises he had made; so Paget was required to give an account of the Promises the late King had made; and he declared upon Oath, that up- on the prospect of the attainder of the D. of Norfolk, the King intended a Creation of Peers, and to divide his Lands among them; the Persons to be raised, were Hartford to be a Duke, Essex a Marquess, Lisle, Russell, St. John, and Wriothesly to be Earls, Sir Tho. Seymour, Cheyne, Rich, Willoughby, Arundell, Sheffield, St. Leger, Wymbish, Vernon, and Danby to be Barons, and a division was to be made of the Duke of Norfolk's Estate among them: some shares were also set off for others, who were not to be advanced in Title, as Denny and Herbert: and they finding Paget had been mindful of them, but had not mentioned himself, had moved the King for a share to him. The King ap- pointed Paget to give notice of this to the

A Creation of Noblemen.
Persons named: but many excused themselves, and desired no addition of honor, since the lands which the King intended to give them were not sufficient to support that dignity. The Duke of Norfolk prevented all this, for being apprehensive of the ruine of his Family, if his Estate were once divided, he sent a message to the King, desiring him to convert it all to be a Revenue to the Prince of Wales. This wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to reward those he intended to raise another way, and he appointed that Estate to be kept entire, and the Kings distemper increasing on him, he at last came to a resolution, that the E. of Hartford should be made a Duke, & he made both Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Essex a Marquesse, Lisle and Wriothesly Earls, and Seymour, Rich, Sheffield, St. Leger, Willoughby and Danby Barons, with Revenues in Lands to every one of them: and the Earl of Hartford was to have the first good Deanery and Treasurership, and the four best Prebends that should fall in any Cathedral. But though the King had resolved on this, and had ordered Paget to propole it to the Persons concerned, yet his Disease increased so fast on him, that he never finished it: and therefore he ordered his Executors to perform all that should appear to have been promised by him. The greatest part of this was also confirmed by Denny and Herbert, to whom the King had talked of it, and had shewed the design of it in writing, as it had been agreed between Paget.
Paget and him. So the Executors being concerned in this themselves, it may be easily supposed that they determined to execute this part of their trust very faithfully. Yet the King being then like to be engaged in Wars, they resolved neither to lessen his Treasure nor Revenue, but to find another way for giving the Rewards intended by the King, which was afterwards done by the sale and distribution of the Chantry Lands.

The Castle of St. Andrews was then much pressed; so they sent down by Balnaves, the Agent of that party, 1180 l. for the pay of the Garrison; they gave also pensions to the chief supporters of their Interest in Scotland, to some 250, to others 200 l. or less, according to their interest in the Country. The King received the Ceremony of Knighthood from the Protector, and Knighted the Mayor of London the same day.

The grant of so many Ecclesiastical Dignities to the Earl of Hartford, was no extraordinary thing at that time, for as Cromwel had been Dean of Wells, so diverse other Lay-men were provided to them; which was thus excused, because there was no cure of Souls belonging to them; and during vacancies, even in times of Popery, the Kings had by their own Authority, by the Right of the Regale, given Institution to them, so that they seem'd to be no Spiritual imployments, and the Ecclesiasticks that had enjoyed them, had been a lazy and
and sensual sort of men, so that their abusing those Revenues, either to luxury, or to the enriching their kindred by the spoils of the Church, had this effect that the putting them in Lay hands gave no great scandal; and that the rather, because a simple tonsure qualified a man for them by the Canons. These foundations were at first designed for a Nursery to the Diocess, in which the young Clergy were to be educated, or for a retreat to those who were more speculative, and not so fit for the service of the Church in the active parts of the Pastoral care; so it had been an excellent design to have reformed them, and restored them to the purposes for which they were at first intended: And it was both against 
Magna Charta, and all Natural Equity, to take them out of the hands of Churchmen, and give them to those of the Laity. But it was no wonder to see men yet under the influence of the Canon Law, commit such errors.

At the same time an accident fell out, that made way for great changes; the Curate and Church-wardens of St. Martins, in London, were brought before the Council for removing the Crucifix, and other Images, and putting some Texts of Scripture on the Walls of their Church, in the places where they stood: They Answered, That they going to repair their Church, removed the Images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put places of Scripture in their room: They had also

Some take down Images.
removed others, which they found had been abused to Idolatry. Great pains was taken by the Popish party to punish them severely, for striking terror into others; but Cranmer was for the removing of all Images which were set up in Churches, expressly contrary both to the Second Commandment, and to the practice of the Christians for diverse ages: And though in compliance with the gross abuses of Paganism there was very early much of the Pomp of their worship brought into the Christian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At first all Images were condemned by the Fathers: then they allowed the use of them, but condemned the worshipping of them, and afterwards in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries the worshipping of them was, after a long contest, both in the East and West, in which there were, by turns, General Councils, that both approved and condemned them, at last generally received, and then the reverence for them, and for some in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the cheats of the Monks, who had enriched themselves by such means: And it was grown to such a height, that Heathenism itself had been guilty of nothing more absurd towards its Idols; and the singular virtues in some Images, shewed they were not worshipp'd only as Representations, for then all should have equal degrees of veneration paid to them. And since all these abuses had risen meerly out of the bare use...
ufe of them, and the setting them up being contrary to the command of God, and the nature of the Christian Religion, which is simple and Spiritual; it seemed most reasonable to cure the disease in its root, and to clear the Churches of Images, that so the people might be preserved from Idolatry. These Reasons prevail'd so far, that the Curate and Wardens were dismissed with a Reprimand; they were required to beware of such rashness for the future, and to provide a Crucifix, and till that could be had, they were ordered to cause one to be painted on the Wall. Upon this, Dr. Ridley being to preach before the King, inveighed against the superstition towards Images and Holy Water, and there was a general disposition over all the Nation to pull them down; which was soon after effected in Portsmouth. Upon that, Gardiner made great complaints, he said the Lutherans themselves went not so far, for he had seen Images in their Churches; he argued from the Kings face on the Coyn and Great Seal for the use of Images, and that the Law of Moses did no more bind in this particular, than in that of abstaining from Blood: He distinguished between Image and Idol, as if the one, which he said was only condemned, was the representation of a False God, and the other of the True; and he thought, that as words conveyed by the Ear begat devotion, so Images, by the conveyance of the Eye, might have the same effect on the mind: he also thought, a virtue might be
be both in them and in Holy Water, as well as there was in Christ's Garments, Peter's Shadow, or Elisha's Staff: And there might be a Virtue in Holy Water, as well as in the Water of Baptism. He also mentioned the Virtue that was in the Cramp-Rings, blessed by the late King, which he had known to be much esteemed and fought after, and he hoped their young King would not neglect that gift. But to these things which Gardiner wrote in several Letters, the Protector, perhaps by Cranmer's direction, wrote answer, that the Bishops had formerly argued much in another strain, that because the Scriptures were abused by the vulgar Readers, therefore they were not to be trusted to them; and so made a pretended abuse, the ground of taking away which by God's special appointment was to be delivered to all Christians: This did hold much stronger against Images that were forbidden by God. The Brazen Serpent set up by Moses, by God's own direction, was broken when abused to Idolatry; for that was the greatest corruption of Religion possible: And the Civil respect paid to the King's Image on a Seal, or on the Coyn, did not justify the dotage upon Images. But yet the Protector acknowledged he had reason to complain of the forwardness of the people, that broke down Images without authority. This was the first step that was made in this Reign, towards a Reformation, of which the sequel shall appear afterwards. Orders were sent to the Justices of the
Abridgment of the History

The Peace, to look well to the Peace and Government of the Nation, to meet often, and every six weeks to advertise the Protector of the state of the County to which they belonged.

The Funerals of the deceased King were performed with the ordinary Ceremonies at Windsor: One thing gave those that hated him some advantages; his Body was carried the first day to Sheen, which had been a Nunnery, and there some of the moisture and fat dropt through the Coffin; and to make it a compleat accomplishment of Peyto's denunciation, that Dogs should lick his Blood, it was said the Dogs next day licked it. This in a Corpulent man was so far from a wonder, that it had been a wonder if it had been otherwise, and was a certain sign of nothing but the Plummers carelesness, and their weakness and malice that made such Inferences from it. The King left six hundred pounds a year to the Church of Windsor, for Priests to say Mass for his Soul every day, and for four Obits a year, and Sermons, and distribution of Alms at every one of them, and for a Sermon every Sunday, and a maintenance for thirteen poor Knights, which was settled upon that Church by his Executors in due form of Law.

The Pomp of this Endowment now in a more Inquisitive Age led people to examine the usefulness of Soul Masses and Obits. Christ appointed the Sacrament for a commemoration of his Death among the living, but
of the Reformation, &c.

but it was not easy to conceive how that was to be applied to departed Souls. For Book II.

all the good that they could receive, seemed only applicable to the prayers for them; but bare Prayers would not have wrought so much on the people, nor would they have payed so dear for them. It was a clear project for drawing in the wealth of the World into their hands. In the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Dead, or an Honourable Remembrance of them made in the daily Offices, and for some very small faults their names were not mentioned, which would not have had done if they had looked upon that as a thing that was really a relief to them in another state. But even this custom grew to be abused, and some inferred from it, that departed Souls, unless they were signal pure, passed through a Purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to Heaven: Of which St. Austin, in whose time the opinion was beginning to be received, says, that it was taken up without any sure ground in Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture proof was supplied by Visions, Dreams and Tales, till it was generally received. King Henry had acted like one that did not much believe it, for he was to expect no good usage in Purgatory, from those Souls whom he had deprived of the Masses that were said for them in Monasteries, by destroying those Foundations. Yet it seems he intended to make sure work for himself, so that if Masses could avail the departed Souls,
Souls, he resolved to have his share of it; and as he gratified the Priests by this part of his Endowment, so he pleased the people by appointing Sermons and Alms to be given on such days. Thus he died as he had lived, swimming between both persuasions. And it occasioned no small debate, when men fought to find out what his opinions were in the controverted points of Religion: For the esteem he was in made both sides study to justify themselves, by seeming to follow his sentiments; the one party said he was resolved never to alter Religion, but only to cut off some abuses, and intended to go no further than he had gone: They did therefore vehemently press the others to innovate nothing, but to keep things in the state in which he left them, till his Son should come of Age: But the opposite party said, that he had resolved to go a great way further, and particularly to turn the Mass to a Communion; and therefore Religion being of such consequence to the Salvation of Souls, it was necessary to make all the haste in Reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the diversions of the Coronation took them off from more serious thoughts: The Protector was made Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Essex Marquess of Northampton, the Lords Lisle and Wriothesley Earls of Warwick and Southampton, Seimour, Rich, Willoughby and Sheffield, were made Barons. In order to the King's Coronation, the Office for that Ceremony was reviewed, and much shortened: One remarkable
of the Reformation, &c.

kable alteration was, that formerly the
King used to be presented to the people
at the corners of the Scaffold, and they
were asked, If they would have him to be
their King? Which looked like a rite of
an Election, rather than a Ceremony of
Investing one that was already King. This
was now changed, and the people were de-
sired only to give their affents and good will
to his Coronation, as by the duty of Allegi-
ance they were bound to do. On the twen-
tieth of February he was Crowned, and a
General Pardon was proclaimed, out of
which the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pool,
and some others were excepted.

The Chancellor, who was lookt on
as the head of the Popish party, gave
now an advantage against himself, which
was very readily laid hold on. He granted
a Commission to the Master of the Rolls
and three Masters of Chancery, of whom
two were Civilians, to execute his Office
in the Court of Chancery, as if he were
present, only their Decrees were to be
brought to him to be Signed, before they
should be Inrolled. This being done with-
out any authority from the Protector, and
the other Executors, was thought a high
Presumption, since he did hereby devolve
on others that trust which was deposited in
his hands. Upon this, some Lawyers com-
plained to the Protector, and they seem'd
also apprehensive of a design to change the
Common Laws, which was occasioned by
the Decrees made by the Civilians, that
were
were more suited to the Imperial, than to Book II. the English Laws. The Judges being desired to give their opinions, made report, That what the Chancellour had done was against Law, and that he had forfeited his place, and might be imprisoned for it during pleasure. But he carried it high, he threatened both the Judges and Lawyers; and when it was urged that he had forfeited his place, he said he had it from the late King, who had likewise named him one of the Executors, during his Sons minority. But it was answered, That the major part had power over any of the rest, otherwise one of them might rebel, and pretend he could not be punished by the rest. He being driven out of that, was more humble, and acknowledged he had no Warrant for granting the Commission, he thought by his Office he might lawfully do it, he asked Pardon for his offence, and desired he might lose his place with as little disgrace as was possible; and then it was resolved on by the rest to take the Seal from him, and to Fine him as they should afterwards think fit. So he being suffered to go home with the Seal, the Lord Scimour, and some others were sent to demand it of him: He was also confined to his house, and kept under the terror of an Arbitrary Fine. But upon giving a Bond of 4000 l. to be payed upon demand, he was freed from his confinement: Yet he was not put out of the trust of the King and the Government, for it seems the Council did not
not look on that as a thing that was in their power to do.

Soon after this, the Protector took a Patent for his Office under the Great Seal, then in the keeping of the Lord St. John; by which he was confirmed in his Authority, till the King should be eighteen years of Age; he was also authorized to bring in new Councellours, besides those enumerated in the Patent, who are both the Executors and the Councellours nominated by the late King: The Protector, with so many of the Council as he thought meet, were empowered to administer the affairs of the Kingdom; but the Council was limited to do nothing without his Advice and Consent. And thus was he now as well established in his Authority as Law could make him. He had a Negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own creatures into it, or select a Cabinet Council out of it as he pleased: And the other Executors having now delivered up their Authority to him, were only Privy Councillors as the rest were, without retaining any singular authority peculiar to them, as was provided by King Henry's Will.

The first business of consequence that required great consideration, was the Small-Caldick War, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of that League; the effects of which, if the Emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of...
Lutheranism, but his being the absolute Master of Germany; which the Emperor chiefly designed, in order to an Universal Monarchy, but disguised it to other Princes: to the Pope, he pretended that his design was only to extirpate Heresie; to other Princes, he pretended it was only to repress some Rebels, and denied all design of suppressing their new Doctrines; which he managed so artificially, that he divided Germany itself, and got some Lutheran Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals: and having obtained a very liberal supply for his Wars with France and the Turk, for which he granted an Edict for liberty of Religion, he made Peace with both those Princes, and resolved to employ that Treasure which the Germans had given him, against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he used means to engage King Henry, and Francis the First in a War, but that was, chiefly by their Interposition, composed. And now when the War was like to be carried on with great Vigour, they lost both those Princes; for as Henry died in January, so Francis followed him into another World, in March following. Many of their Confederates began to capitulate and forfake them; and the divided command of the Duke of Saxe, and the Landgrave of Hesse lost them great advantages, the former year; in which it had been easie to have driven the Emperor out of Germany: but it fell often out, that when the one was for engaging, the other was against it, which made
made many very doubtful of their success. The Pope had a mind to engage the Emperor in a War in Germany, that to Italy might be at quiet: and in order to that, and to Imbroi! the Emperor with all the Luthersans, he published his Treaty with him, that so it might appear that the design of the War was to extirpate Heresie; though the Emperor was making great protestations to the contrary in Germany. He also opened the Council of Trent, which the Emperor had long desired in vain; but it was now brought upon him, when he least wished for it: for the Protestants did all declare, that they could not look upon it as a free General Council, since it was so entirely at the Pope's devotion, that not so much as a Reformation of some of the grossest abuses that could not be justified, was like to be obtained, unless clogged with such Clauses as made it ineffectual. Nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council, not to proceed to establish the doctrine, and condemn Heresie; but the more he obstructed that by delays, the more did the Pope drive it on, to open the eyes of the Germans, and engage them all vigorously against the Emperor: yet he gave them such secret assurances of tolerating the Augsburg Confession, that the Marquess of Brandenburg declared for him, and that, joined with the hopes of the Electorate, drew in Maurice of Saxe. The Count Palatine was old and feeble, the Archbishop of Colen would not make resistance, but retired,
retired, being condemned both by Pope and
Emperor, and many of the Cities submit-
ted. And Maurice by falling into Saxe,
forced the Elector to separate from the
Landgrave, and return to the defence of his
own Dominions. This was the state of the
affairs in Germany: so it was a hard point to
resolve on, what answer the Protector should
give to the Duke of Saxe's Chancellor,
whom he sent over to obtain an Aid in Mo-
ney, for carrying on the War. It was on
the one hand of great importance to the
safety of England to preserve the German
Princes, and yet it was very dangerous to
begin a War of such consequence under an
Infant King. At present they promised,
within three Months, to send by the Mer-
chants of the Still-yard 50000 Crowns to
Hamburgh, and resolved to do no more
till new Emergents should lead them to new
Councils.

The Nation was in an ill condition for
a War, with such a mighty Prince, labour-
ing under great distractions at home, the
People generally cried out for a Reforma-
tion, they despised the Clergy, and loved
the new Preachers. The Priests were for
the most part both very ignorant and scan-
dalous in their lives: many of them had
been Monks, and those that were to pay
them the pensions, that were reserved to
them at the destruction of the Monasteries,
till they should be provided, took care to
get them into some small Benefice. The
greatest part of the Parsonages were Im-
propriated,
propriated, for they belonged to the Monasteries, and the Abbots had only granted the Incumbents, either the Vicarage, or some small Donative, and left them the Perquisites raised by Masses and other Offices. At the suppression of those Houses there was no care taken to provide the Incumbents better; so they chiefly subsisted by Trentals & other Devices, that brought them in some small relief, though the Price of them was scandalously low, for Masses went often at 2 d. a Groat was a great bounty. Now these saw that a Reformation of those abuses, took the Bread out of their mouths; so their Interests prevailing more with them than any thing else, they were zealously engaged against all changes: but that same Principle made them comply with every change that was made, rather than lose their Benefices: Their poverty made them run into another abuse of holding more Benefices at the same time, a Corruption of so crying and scandalous a nature, that wherever it is practised, it is sufficient to possess the People with great prejudices against the Church that is guilty of it: there being nothing more contrary to the plainest impressions of reason, than that every Man who undertakes a Cure of Souls, whom at his Ordination he has vowed, that he would instruct, feed, govern, ought to discharge that trust himself, which is the greatest and most important of all others. The Clergy were encouraged in their Opposition to all changes, by the protection
they expected from Gardiner, Bonner, and Constall, who were Men of great reputation, as well as set in high places: and above all, Lady Mary did openly declare against all Changes, till the King should be of Age. But on the other hand, Cranmer, whose greatest weakness was his over-obsequiousness to King Henry, being now at liberty, resolved to proceed more vigorously: The Protector was firmly united to him, so were the young Kings Tutors, and he was as much engaged, as could be expected from so young a Person: for both his knowledge and zeal for true Religion were above his Age. Several of the Bishops did also declare for a Reformation, but Dr. Ridley now made Bishop of Rochester, was the Person on whom he depended most. Latimer was kept by him at Lambeth, and did great service by his Sermons, which were very popular, but he would not return to his Bishoprick, choosing rather to serve the Church in a more disengaged manner. Many of the Bishops were very ignorant, and poor spirited Men, raised meerly by Court-favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their Revenues. Cranmer resolved to proceed by degrees, and to open the reasons of every advance, that was made so fully, that he hoped by the blessing of God to possess the Nation of the fitness of what they should do, and thereby to prevent any dangerous opposition, that might otherwise be apprehended.
The power of the Privy Council had been much exalted in King Henry's time, by Act of Parliament; and one Provifo in it was, that the King's Council should have the same Authority when he was under Age, that he himself had at full Age: so it was resolved to begin with a General Visitation of all England, which was divided into six Precincts: and two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Register were appointed for every one of these. But before they were sent out, there was a Letter written to all the Bishops, giving them notice of it, suspending their Jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that the other Clergy should not preach but in their own Churches, without Licence: by which it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable, to their own Parishes, and to grant the others Licences to Preach in any Church of England. The greatest difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the want of able and prudent Men, the most zealous were too hot and indiscreet, and the few they had that were Eminent, were to be employed in London, and the Universities. Therefore they intended to make those as common as was possible, and appointed them to preach as Itinerants and Visitors. The only thing by which the People could be universally instructed, was a Book of Homilies; so the twelve first Homilies in the Book, still known by that name,
name were compiled, in framing with the chief design was to acquaint the People aright with the nature of the Gospel Covenant, in which there were two extrems equally dangerous: the one was of those who thought the Priests had an infallible secret of saving their souls, if they would in all things follow their directions; the other was of those who thought that if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his Merits, they could not perish, which way ever they led their lives. So the mean between these was observed, and the People were taught both to depend on the sufferings of Christ, and also to lead their lives according to the rules of the Gospel, without which they could receive no benefit by his death. Order was also given, that a Bible should be in every Church, which though it was commanded by King Henry, yet had not been generally obeyed; and for understanding the New Testament, Erasmus's Paraphrase was put out in English, and appointed to be set up in every Church. His great reputation and learning, and his dying in the Communion of the Roman Church, made this Book to be preferred to any other, since there lay no prejudice to Erasmus, which would have been objected to any other Author. They renewed also all the Injunctions made by Cromwel in the former Reign, which after his fall were but little looked after, as those for instructing the people, for removing Images, and putting down all other customs abused to superstition.
perfection; for reading the Scriptures, and saying the Litany in English, for frequent Sermons and Catechising, for the Exemplary lives of the Clergy, and their labours in visiting the sick, and the other parts of their function, such as reconciling differences, and exhorting their people to Charities: and all who gave Livings by Simoniacal bargains, were declared to have forfeited their right of Patronage to the King. A great charge was also given for the strict observance of the Lords Day, which was appointed to be spent wholly in the service of God; it not being enough to hear Mass or Mattins in the Morning, and spend the rest of the Day in drunkenness and quarrelling, as was commonly practised; but it ought to be all employed either in the duties of Religion, or in acts of Charity, only in time of Harvest they were allowed to work on that and other Festival days. Direction was also given, for the bidding of Prayers, in which the King, as Supreme head, the Queen, and the Kings Sisters, the Protector and Council, and all the Orders of the Kingdom were to be mentioned; they were also to pray for departed souls, that at the last day, we with them might rest both body and soul. There were also Injunctions given for the Bishops, that they should preach four times a year in their Dioceses, once in their Cathedral, and thrice in any other Church, unless they had a good excuse to the contrary: that their Chaplains should preach often: and that
that they should give Orders to none, but those that were duly qualified.

These were variously censured: The Clergy were only empowered to remove the abus'd Images, and the People were restrained from doing it, but this authority being put in their hands, it was thought they would be slow and backward in it. It had been happy for this Church, if all had agreed since that time, to press the Religious observation of the Lords Day, without starting needless questions about the Morality of it, and the obligation of the fourth Commandment; which has occasioned much dispute and heat: and when one Party raised the obligation of that duty to a pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to slacken it too much: and this produced many sharp reflections on both sides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of that day, which instead of being so great a bond and instrument of Religion, as it ought to be, is become generally a day of idleness and looseness. The Corruptions of Lay Patrons and Simoniacal Priests have been often complained of, but no Laws nor Provisions have ever been able to preserve the Church from this great mischief; which can never be removed till Patrons look on their right to nominate one to the charge of Souls, as a trust for which they are to render a severe account to God, and till Priests are cured of their aspiring to that charge, and look on it with dread and great caution. The bidding of Prayers
Prayers had been the custome in time of Popery; for the Preacher after he had named his Text, and shewed what was to be the method of his Sermon, desired the People to joyn with him in a Prayer, for a blessing upon it; and told them likewise, whom they were to pray for, and then all the People said their Beads in silence, and he kneeling down said his, and from that this was called the bidding of the Beads. In this new direction for them, Order was given to repeat always the Kings Title of Supream Head, that so the People hearing it often mentioned, might grow better accustomed to it: but when instead of a bidding Prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be used, that enumeration of Titles seems not so decent a thing, nor is it now so necessary as it then was. The prayer for departed souls was now moderated, to be a prayer only for the consummation of their happiness at the last day; whereas in King Henry's time, they prayed that God would grant them the fruition of his presence, which implied a Purgatory. The Injunctions to the Bishops, directing them to give Orders with great caution, pointed out that by which only a Church can be preserved from Errors and Corruptions: for when Bishops do easily upon recommendations or emendicated Titles, confer Orders, as a sort of favour that is at their disposal, the ill effects of that must be fatal to the Church; either by the Corruptions that
those vicious Priests will be guilty of, or by
the Scandals which are given to some good
minds by their means, who are thereby
disgufted at the Church for their fakes,
and so are disposed to be easily drawn in-
to those Societies that separate from it.

The War with Scotland was now in con-
sultation; but the Protector being appre-
hensive that France would engage in the
quarrel, sent over Sir Fr. Brian to congra-
tulate with the new King, to desire a con-
firmation of the last Peace, and to com-
plain of the Scots, who had broken their
Faith with the King, in the matter of the
Marriage of their Queen. The French King
refused to confirm the Treaty, till some Ar-
ticles should be firft explained, and fo he
disowned his Fathers Emfandadour; and
for the Scots, he faid he could not forfake
them, if they were in diftrefs. The English alledged that Scotland was subject to
England; but the French had no regard to
that, and would not fo much as look on
the Records that were offer'd to prove it;
and faid they would take things as they
found them, and not look back to a di-
pute of two hundred years old. This
made the English Council more fearful of
engaging in a War, which by all appear-
ance, would bring a War on them from
France. The Castle of St. Andrews was
furrendered, and all their Pensioners in Scot-
lard were not able to do them great ser-
vice: The Scots were now much lifted
up; for as England was under an Infant
King,
of the Reformation, &c.

King, to the Court of France was governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers. The Scots began to make Inroads on England, and Descents on Ireland. Commissioners were sent to the Borders to treat on both sides; and the Protector raised a great Army, which he resolved to command in person. But the meeting on the Borders was soon broke up, for the Scots had no Instructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the English were ordered to treat of nothing else, till that should be first agreed to. And the Records that were shewed of the Homage done by the Scottish Kings to the English had no great effect; for the Scots either said they were forged, or forced from some weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in England, as the Kings of England did Homage to the Crown of France for their Lands there. They also shewed their Records by which their Ancestors had asserted that they were free and independent of England. The Protector left Commissions of Lieutenancy to some of the Nobility, and devolved his own power, during his absence, on the Privy Council, and came to the Borders by the end of August. The Scots had abandoned the Passes, so that he found no difficulty in his March, and the small Forts that were in his way, were surrendered upon Summons. When the English advanced to Falsid, the Scots engaged with them in Parties, but lost 1300 men. The two Armies came in view; the English con-

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Abridgment of the History

fitted of fifteen thousand Foot and three
thousand Horse, and a Fleet under the
Command of the Lord Clinton, failed along
by them, as they marched near the
Coast; the Scotch Army consisted of
thirty thousand, and a good train of Ar-
tillery.

The Protector sent a Message to the
Scots, inviting them by all the Arguments
that could be invented, to consent to the
Marriage; and if that would not be granted,
he desired engagements from them, that
their Queen should be contracted to no other
person, at least till she came of age, and
by the advice of the Estates, should choose
a Husband for herself. This the Protector
offered to get out of the War upon Ho-
nourable terms, but the Scotch Lords
thought this great Condescension was an
effect of fear, and believed the Protector
was straitned for want of Provisions; so
instead of publishing this offer, they resol-
ved to fall upon him next day: And so all
the return that was made, was, That if
the Protector would march back without
any act of Hostility, they would not fall
upon him. One went officiously with the
Trumpeter, and challenged the Protector,
in the Earl of Huntley's name, to decide
the matter by their Valour; but the Pro-
tector said he was to fight no way but at
the head of his Army, yet the Earl of War-
wick accepted the challenge, but Huntley had
given no order for it. On the twentieth
of September the Armies engaged. In the
begin-
beginning of the action, a shot from the Ships killed a whole lane of men, and dis-ordered the High-landers, so that they could not be made to keep their Ranks. The Earl of Angus charged bravely, but was repul-fed, and the English broke in with such fury on the Scots, that they threw down their Arms and fled. Fourteen thousand were killed, fifteen hundred taken Prisoners, among whom was the Earl of Huntley, and five hundred Gentlemen. Upon this, the Protector went on and took Leith, and some Islands in the Frith, in which he put Garrisons, and left Ships to wait on them; he sent some Ships to the mouth of Tay and took a Castle (Broughty) that com-manded that River. If he had followed this blow, and gone forward to Striveling, to which the Governour, with the small remainders of his Army, had retired, and where the Queen was, it is probable, in the consternation in which they were, he might have taken that place, and so have made an end of the War. But the party his Brother was making at Court, gave him such an Alarm, that he returned before he had ended his business: And the Scots having sent a Message desiring a Treaty, which they did only to gain time, he ordered them to send their Commissioners to Berwick, and so marched back: He took in all the Castles in Merch and Teviotdale, and left Garrisons in them, and made the Gentry swear to be true to the King, and to promote the Marriage. He entred into 

Scotch
Scotch ground the second of September, and returned to England on the twenty ninth, with the loss only of sixty men, and brought with him a great deal of Artillery, and many Prisoners: This success did raise his reputation very high, and if he had now made an end of the War, it had, no doubt, established him in his authority. The Scots sent no Commissioners to Berwick, but instead of that, they sent some to France, to offer their Queen to the Dauphin, and to cast themselves on the protection of that Crown; and so the Earl of Warwick, whom the Protector left to treat with them, returned back. The Protector, upon this great success, summoned a Parliament, to get himself established in his power.

The Visitors had now ended the Visitation, and all had submitted to them, and great Inferences were made from this, that on the same day on which the Images were burnt in London, their Army obtained that great Victory in Scotland. But all sides are apt to build much on Providence, when it is favourable to them, and yet they will not allow the Argument when it turns against them. Bonner at first protested that he would obey the Injunctions, if they were not contrary to the Laws of God, and the Ordinances of the Church; but being called before the Council, he retracted that, and asked Pardon; yet for giving terror to others, he was for some time put in Prison upon it. Gardiner wrote
wrote to one of the Visitors, before they came to Winchester, that he could not receive the Homilies; and if he must either quit his Bishopric, or sin against his Conscience, he resolved to choose the former. Upon this, he was called before the Council, and required to receive the Book of Homilies; but he excepted to one of them, that taught that Charity did not justify, contrary to the Book set out by the late King; confirmed in Parliament. He also complained of many things in Erasmus's Paraphrase: And being pressed to declare whether he would obey the Injunctions or not, he refused to promise it, and so was sent to the Fleet. Cranmer treated in private with him, and they argued much about Justification. Gardiner thought the Sacraments justified, and that Charity justified as well as Faith. Cranmer thought that only the merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by Faith, which could not be without Charity; so the question turned much on a different way of explaining the same thing. Gardiner objected many things to Erasmus's Book, particularly to some passages contrary to the power of Princes; it was answered, That Book was not chosen, as having no faults, but as the best they knew for clearing the difficulties in Scripture. Cranmer offered to him, that if he would concur with them, he should be brought to be one of the Privy Council; but he did not comply in this so readily as he ordinarily did to such
offers. Upon the Protectors return, he wrote to him, complaining of the Councils proceedings in his absence; and after he had given his objections to the Injunctions, he excepted to this, that they were contrary to Law, and argued from many predecessors, that the Kings authority could not be raised so high; and that though Cromwel and others endeavoured to persuade the late King, that he might govern as the Roman Emperours did, and that his Will ought to be his Law; yet he was of another opinion, and thought that it was much better to make the Law the Kings Will. He complained also that he was hardly used, that he had neither Servants, Physicians nor Chaplains, allowed to wait on him; and that though he had a Writ of Summons, he was not suffered to come to the Parliament, which he said, might bring a Nullity on all their Proceedings. But he lay in Prison till the Act of General Pardon past in Parliament, set him at liberty. Many blamed the severity of these proceedings as contrary both to Law and Equity, and said that all people, even those who complained most of arbitrary power, were apt to usurp it when they were in authority. And some thought the delivering the doctrine of Justification in such nice terms was not suitable to the plain simplicity of the Christian Religion. Lady Mary was so alarmed at these proceedings, that she wrote to the Protector, that such changes were contrary to the honour due to her Fathers Memory, and it was against
against their duty to the King to enter upon such points, and endanger the publick Peace before he was of Age. To which he wrote answer, That her Father had died before he could finish the good things he had intended concerning Religion; and had expressed his regret both before himself and many others, that he left things in so unsettled a state; and assured her that nothing should be done but what would turn to the Glory of God, and the Kings Honour: He imputed her Writing to the impropriety of others rather than to her self, and desired her to consider the matter better with an humble Spirit and the assistance of the Grace of God.

The Parliament was opened the fourth of November, and the Protector was by Patent authorized to sit under the Cloath of State, on the Right hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Privileges that any Unkle of the Crown, either by Father or Mothers side, ever had. Rich was made Lord Chancellour. The first Act that past, five Bishops only dissenting, was, "A Repeal of all Statutes that had "made any thing Treason or Felony in "the late Reign, which was not so be- "fore, and of the six Articles, and the "authority given to the Kings Procla- "mations, as also of the Acts against Loll-
"iards. All who deni'd the Kings Supremacy, "or asserted the Popes, for the first of- "fence were to forfeit their goods, for the "second were to be in a Pramamire, and

were
were to be attainted of Treason for the Book II. third. But if any intended to deprive "the King of his Estate or Title, that was made Treason: none were to be accused of Words but within a month after they were spoken; they also repealed the power that the King had of annulling all Laws made, till he was twenty four years of age, and restrained it only to an annulling them for the time to come, but that it should not be of force for the declaring them null from the beginning.

Another Act past with the same dissent, for the Communion in both kinds, and that the people should always communicate with the Priest, and by it irreverence to the Sacrament was condemned under severe penalties. Christ had instituted the Sacrament in both kinds, and S. Paul mentions both. In the Primitive Church that custom was universally observed, but upon the belief of Transubstantiation, the reserving and carrying about the Sacrament were brought in; this made them first endeavour to persuade the World that the Cup was not necessary, for Wine could neither keep, nor be carried about conveniently; but it was done by degrees, the Bread was for some time given dipt, as it is yet in the Greek Church: but it being believed that Christ was entirely under either kind, and in every crumb, the Council of Constance took the Cup from the Laity; yet the Bohemians could not be brought to submit to it, so every where the use of the Cup
of the Reformation, &c.

Cup was one of the first things that was insisted on by those who demanded a Reformation. At first all that were present did communicate; and censures past on such as did it not: And none were denied the Sacrament but Penitents, who were made to withdraw during the Action. But as the devotion of the World slackened, the people were still exhorted to continue their Oblations, and come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it; and were made believe, that the Priest received it in their stead: The name Sacrifice given to it, as being a holy Oblation, was so far improved, that the World came to look on the Priests officiating, as a Sacrifice for the dead and living: From hence followed an infinite variety of Masses for all the accidents of humane life; and that was the chief part of the Priest's trade, but it occasioned many unseemly jests concerning it, which were restrained by the same Act that put these down.

Another Act past without any dissent, An Act concerning the nomination of Bishops.

"That the Conge d' elire, and the Election pursuant to it, being but a shadow, since the person was named by the King, should cease for the future, and that Bishops should be named by the Kings Letters Patents, and thereupon be consecrated; and should hold their Courts in the Kings name, and not in their own, excepting only the Arch-bishop of Canterbury's Court: And they were to use the Kings Seal in all their Writings, except in Pre-
Abridgment of the History

Book II.

"Pentations, Collations, and Letters of Orders, in which they might use their own Seals. The Apostles chose Bishops and Pastors by an extraordinary gift of discerning Spirits, and proposed them to the approbation of the people; yet they left no rules to make that necessary: In the times of Persecution, the Clergy being maintained by the Oblations of the people, they were chosen by them. But when the Emperours became Christians, the Town Councils and eminent men took the Elections out of the hands of the Rabble: And the Tumults in popular Elections were such, that it was necessary to regulate them. In some places the Clergy, and in others the Bishops of the Province made the choice. The Emperours reserved the Confirmation of the Elections in the great Sees to themselves. But when Charles the Great annexed great Territories and Regalities to Bishopricks, a great change followed thereupon: Church-men were corrupted by this undue greatness, and came to depend on the humours of those Princes to whom they owed this great increase of their wealth. Princes named them, and invested them in their Sees: But the Popes intended to separate the Ecclesiastical State from all subjection to Secular Princes, and to make themselves the heads of that State, at first they pretended to restore the freedom of Elections; but these were now ingrossed in a few hands, for only the Chapters chose; the
of the Reformation, &c.

The Popes had granted thirty years before this to the King of France, the nomination to all the Bishopricks in that Kingdome; so the King of England assuming it was no new thing, and the way of Elections, as King Henry had settled it, seemed to be but a Mockery: so this change was not much condemned. The Ecclesiastical Courts were the Concessions of Princes, in which, Trials concerning Marriages, Wills and Tithes, depended, so the holding those Courts in the Kings name, was no Invasion on the Spiritual Function; since all that concerned Orders, was to be done still in the Bishop's name, only Excommunication was still left as the Censure of those Courts, which being a Spiritual Censure, ought to have been reserved to the Bishop, to be proceeded in by him only with the assistance of his Clergy: and this fatal error then committed, has not yet met with an effectual regulation.

Another Act was made against idle Vagabonds, that they should be made slaves for two years, by any that should seize on them: This was chiefly designed against some Vagrant Monks, as appears by the Proviso's in the Act, for they went about the Countrey, infusing in the People a dislike of the Government. The severity of this Act made that the English Nation which naturally abhors slavery, did not care to execute it: and this made that the other Proviso's, for supplying those that were truly indigent, and were willing to be employed,
ployed, had no effect. But as no Nation has better, and more merciful Laws, for the supply of the Poor, so the fond pity that many shew to the common Beggars, which no Laws have been able to restrain, makes that a sort of dissolute and idle Beggars intercept much of that Charity, which should go to the relief of those, that are indeed the only proper objects of it. After this came the Act for giving the King all those Chantries, which the late King had not seized on by Vertue of the Grant made to him of them. Cramner opposed this much: for the poverty of the Clergy was such that the State of Learning and Religion was like to suffer much, if it should not be relieved: and yet he saw no probable Fond for that, but the preserving these, till the King should come to be at Age; and allow the selling them, for buying in, of at least such a share of the Impropriations, as might afford some more comfortable subsistence to the Clergy: yet though he, and seven other Bishops dissented, it was past: After all other Acts, a General Pardon, but clogged with some Exceptions, came last: some Acts were proposed, but not past; one was for the free use of the Scriptures, others were for a Court of Chancery in Ecclesiastical Causes, for Residence, and for a Reformation of the Courts of Common Law. The Convocation sat at the same time; and moved that a Commission begun in the late Reign of thirty two Persons for reforming the Ecclesiastical Laws
of the Reformation, &c.

Laws might be revived, and that the inferior Clergy might be admitted to sit in the House of Commons, for which they alleged a Clause in the Bishops Writ and Ancient Custome; and since some Prelates had under the former Reign begun to alter the form of the Service of the Church, they desired it might be brought to perfection: and that some care might be had of supplying the poor Clergy, and relieving them from the Taxes that lay on them. This concerning the inferior Clergy’s sitting in the House of Commons, was the subject of some debate, and was again set on foot both under Queen Elizabeth and King James, but to no effect. Some pretended that they always sat in the House of Commons, till the submission made in the former Reign, upon the suit of the Praemunire: but that cannot be true, since in this Convocation, 17. years after that, in which many that had been in the former were present, no such thing was alleged. It is not clear who those Proctors of the Clergy that sat in Parliament were: if they were the Bishops assistants, it is more proper to think they sat in the House of Lords. No mention is made of them, as having a share in the Legislative Authority, in our Records, except in the 21. of Richard the 2d. In which, mention is made, both of the Commons, the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and the Proctors of the Clergy concurring to the Acts then made: which makes it seem most probable that they were
were the Clerks of the lower House of Convocation. When the Parliament met antiently all in one Body, the inferior Clergy had their Writs, and came to it with the other Freeholders, but when the two Houses were separated, the Clergy became also a distinct body, and gave their own Subsidies, and medled in all the concerns, and represented all the grievances of the Church. But now by the Act made upon the submission of the Clergy in the last Reign, their power was reduced almost to nothing: so they thought it reasonable to desire, that either they might have their Representatives in the House of Commons, or at least, that matters of Religion should not pass without the assent of the Clergy. But the raising the Ecclesiastical authority too high in former times, made this turn, that it was now deprefled as much below its just limits, as it was before exalted above them: as commonly one extreme produces another.

It was resolved that some Bishops and Divines should be sent to Windsor, to finifh some Reformations in the publick Offices; for the whole lower House of Convocation, without a contradictory Vote, agreed to the Bill about the Sacrament. But it is not known what opposition it met with in the Upper House. A Proposition being also set on foot concerning the lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, thirty five subscribed to the affirmative,
of the Reformation, &c.

tive, and only fourteen held the Negative.

And thus ended this Session, both of Parliament and Convocation. And the Protector being now established in his power, and received by a Parliament, without contradiction, took out a new Commission, in which, besides his former authority, he was impowered to substitute one in his room, during his absence.

In Germany the Princes of the Smalcal- dick League were quite ruined; the Duke of Saxe was defeated, and taken Prisoner; and used with great severity and scorn, which he bare with an invincible greatness of mind. The Landgrave was persuaded to submit, and had assurances of liberty given him; but by a trick unbecoming the greatness of the Emperor, he was seized on and kept Prisoner, contrary to faith given: upon this all the Princes and Towns, except Magdeburg and Breme, submitted and purchased their pardon, at what terms the Conquerour was pleased to impose. The Bishop and Elector of Colen, withdrew peaceably to a retirement, in which, after four years, he died: and now all Germany was at the Emperours mercy. Some Cathedrals, as that at Aixburg, were again restored to the Bishops, and Mass was said in them. A Diet was also held, in which the Emperor obtained a Decree to pass, by which matters of Religion were referred wholly to his care. The Pope, instead of rejoicing at this blow
blow, given the Lutherans, was much troubled at it: for the Emperour had now in one Year made an end of a War, which he hoped would have Imbrowed him his whole life; so that Italy was now more at his mercy than ever: and it seemed the Emperour intended to inlarge his Conquests there, for the Pope's Natural Son being killed by a Conspiracy, the Governour of Milan seized on Placentia, which gave the Pope some jealousie, as if the Emperour had been privy to the design against his Son. The Emperour's Ambassadors were also very uneafe to the Legates at Trent, and press a Reformation of abuses, and endeavoured to restrain them from proceeding in points of doctrine: so they took hold of the first pretence they had by the death of one that seemed to have some symptomes of the Plague, and removed it to Bologna. By this all the advantages the Emperour had from the Promises which the Protestants made, to submit to a free General Council assembled in Germany, were defeated: and it was thought a strange turn of Divine Providence, that when the extirpation of Lutheranism was so near being effected, a stop was put to it by that which of all things was least to be apprehended: since it might have been expected that the perfecting such a design would have made the Pope and the Emperor friends, though there had been ever so many other grounds of difference between them. So unusual a thing
made the favourers of the Reformation sub-cribe it to the immediate care that Hea-
ven had of that work, now when all the humane supports of it were gone. Upon
this fatal revolution of affairs there, many Germans, and Italians that had retired to Ger-
many, came over to England: Peter Martyr and Bernardinus Ochimus came over first, Bucer and Fagius followed. They were invited over by Cranmer, who entertain-
ed them at Lambeth, till they were pro-
vided. Martyr was sent to Oxford; and
Bucer and Fagius to Cambridge; but the
latter dyed soon after. There were some
differences between the French and English,
concerning some new Forts, which were
made about Bulloigné, on both sides, yet a
Truce was agreed on, for the Protector
had no mind to engage in a War with
France.

He had a new trouble raised up in his
own Family, by the Ambition of his Bro-
ther, who thought that being the Kings
Uncle, as well as his Brother was, he ought
to have a larger share of the Government.
He had made addresses to Lady Elizabeth
the Kings sister, but finding no hopes of
success, he made applications to the Queen
Dowager, who married him a little unde-
cently, for it was afterwards objected to
him, that he married her so soon after
the Kings death, that if she had concei-
ved with Child immediately after the
marriage, it might have been doubtful
whether it was by the late King, or not:

yet
yet the marriage was for some time concealed, and the Admiral moved the King and his Sisters, to write to the Queen, to accept him for her Husband: The Kings Sisters excused themselves, that it was not decent for them to interpose in such a matter, but the young King was more easy: so upon his Letter, the Queen published her marriage. The Admiral being now possessed of much Wealth, and the King coming often to the Queens Lodgings, he endeavoured to gain him, and all that were about him, and furnished the King often with Money. His design was, that whereas in former times, when Infant-Kings had two Uncles, one was Governour of his Person, and another was Protector of the Realm; so now these two Trusts might be divided, and that he might be made Governour of the Kings Person. This is the true account of the breach between those Brothers, for the story of the quarrel between their Wives about precedence, seems to be an ill-grounded fiction: for there was no pretence of a competition between the Queen Dowager and the Duchess of Somerset; but the latter being a high Woman, might have perhaps inflamed her Husbands resentments, over whom she had an absolute power, which gave the rise to that story. The Protector was at first very easy to be reconciled to his Brother, but after the many provocations he received from him, he threw off
off nature too much. When he was in Scotland, the Admiral began to take advan-
tage upon that to make a party: And the good advices that were given him by Paget, to look on those as the common Enemies of their Family, who were ma-
king this breach between them, had no effect to cure a mind hurried on by Amb-
ton. It was the advertisement that was sent him of this, that made the Protector leave Scotland before he had finished his business there. During the Session of Par-
liament, the Admiral prevailed with the King to write with his own hand a Message to the House of Commons, to make him the Governor of his person. When the Admiral was making Friends in order to this, it came to his Brothers ears, before he had made any publick use of it: So he employed some to divert him from it, but with no success. Upon that, he was sent for to appear before the Council, but he refused to come; yet they having threatened to turn him out of all his places, and to send him to the Tower, he submitted, and the Brothers were reconciled: But the Admiral continued his secret practices still with those about the King.

Gardiner being included in the Act of 1548, Pardon, was set at liberty: He promised to receive and obey the Injunctions, only he excepted to the Homily of Justification; yet he complied in that likewise: but it was visible that in his heart he abhorred all their proceedings, though he outwardly co--
Abridgment of the History

Book II.

The M. of Northampton Divorce.

1548.

The Second Marriage of the M. of Northampton was tried at this time, for his first Wife being convict of Adultery, he and she were separated. And he moved in the end of the former Reign, that he might be suffered to marry again; so a Commission was then granted, and was renewed in this Reign to some Delegates to examine what relief might be given to the innocent person in such a case. But this being new, and Cranmer proceeding in it with his usual exactness, which is often accompanied with slowness, the Marquefs became impatient, and married a second Wife: Upon this, the Council ordered them to be parted till the Delegates should give sentence. The Arguments for the second Marriage were these, Christ had condemned Divorces for other cases, but excepted that of Adultery. A Separation from Bed and Board, and the Marriage bond standing, was contrary to many places of Scripture, that mention the end of Marriage. S. Paul discharges the married person, if the other wilfully deserted him, much more will it follow in the case of Adultery. And though St. Paul says the Wife is tied to her Husband as long as he liveth, that is only to be understood of a Husband that continued to be one; but that relation ceased by Adultery. The Fathers differed in their opinions in this matter, some allowed Marriage upon Divorce to the Husband, but denied it to the Wife; others allowed it to both. So Tertullian, Epiphanius and Basil; Jerome also justified Fabiola.
that had done it. Chrysostome and Chromatius allowed a second Marriage. St. Austin was doubtful about it. The Roman Emperors allowed by their Laws, even after they became Christians, Divorce, and a second Marriage, both to Husbands and Wives, upon many other Reasons besides Adultery; as for procuring Abortions besides besides Adultery; as for procuring Abortions, treating for another Marriage, being guilty of Treason, or a Wifes going to Plays without her Husbands leave. Nor did the Fathers in those times, complain of these Laws: This was also allowed by the Canons upon several occasions; but after the State of Coelibate came to be magnified out of measure, second Marriages were more generally condemned: And this was heightened when Marriage was looked on as a Sacrament. Yet though no Divorces were allowed in the Church, the Canonists found out many shifts for annulling Marriages from the beginning, to those that could pay well for them. All these things being considered, the Delegates gave sentence, confirming the second Marriage, and dissolving the first.

Candlemas and Lent were now approaching, so the Clergy and People were much divided with relation to the Ceremonies usual at those times. By some Injunctions in K. Henry's Reign it had been declared, that Fasting in Lent was only binding by a positive Law. Wakes and Plough Moondays were also suppressed, and hints were given that other customs which were much abused, should be

Some Ceremonies abrogated
be shortly put down. The gross Rabble loved these things, as matters of diversion, and thought Divine Worship without them would be but a dull business. But others lookt on these as Relicts of Heathenism, since the Gentiles worshipped their Gods with such Festivities, and thought they did not become the gravity and simplicity of the Christian Religion. Cranmer upon this procured an Order of Council against the carrying of Candles on Candlemas day, of Ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and Palms on Palm-Sunday; which was directed to Bonner to be intimated to the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, and was executed by him. But a Proclamation followed against all that should make changes without Authority: The creeping to the Cross and taking Holy Bread and Water, were by it put down, and power was given to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury to certify, in the King's name, what Ceremonies should be afterwards laid aside; and none were to preach out of their own Parishes without licence from the King or the Visitors, the Arch-bishop or the Bishop of the Diocese. Some questioned the Councils power to make such Orders, the Act that gave authority to their Proclamations being repealed; but it was said the King's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters might well justify their making such Rules. Soon after this, a General Order followed for a removal of all Images out of Churches: There were every where great contests whe-
whether the Images had been abused to Superstition or not. Some thought the consecration of them was an abuse common to them all. Those also that represented the Trinity, as a man with three faces in one head, or as an old man with a young man before him, and a Dove over his head; and some where the Blessed Virgin was represented as assumed into it, gave so great scandal, that it was no wonder, if men, as they grew to be better enlightened, could no longer endure them. The only occasion given to censure in this order, was, that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the Kings use. A Letter was at that time writ to all Preachers, requiring them to exhort the people to amend their lives, and for-fake Superstition; but for things not yet changed, to bear with them, and not to run before those whom they should obey.

Some hot men condemned this temper, as favouring too much of carnal Policy; but it was said, that though the Apostles by the gift of Miracles, had sufficient means to convince the World of their authority; Yet they did not all at once change the customs of the Mosaical Law, but proceeded by degrees; and Christ forbid the pulling up the Tares, lest good Wheat should be pulled up with them; so it was fit to wean people by degrees from their former superstition, and not to run too fast.
Eighteen Bishops, and some Divines, were now employed to examine the Offices of the Church, to see which of them needed amendment. They began with the Eucharist: They proceeded in the same manner that was used in the former Reign. For every one gave in his opinion in Writing, in answer to the questions that were put to them. Some of these are still preserved, which were concerning the Priests sole communicating, and Masses satisfactory for the dead, the Mass in an unknown tongue, the hanging it up and exposing it and the Sacrifice that was made in it. In most of those Papers it appears that the greatest part of the Bishops were still leavened with the old superstition, at least to some degree. It was clearly found that the plain Institution of the Sacrament was much vitiated, with a mixture of many Heathenish Rites and Pomps, on design to raise the credit of the Priests, in whole hands that great performance was lodged. This was at first done to draw over the Heathens by those splendid Rites to Christianity; but Superstition once begun, has no bounds nor measures; and ignorance and barbarity encreasing in the darker ages, there was no regard had to any thing in Religion, but as it was set off with much Pageantry: And the belief of the Corporal presence raised this to a great height. The Office was in an unknown tongue, all the Vessels and Garments belonging to it, were consecrated with much devotion,
of the Reformation, &c.

a great part of the Service was secret, to make it look like a wonderful charm; the Consecration itself was to be said very softly, for words that were not to be heard, agreed best with a change that was not to be seen: The many Gesticulations and the magnificent Processions all tended to raise this Pageantry higher. Masses were also said for all the turns and affairs of humane life. Trentals, a custom of having thirty Masses a year on the chief Festivities for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, was that which brought the Priests most Money, for these were thought Gods best days, in which access was easier to him. On Saints days, in the Mass it was prayed, that by the Saints Intercession, the Sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger Indulgence, which could not be easily explained, if the Sacrifice was the death of Christ; besides a numberless variety of other Rites, so many of the Reliefs of Heathenism were made use of for the corrupting of the holiest institution of the Christian Religion. The first step that was now made, was a new Office for the Communion, that is, the distribution of the Sacrament, for the Office of Consecration was not at this time touched. It differs very little from what is still used. In the Exhortation, Auricular Confession to a Priest is left free to be done or omitted, and all were required not to judge one another in that matter. There was also a denunciation made requiring
impenitent sinners to withdraw. The Bread was to be still of the same form that had been formerly used. In the distribution it was said, *The Body of our Lord, &c. preserve thy Body, and The Blood of our Lord, &c. preserve thy Soul.* This was printed with a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it with such Reverence and Uniformity, as might encourage the King to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the King gave direction, assuring the people of his earnest zeal to set forth Godly Orders; and therefore it was hoped they would tarry for it. The Books were sent over England, and the Clergy were appointed to give the Communion next Easter according to them.

Many were much offended to find Confession left indifferent, so this matter was examined. Christ gave his Apostles a power of binding and loosing, and S. James commanded all to confess their faults to one another. In the Primitive Church all that denied the Faith, or otherwise gave scandal, were separated from the Communion, and not admitted to it till they made publick Confession: And according to the degrees of their sins, the time and degrees of publick Penitence, and their Separation were proportioned: Which was the chief subject of the Consultations of the Councils in the fourth and fifth Centuries. For secret sins the people lay under no obligation to confess, but they went often to their Priests for direction, even for these.
Near the end of the fifth Century they began to have secret Penances and Confessions as well as publick: But in the seventh Century this became the general practice. In the eighth Century the Commutation of Penance for Money, or other Services done the Church, was brought in. Then the Holy Wars and Pilgrimages came to be magnified: Croisadoes against Heretics, or Princes deposed by the Pope, were set up instead of all other Penances: Priests also managed Confession and Absolution, so as to enter into all mens secrets, and to govern their Consciences by them; but they becoming very ignorant, and not so associated as to be governed by Orders that might be sent them from Rome, the Friers were every where employed to hear Confessions, and many reserved Cases were made, in which the Pope only gave Absolution; these were trusted to them, and they had the Trade of Indulgences put in their hands, which they managed with as much confidence as Mountebanks used in selling their Medicines, with this advantage, that the ineffectualness of their devices was not so easily discovered, for the people believed all that the Priests told them. In this they grew to such a pitch of confidence, that for saying some Collects, Indulgences for years, and for Hundreds, Thousands, yea, a Million of years; were granted; so cheap a thing was Heaven made. This trade was now thrown out of the Church, and private
Confession was declared indifferent: But it was much censured that no Rules for Publick Penance were set up at this time, but what were corrupted by the Canoni-ffids. The people did not think a De-clarative Absolution sufficient, and thought it surer work when a Priest said, *I Ab- solve thee*, though that was but a late In-vention. Others censured the words of distribution, by which the Bread was ap-propriated to the Body, and the Cup to the Soul: And this was soon after amended, only some words relating to it are still in the Collect, *We do not pre-sume*.

The affairs of State took up the Coun-cil, as much as the matters of Religion im-ploved the Bishops, the War with Scotland grew chargeable, and was supported from France, but the sale of the Chantry Lands brought the Council in some Money. Gardiner was brought into new trouble, many com-plaints were made of him, that he dispa-raged the Preachers sent with the Kings li-cence into his Dioces, and that he secret-ly opposed all Reformation. So being brought before the Council, he denied most of the things objected to him, and offered to explain himself openly in a Sermon before the King. The Protector preft him not to meddle in matters, not yet determined, particularly the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and to assert the Kings power, though he was under age, and the Authority of the Council: for the

Clergy
of the Reformation, &c.

Clergy began generally to say, that though they acknowledged the Kings Supremacy; yet they would not yield it to the Council, and seemed to place it in some extraordinary grace conferred on the King by the Anointing in the Coronation. So the Protector desired Gardiner to declare himself in those points; but when he came to preach on St. Peter's day, he inveighed against the Pope's Supremacy, and asserted the Kings, but said nothing of the Council, nor the Kings power under Age: he also justified the suppression of Monasteries and Chanotries, and the putting down Masses satisfactory, as also the removing of Images, the Sacrament in both kinds, and the new Order for the Communion; but did largely assert the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament: Upon which there was a noise raised by hot Men of both sides, during the Sermon, and this was said to be a stirring of sedition, and upon that he was sent to the Tower. This way of proceeding was thought contrary both to Law and Justice, and as all violent courses do, this rather weakened than strengthened those that were most concerned in it. Cramner did at this time set out a large Catechism, which he dedicated to the King. He insisted much on shewing, that Idolatry had been committed in the use of Images: he asserted the Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests, and their authority of Absolving sinners, and expressed great Zeal for setting up Penti-
Abridgment of the History

tentiary Canons, and exhorted the People to discover the state of their Souls to their Pastors: from this it appears, that he had changed the opinions, he formerly held, against the Divine Institution of the Ecclesiastical Offices.

But now a more general Reformation of the whole Liturgy was under consideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worship of God; and be no more cantoned to the several Uses of Sarum, York, Lincoln, Hereford and Bangor. Anciently the Liturgies were short, and had few Ceremonies in them: Every Bishop had one for his own Diocess: but in the African Churches, they began first to put them into a more Regular Form. Gregory the Great, labour'd much in this; yet he left Austin the Monk to his liberty, either to use the Roman or French forms in England, as he found they were like to tend most to Edification. Great Additions were made in every Age, for the private Devotions of some that were reputed Saints, were added to the Publick offices: and mysterious significations were invented for every new Rite, which was the chief study of some Ages: and all was swelled up to a vast bulk. It was not then thought on, that praying by the spirit, consisted in the inventing new words, and uttering them with warmth; and it seemed too great a subjection of the People to their Priests, that they should make them joyn with them in all their
of the Reformation, &c.

their heats in prayer: and would have proved as great a resignation of their devotion to them, as the former superstition had made of their faith. It was then resolved to have a Liturgy, and to bring the Worship to a fit mean, between the Pomp of Superstition, and naked flatness. They resolved to change nothing, meerly in opposition to received practices, but rather in imitation of what Christ did, in the Institution of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, that did consist of Rites used among the Jews, but blessed by him to higher purposes, to comply with what had been formerly in use, as much as was possible thereby to gain the People. All the Consecrations of Water, Salt, &c. in the Church of Rome, lookt like the remainders of Heathenism, and were laid aside: by these Devils being adjured, and a Divine vertue supposed to be in them, the People came to think, that by such observances, they might be sure of Heaven. The Absolutions, by which, upon the account of the Merits of the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, the sprinklings of Water, Fastings and Pilgrimages, with many other things, sins were pardoned, as well as on the account of the Passion of Christ, and the Absolution given to dead bodies, lookt like gross Impostures, tending to make the World think, that besides the painful way to Heaven, in a course of true Holiness, the Priests had secrets in their hands, of carrying People
people thither in another Method, and on easier terms; and this drew in the People to purchase their favour, especially when they were dying: so that, as their fears were then heightned, there was no other way left them, in the conclusion of an ill life, to dye with any good hopes, but as they bargained for them with their Priests, therefore all this was now cast out.

It was resolved to have the whole worship in the Vulgar Tongue, upon which Saint Paul has copiously enlarged himself: and all Nations, as they were converted to Christianity, had their Offices in their Vulgar Tongue; but of late, it had been pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that the worship should be every where in the same Language; though the People were hardly used, when for the sake of some Vagrant Priests, that might come from foreign Parts, they were kept from knowing what was said in the worship of God. It was pretended, that Pilate having ordered the Inscriptton on the Crois, in Greek, Latine, and Hebrew, these three Languages were sanctified; but it is not easie to understand what authority he had, for conferring such a privilidge on them. But the keeping all in an Unknown Tongue, preserved in dark Ages the esteem of their Offices, in which there were such Prayers and Hymns, and such Lessons, that if the People had understood them, they must have given great scandal:
In many Prayers the pardon of sins, and the grace of God were asked, in such a style, of the Saints, as if these had been wholly at their disposal, and as if they had been more merciful than God, or Christ. In former times all that did officiate, were peculiarly habited, and all their Garments were blessed: and these were considered, as a part of the train of the Mass; but on the other hand, white had been the colour of the Priest's Vestments, under the Mosaical Law, and was early brought into the Christian Churches: it was a proper expression of Innocence, and it was fit that the worship of God should be in a decent habit. So it was continued, and since the Sacrifices offered to Idols, were not thereby according to Saint Paul, of their own nature polluted, and every Creature of God was good, it was thought, notwithstanding the former abuse, most reasonable to use these Garments still.

The Morning and Evening Prayers were put almost in the same Method, in which we use them still, only there was no Confession nor Absolution. In the Office for the Communion, there was a Commemoration of thanksgiving, for the Blessed Virgin, and all departed Saints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the Consecration, the use of crossing the Elements was retained, but there was no Elevation, which was at first used as an historical Rite, to shew Christ's
Christ's being lifted up on the Cross; but afterwards done, to call on the People to adore it. No stamp was to be on the Bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be put in the Peoples mouths by the Priests, though it had been anciently put in their hands. Some in the Greek Church began to take it in Spoons of Gold, others in a Linnen cloth, called their Dominical: but after the Corporal presence was received, the People were not suffered to touch it, and the Priests Thumbs and Fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualifie them for that Contact. In Baptifm, the Child's head and breast was croft, and an adjuration was made of the Devil, to depart from him: Children were to be thrice dipt, or in case of weakness, water was to be sprinkled on their faces, and then they were to be anointed. The sick might also be anointed, if they desired it. At Funerals, the departed Soul was recommended to God's mercy.

The Sacraments were formerly believed, of such vertue, that they conferred Grace, by the very receiving them, ex opere operato: and so Women baptized. The Ancients did fend portions of the Eucharift to the sick, but without any Pomp: which came in, when the Corporal Presence was believed. But instead of that, it was now appointed, that the Sacraments should be miniftred to the sick, and therefore in case of weakness, Children might be bap-
of the Reformation, &c.
tized in Houses; though it was more suit-
able to the design of Baptism, which was
the admission of a new Member to the
Church, to do it before the whole Con-
gregation: But this, which was a provi-

tion for weakness, is become since a mark
of Vanity, and a piece of affected state.
It was also appointed, that the Sacrament
should be given to the sick, and not to be
sent from the Church, but Consecrated
by their Bed-sides: since Christ had said,
that where two or three were assembled,
in his name, he would be in the midst of
them. But it is too gross a Relique of
the worst part of Popery; if any imagine,
that after an ill life, some sudden sorrow
for sin, with a hasty Absolution, and the
Sacrament will be a passeport to Heaven,
since the mercies of God in Christ are
offered in the Gospel, only to those who
truly believe, sincerely repent, and do
change the course of their Lives.
The Liturgy thus compiled, was publi-
ished with a Preface, concerning Ceremo-
nies: the same that is still in the Com-
mon-Prayer-Book, written with extraor-
dinary judgment and temper.
When the Book came into all Mens
hands, several things were cenfured: as
particularly the frequent use of the Cross
and Anointing. The former began to be
used, as a badge of a crucified Saviour:
but the superstition of it was so much
advanced, that Latria was given to the
Crofier. The using it was also believed
Cenfures
past on
the Com-
mon-pray-
er-Book.
to have a Virtue for driving away evil spirits, and preserving one from dangers; so that a Sacramental vertue was affixed to it, which could not be done, since there is no Institution for it in Scripture: but the using it as a Ceremony, expressing the believing in a crucified Saviour, could import no superstition, since Ceremonies, that only express our duty or profession, may be used as well as words, these being signs, as the other are founds, that express our thoughts. The use of Oyl in Confirmation, and receiving Penitents, was early brought into the Church: but it was not applied to the sick, till the 10th Century; for the Ancients did not understand those words of Saint James, to relate to it, but to the extraordinary gift of healing, then in the Church.

While these changes were under consideration, there were great heats everywhere, and a great contradiction among the Pulpits; some commending all the old customs, and others inveighing as much against them: so the power of granting Licences to preach, was taken from the Bishops, and restrained only to the King and the Archbishops; yet even that did not prove an effectual restraint. So a Proclamation was set out, restraining all Preaching, till the Order, which was then in the hands of the Bishops, should be finished; and instead of hearing Sermons, all were required to apply themselves to Prayer.
of the Reformation, &c.

Prayer, for a blessing on that which was then a preparing, and to content themselves in the mean while with the Homilies.

The War of Scotland continued: the Scots received a great supply from France of 6000. Men, under the command of Defy. The English had fortified Haddington, which was well situated, and lay in a fruitful Country: so the Governor of Scotland joining an Army of Scots to the French, sat down before it. The Protector saw the inconveniences of a long War coming on him, both with Scotland and France: so he offered a truce for 10. years, in which time he hoped by presents and practices, to gain, or at least to divide those, who were united by the War. Many of the Scotch Nobility liked the Proposition well: and indeed the insolence of the French was such, that instead of being Auxiliaries, they considered them as Enemies. But the Clergy were so apprehensive of a Match with England, that they never concluded themselves secure, till it were put out of their power: and so did vehemently promote the Proposition made by the French, of sending their Queen over to France: and this was in conclusion agreed to. So the French Ships that brought over the Auxiliaries, carried back the young Queen. The siege of Haddington went on: a great recruit sent to them from Berwick was intercepted, and cut off: but they were well supplied.
plied with Ammunition and Provisions.

Some Castles that the English had, were taken by surprize, and others by Treachery: a Fleet was sent to spoil the Coast of Scotland, under the Admirals command, but he made only two descents, in both which he had such ill success, that he lost near 1200 Men in them. The Earl of Shrewsbury led in a good Army to the Relief of Haddington: The Siege was opened, and the place well supplied. But as Deffy marched back to Edinburgh, his Souldiers committed great out-rages upon the Scots, so that if Shrewsbury had designed to fight, he had great advantages, since the Scots were now very weary of their imperious friends, the French: but he marched back, having performed that for which he was sent. Deffy followed him, and made a great in-road into England, but would not give the Scots any share of the spoil, and treated them in all things, as a conquered Province: and being in fear of them, he fortified himself in Leith, which before was but an inconsiderable Village. He also attacked the Fort which the English had in Inchkeith, and took it. But he was recalled upon the Complaints that were sent to the Court of France, against him. Now the People there began to feel their slavery, and to hate those that had persuaded the sending their Queen to France; and particularly the Clergy, and were thereby the more disposed to hearken to such
such Preachers, as discovered their Corruptions and superstition. Montus Bishop of Valence, a Man celebrated for wisdom, and for so much moderation in matters of Religion, that it drew upon him the suspicion of Heresie, was sent over from France to be Chancellor of Scotland. This was like to give great discontent to the Scotch Nobility: so he returned to France. The English were now involved in a War, in which they could promise themselves no good issue, unless they could conquer the Kingdom: for the end they had proposed by a Match, was now put out of the power, even of the Scots themselves.

In Germany, the Emperor, after he had used all possible endeavours to bring the Council back to Trent, but without success, protested against those at Bologna: and ordered three Divines (one of them was esteemed a Protestant) to draw a Book for reconciling matters of Religion, which should take place in that interval, till a Council should meet in Germany, called from that the Interim. The chief Concessions in favour of the Protestants were the Communion in both kinds, and that married Priests might officiate. A Diet was summoned, where Maurice was invested in the Electorate of Saxe, the degraded Elector being made to look on, and see the Ceremony; which he did with his ordinary constancy of mind: and without expressing any concern about it,
he returned to his studies, which were chiefly employed in the Scriptures. The Book was proposed to the Diet, and the Bishop of Mentz, without any Order, thanked the Emperour for it, in their name, and this was published, as the consent of the Diet. So slight a thing will pass for a consent of the States, by a Conquerour that looks on himself as above Law. Both Papists and Protestants were offended at it. It was condemned at Rome, where no herefie was more odious than that the Secular Powers should meddle in points of Faith. The Protestants generally refused it: and the imprisoned Elector could not be wrought on to receive it, neither by the Offers that were made him, nor the severities he was put to, in all which he was always the same. Some contests arose between Melancthon, and the other Lutherans: for he thought the Ceremonies, being things indifferent, might be received; but the others thought these would make way for all the other errors of Popery. The Protestant Religion was now almost ruined in Germany, and this made the Divines turn their eyes to England. Calvin wrote to the Protector, and press him to go on to a more compleat Reformation, and that Prayers for the Dead, the Chrism and Extream Unction might be laid aside. He desired him to trust in God, and go on, and wished there were more preaching, and in a more lively way, than he heard was then
of the Reformation, &c.

in England: but above all things he prayed him to suppress that Impiety and pro-
fanity, that, as he heard, abounded in the Nation.

In the end of this Year, a Session of Parliament met, but no Bill was finished before February; the first was concerning the married Clergy, which was finished by the Commons in six days, but lay six Weeks before the Lords: Nine Bishops, and four Temporal Lords protested against it. It was declared, that it were better for Priests to live unmarried, free of all worldly cares; yet since the Laws compelling it, had occasioned great filthi-
ness, they were all repealed. The pre-
tence of Chastity in the Romish Priests, had possessed the World with a high o-
pinion of them, and had been a great re-
fection on the Reformers, if the World had not clearly seen through it, and been made very sensible of the ill effects of it, by the defilement it brought into their own Beds and Families. Nor was there any point in which the Reformers had enquired more, to remove this prejudice, that lay against them. In the old Testa-
ment, all the Priests were not only mar-
ried, but the Office descended by Inheri-
tance. In the New Testament, Marriage was declared Honourable in all: among the qualifications of Bishops and Deacons, their being the Husbands of one Wife, are reckoned up. Many of the Apostles were married, and carried their Wives about

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with

An Act for the marriage of the Clergy.
Abridgment of the History

with them, as also Aquila did Priscilla. For
bidding to marry, is reckoned a mark of
the Apostasie, that was to follow. Some
of the first Hereticks inveighed against
Marriage, but the Orthodox justified it,
and condemned those Churchmen that put
away their Wives: which was confirmed
by a General Council, in the fifth Cen-
tury: Paphnutius, in the Council of Nice,
opposed a motion that was made for it:
Hilary of Poitiers was married, Basil and Na-
ziianzen's Fathers were Bishops. Heliodorus, the
first that wrote a Romance, moved that Bi-
shops might live singly; but till then eve-
ry one did in that as he pleased, and e-
ven those who were twice married, if the
first was before their Conversion might be
Bishops, which Jerome himself, though very
partial to celibate, justifies; all the Canons
made against the married Clergy, were
only positive Laws, which might be re-
pealed. The Priests in the Greek Church
did still live with their Wives at that
time; In the West, the Clergy did gene-
 rally marry; and in Edgar's time, they
were for the most part married in Eng-
land. In the Ninth Century P. Nicolas
prest the Celibate much, but was oppo-
sed by many. In the Eleventh Century,
Gregory the 7th. intending to set up a
new Ecclesiastical Empire, found that the
unmarried Clergy would be the surest to
him, since the married gave Pledges to
the State, and therefore he proceeded fur-i-
ously in it; and called all the married
Priests,
Priests, Nicolaitans: yet in England, Lanfranc did only impose the Celibate on the Prebendaries, and the Clergy that lived in Towns: Anselm imposed it on all without exception; but both he, Bernard, and Petrus Damiani, complain, that Sodomy abounded much, even among the Bishops: And not only Panormitan, but Pius the 2d. wished, that the Laws for the Celibate were taken away. So it was clear, that it was not founded on the Laws of God: and it was a sin to force Churchmen to vow that which sometimes was not in their power: and it was found by examining the forms of Ordination, that the Priests in England had made no such vows; and even the vow in the Roman Pontifical to live chastly, did not import a tie not to marry, since a Man might live Chast in a married state. Many lewd stories were published of the Clergy, but none seemed more remarkable, than that of the Pope's Legate, in Henry the second's time, who the very same Night after he had put all the married Clergy from their Benefices, was found a-bed with a Whore. It was also observed that the unmarried Bishops, if they had not Bastards to raise, were as much set on advancing their Nephews and Kindred, as those that were married could be: Nor did any Persons meddle more in secular affairs, than the unmarried Clergy: and it might be reasonable to restrain the Clergy, as was done in the Primitive Church, from converting the Goods
Goods of the Church, which were entrusted to their care, to the enriching of their Families. None appeared more zealous for procuring this liberty, than several Clergymen that never made use of it, in particular Ridley and Redmayn.

An Act confirming the Liturgy. Another Act past, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finished, Eight Bishops, and three Temporal Lords only protesting against it. There was a long preamble, setting forth the inconvenience of the former Offices, and the pains that had been taken to reform them; and that diverse Bishops and Divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with an uniform agreement concluded on the new Book: therefore they Enacted, That by Whitsunday next, all Divine Offices should be performed according to it, and if any used other Offices, for the first offence they should be imprisoned six months, lose their Benefices for a second, and be imprisoned during life for the third offence. Some censured those words, that the Book was composed by the Aid of the Holy Ghost; but this did not import an Inspiration, but a Divine assistance. Many wondered to see the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster, protest against the Act, since they had concurred in composing the Book. It does not appear whether they were dissatisfied at any thing in it, or whether they opposed the imposing it on such severe penalties; or if they were displeased at a Proviso that was added.
added for the using of Psalms taken out of the Bible, which was intended for the singing Psalms then put in Verse, and much used both in Churches and Houses, by all that loved the Reformation. In the Primitive times the Christians used the Psalter much, and the chief devotion of the Monastic Orders consisted in repeating it often. Apollinaris put it in Verse, and both Nazianzen and Prudentius wrote many devout Hymns in Verse: Others, though in Prose, were much used, as the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Te Deum: afterwards the greatest part of the Offices was put in Latin Rhimes, and so now some English Poets turned the Psalter into Verse, which was then much esteemed; but both our Language and Poetry, being since that time much improved, this work has now lost its beauty so much, that there is great need of a new Version.

Another Act past about Fasting, declaring, "That though all days and meats were in themselves alike, yet fasting, being a great help to vertue, and to the subduing the Body to the mind, and a distinction of meats conduction to the advancement of the Fishing trade, it was Enacted, That Lent, and all Fridays and Saturdays, and Ember days should be Fish days, under several penalties, excep- t'ing the weak, or those that had the Kings Licence. Christ had told his Disciples, that when he was taken from them, they should fast: So in the Primi-
tive Church they fasted before Easter; but
the same number of days was not observed
in all places; afterwards other rules and
days were set up: but S. Austin complained,
that many in his time placed all their
Religion in observing them. Fast days were
turned to a mockery in the Church of
Rome, in which they both dined, and did
eat Fifth dreft exquisitely, and drank Wine.
This made many run to another extrem
against all Fasts, or distinction of days,
which certainly, if rightly managed, and
without superstition, is a great means for
keeping up a seriousness of mind, which
is necessary for maintaining the power of
Religion. Other Bills were proposed, but
not past, one for making it Treason to
marry the Kings Sisters, without the con-
sent of the King and Council: But the
forfeiture of Succession in that case was
thought sufficient. The Bishops did also
complain of their want of power to re-
press vice, which so much abounded: But
the Laity were so apprehensive of coming
again under an Ecclesiastical Tyranny,
that they would not consent to it. A
Proposition was also made for bringing
the Common Law into a body, in imita-
tion of Justinian's Digests: But it fell, being
too great a design to be finished under an
Infant King.

In this Parliament the Admiral was At-
tained. The Queen Dowager died in
September last, not without suspicion of
Poison; upon that he renewed his Ad-
dresses
of the Reformation, &c.
dreso's to Lady Elizabeth; but finding it in vain to expect that his Brother and the Council would consent to it, and that her right to the Succession would be cut off if he married her without their consent, he resolved to make sure of the King's Person, till he made a change in the Government: He fortified his House, he laid up a Magazine, and made a party among the Nobility. The Protector employed many to divert him from those desperate designs, but his Ambition being incurable, he was forced to proceed to extremities against him. He sent him Prisoner to the Tower in January, with his Confederate Sharington, who being Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at Bristol, had supplied him with Money, and had coined much base Money for his use. Many were sent to persuade him to a better mind, and his Brother was willing to be again reconciled to him, if he would retire from the Court and business; but he was intractable. So, many Articles were objected to him, both of his designs against the State, and of his Malversation in his Office, several Pyrates having been entertained by him. Many Witnellses and Letters under his own hand, were brought against him. Almost the whole Council went to the Tower and examined him; but he refused to make any Answers, and said he expected an open Tryal. The whole Council upon this, acquainted the King with it, and desired him to refer the matter to the Parliament, which he granted.

Upon
Upon that, some Counsellors were again sent to see what they could draw from him, but he was sullen, and after he had answered to three of the Articles, denying some particulars, and excusing others, he refused to go any further. The business was next brought into the House of Lords: The Judges and the Kings Council delivered their opinions, That the Articles objected to him were Treason. Then the Evidence was given, upon which the whole House past the Bill, the Protector only withdrawing: They dispatched it in two days. In the House of Commons many argued against Attainders without a Trial, or bringing the party to make his Answers. But a Message was sent from the King, desiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun. So the Lords that had given Evidence against him in their own House, were sent down to the Commons: Upon which they past the Bill; and the Royal Assent was given the fifth of March: And afterwards, the King being prest to it by the Council, gave order for the Execution, which was done the twentieth of March. This was the only cure that his Ambition seemed capable of: Yet it was thought against nature, that one Brother should fall by the hand of another: And the Attainting a man without hearing him, was condemned, as contrary to Natural Justice; so that the Protector suffered almost as much by his death as he could have done by his life.
The Laity and Clergy both gave the King Subsidies, and so the Parliament was Prorogued. The first thing taken into care was the receiving the Act of Uniformity: Some Complaints were made of the Priests way of officiating, that they did it with such a tone of voice, that the people did not understand what was said, no more than when the Prayers were said in Latine; so this Temper was found: Prayers were ordered to be said in Parish Churches in a plain voice, but in Cathedrals the old way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the Musick used in them: Though this seemed not very decent in the Confession of sins, nor in the Litany, where a simple voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those devotions, than those Cadences and unmusical notes do. Others continued to use all the Gesticulations, Crossings and Kneelings, that they had formerly been accustomed to: The people did also continue the use of their Beads, which were brought in by Peter Hermite, in the eleventh Century, by which the repeating the Angels Salutation to the Virgin, was made a great part of their devotion, and was ten times said for one Pater Nofter. Instructions were given to the Visitors to put all these down in a new Visitation, and to enquire if any Priests continued to drive a trade by Trentals or Masses for departed Souls. Order was also given, that there should be no Private Masses at Altars in the corners
ners of Churches, and that there should be but one Communion in a day, unless it were in great Churches, and at high Festivals, in which they were allowed to have one Communion in the morning, and another at noon. The Visitors made their Report, that they found the Book of Common Prayer received universally over all the Kingdom, only Lady Mary continued to have Mass said according to the abrogated forms: Upon this, the Council wrote to her to conform to the Laws; for the nearer she was to the King in blood, she was so much the more obliged to give a good Example to the rest of the Subjects. She refused to comply with their desires, and sent one to the Emperor for his Protection; upon which the Emperor pressed the English Embassadors, and they promised that for some time she should be dispensed with. The Emperor pretended afterwards that they made him an absolute Promise that she should never be more troubled about it, but they said it was only a Temporary Promise. A Match was also proposed for her with the King of Portugal's Brother, but it was let fall soon after. She refused to acknowledge the Laws made when the King was under age, and carried herself very high, for she knew well that the Protector was then afraid of a War with France, and that made the Emperours Alliance more necessary to England: Yet the Council sent for the Officers of her household, and required them to let her know
know that the Kings Authority was the same when he was a child as at full age; and that it was now lodged in them, and though as they were single persons, they were all inferior to her, yet as they were the Kings Council, she was bound to obey them, especially when they executed the Law; which all Subjects of what rank soever were bound to obey. Yet at present they durst go no further for fear of the Emperours displeasure: So it was resolved to connive at her Mass.

The Reformation of the greatest Errors in Divine Worship being thus established; Cranmer proceeded next to establish a form of Doctrine: the chief point that hitherto was untouched, was the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which the Priests magnified as the greatest Mystery of the Christian Religion, and the chief priviledge of Christians; with which the simple and credulous vulgar were mightily affected. The Lutherans received that which had been for some Ages the Doctrine of the Greek Church, that in the Sacraments there was both Bread and Wine, and also the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Helvetians lookt on it only as a Commemoration of the Death of Christ. The Princes of Germany were at great pains to have these reconciled, in which Bucer had laboured with great Industry: But Luther being a man of a harsh temper, did not easily bear contradiction, and was too apt to assume.
in effect, that Infallibility to himself, which he condemned in the Pope. Some took a middle way, and asserted a Real Presence, but it was not easy to understand what was meant by that expression, unless it was a real application of Christ's death; so that the meaning of Really was Effectually. But though Bucer followed this method, Pet. Martyr did in his Lectures declare plainly for the Helvetians. So Dr. Smith, and some others, intended publickly to oppose and affront him; and challenged him to a dispute about it, which he readily accepted, on these conditions, That the Kings Council should first approve of it, and that it should be managed in Scripture terms: For the strength of those Doctors lay in a nimble managing of those barbarous and unintelligible terms of the Schools, which though they founded high, yet really they had no sense under that: So all the Protestants resolved to dispute in Scripture terms, which seemed more proper in matters of Divinity, than the Metaphysical language of Schoolmen. The Council having appointed Dr. Cox, and some others, to preside in the dispute, Dr. Smith went out of the way, and a little after fled out of England: But before he went, he wrote a very mean submission to Cranmer: Other Doctors disputed with Peter Martyr concerning Transubstantiation, but that had the common fate of all publick disputes, for both sides gave out that they had the better. At the same
same time there were also disputes at Cambridge, which were moderated by Ridley, that was sent down thither by the Council. He had fallen on Bertram's Book of the Sacrament, and wondere much to find so celebrated a Writer in the ninth Century, engage so plainly against the Corporal Presence: This disposed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the Church: He communicated the matter to Cranmer, and they together made great Collections out of the Fathers on this head, and both wrote concerning it.

The substance of their Arguments was, That as Christ called the Cup the Fruit of the Vine, so S. Paul called the other Element Bread, after the Consecration; which shews that their natures were not changed. Christ speaking to Jews, and substituting the Eucharist in the room of the Paschal Lamb, used such expressions as had been customary among the Jews on that occasion; who called the Lamb the Lord's Paschal over, which could not be meant literally, since the Paschal was the Angels passing by their Houses, when the first-born of the Egyptians were killed: So it being a commemoration of that, was called the Lords Paschal; and in the same sense did Christ call the Bread his Body: Figurative expressions being ordinary in Scripture, and not improper in Sacraments, which may be called Figurative actions. It was also appointed for a Remembrance of
of Christ, and that supposes absence:

Book II. The Elements were also called by Christ his Body broken, and his Blood shed; so it is plain, they were his Body, not as it is glorified in Heaven, but as it suffered on the Cross: And since the Scriptures speak of Christ's continuance in Heaven till the last day, from thence they inferred, that he was not Corporally present. And it was shewed, that the eating Christ's Flesh, mentioned by S. John, was not to be understood of the Sacrament, since of every one that did eat, it is said that he has Eternal life in him. So that was to be understood only of receiving Christ's doctrine, and he himself shewed it was to be meant so, when he said, that the Flesh profited nothing; but his words were Spirit and Life. So that all this was according to Christ's ordinary way of teaching in Parables. Many other Arguments were brought from the nature of a body, to prove that it could not be in more places than one at once, and that it was not in a place after the manner of a Spirit, but was always extended. They found also that the Fathers had taught, that the Elements were still Bread and Wine, and were the Types, the Signs and Figures of Christ's Body, not only according to Tertullian, and S. Austin, but to the Ancient Liturgies, both in the Greek and Roman Churches. But that on which they built most, was that Chrysostome, Gelasius, and Theodoret, arguing against those who said that the
of the Reformation, &c.

humane nature in Christ was swallow-
ed up by its Union to his Godhead. They illustrated the contrary thus; as in the Sacrament, the Elements are united to the Body of Christ, and yet continue to be the same that they were formerly, both in Substance, Nature, and Figure; So the Humanity was not destroy-
ed by its Union with the Word. From which it appeared that it was then the received opinion, that the Elements were not changed; and therefore all those high expressions in Chrysofo
tome, or others, were only strains and figures of Eloquence, to raise the devotion of the people higher in that holy action. But upon those expres-
sions the following Ages built that opinion, which agreeing so well with the Designs of the Priests, for establishing the authority of that Order, which by its Character was qua-
lified for the greatest performance that ever was; no wonder they took all imaginable pains to infuse it into the belief of the world, and those dark ages were disposed to believe every thing so much the rather the more incredible that it appeared to be. In the ninth Century many of the greatest men of that Age wrote against it, and none of them were for that condemn-ed as Hereticks: The contrary opinion was then received in England, as appeared by one of the Saxon Homilies that was read on Easter-day, in which many of Bertrams words were put. But it was ge-
erally received in the eleventh and twelfth
Century, and fully established in the fourth
Book II. Council in the Lateran. At first it was be-
lieved that the whole Loaf was turned into
one entire Body, so that in the distribu-
ton every one had a Joint given him; and ac-
cording to that conceit, it was given out
that it did often bleed, and was turned
into pieces of Flesh. But this seemed an
undecent way of handling Christ's glorified
Body, so the School-men did invent a
more seemly notion, That a Body might
be in a place after the manner of a Spirit,
so that in every crumb there was an entire
Christ; which though it appeared very
hard to be conceived, yet it generally pre-
vailed, and then the Miracles fitted for the
former opinion were no more heard of,
but new ones agreeing to this hypothesis
were set up in their stead. So dextrously
did the Priests deceive the World; and
because a mouthful of Bread, or a draught
of Wine, would have been shrewd tem-
ptations to make the people think it was
really Bread and Wine that they got,
therefore as the Cup was taken away, so
instead of Bread, a thin wafer was given,
to make the People more easily imagine,
that it was only the accidents of Bread,
that were received by them. Upon these
grounds did Cranmer and Ridley go in this
matter.

There were some Anabaptists at this time
in England, that were come over out of Ger-
many: of them there were two sorts, some only objected to the baptizing of
Children,
of the Reformation, &c.

Children, and to the manner of it by sprinkling, and not by dipping: others held many opinions, that had been anciently condemned as Heresies: they had raised a cruel War in Germany, and set up a new King at Münster, but all these carried the name Anabaptists from that of Infant-baptism, though it was one of the mildest Opinions that they held. Some of these came over to England, so a Commission was granted to some Bishops and others, to search them out, and to proceed against them. Several Persons were brought before them, and did abjure their errors, which were, 'That there was not a Trinity of Persons, that Christ was not God, 'and took not flesh of the Virgin, and 'that a Regenerate man could not sin. One Joan Bocher, called Joan of Kent, denied that Christ took flesh of the substance of his Mother; she was out of measure vain and conceited of her notions, and rejected all the Instruction that was offered her with scorn: so she was condemned as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered to the secular Arm. But it was very hard to perswade the King to sign the Warrant for her Execution; he thought it was an Instance of the same spirit of cruelty, for which the Reformers condemned the Papists: It was hard to condemn one to be burnt for some wild Opinions, especially when they seemed to flow from a disturbed brain; but Cranmer perswaded him, that he being Gods Lieutenant, was bound

Two were burnt.
bound in the first place to punish those offences committed against God: He also alleged the Laws of Moses, for punishing blasphemers: and he thought errors that struck immediately against the Apostles Creed, ought to be, capitally punished. These things did rather silence than satisfy the young King: he signed the Warrant with tears in his eyes, and said to Cranmer, that since he resigned up himself in that matter to his judgment, if he signed in it, it should lie at his door. This struck the Archbishop: and both he, and Ridley took her into their Houses, and tried what reason, joyned with gentleness, could do. But she was still more and more Insolent; so at last she was burnt, and ended her life very indecently, breaking out often in jeers, and reproaches, and was looked on as a person fitter for Bedlam, than a Stake. Some time after that, a Dutchman, George van Parre, was also condemned and burnt, for denying the Divinity of Christ, and saying, that the Father only was God. He had led a very Exemplary life, both for fasting, devotion, and a good conversation, and suffer'd with extraordinary composedness of mind. These things cast a great blemish on the Reformers: it was said, they only condemned cruelty, when it was exercised on themselves, but were ready to practise it, when they had power. The Papists made great use of this afterwards in Queen Maries time, and what Cranmer and Ridley suffered
of the Reformation, &c.

Suffered in her time, was thought a just retaliation on them from that wise Providence, that dispenses all things justly to all Men. For the other sort of Anabaptists, no severities were used against them, but several Books were written to justify Infant-baptism; and the Practice of the Church so early begun, and so universally spread, was thought a good Plea, especially being grounded on such Arguments in Scripture, as did demonstrate, at least, the lawfulness of it.

Another sort of People was much complained of, who built so much on the received Opinion of Predestination, that they thought they might live as they pleased; since nothing could resist an absolute Decree: nor did those who had advanced that Opinion, know well how to hinder People, from making such Inferences from it; all they did, was to warn them, not to pry too much into those secrets: but if the Opinion was true, there was no need of much prying to make such conclusions from it. This had a very ill effect on the Lives of many, who thought they were set loose from all obligations: and that was indeed the greatest scandal of the Reformation. The Preachers were aware of it, and apprehensive of the judgments of God, that would follow on it: of which they gave the Nation free warning.

At this time a sort of Contagion of rage run over all the Commons of England. The Nobility and Gentry finding more
more advantage by the Trade of Wool, than by their Corn, did generally inclose their Grounds, and turn them to Pasture: and so kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Estates into their own hands: and yet the numbers of the People increased, Marriage being allowed to all; the abrogation of many Holy-days, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them also more time to work. So the Commons feared to be reduced to great slavery. Some proposed an Agrarian Law, for regulating this, and the King himself wrote a Discourse about it, that there might be some equality in the division of the soyl among the Tenants. The Protector was a great friend to the Commons, and complained much of the Oppression of the Landlords. There was a Commission issued out, to enquire concerning Inclosures and Farms, and whether those who purchased the Abbey Lands, and were obliged to keep up Hospitality, performed it, or not? and what encouragement they gave to Husbandry? but this turned to nothing. So the Commons rose everywhere, yet in most of the Inland-Counties, they were easily dispersed; and it was promised that their grievances should be redressed. The Protector against the Councils mind, set out a Proclamation against all new Inclosures, and for indemnifying the People, for what was past. Commissioners were also sent everywhere, to hear and determine all Complaints,
plaints, but the power that was given to them, was so arbitrary, that the Landlords called it an Invasion of Property, when their Rights were thus subjected to the pleasure of such Men. The Commons understanding that the Protector was so favourable to them, were thereby the more encouraged: and it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convolusions England fell in, soon after, was chiefly occasioned by his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blamed, because he acted against the mind of the greatest part of the Council.

In Devonshire, the Insurrection was more formidable; the superstition of the Priests joining with the rage of the Commons, so they became quickly 10,000 strong. The Lord Russell was sent against them with a small force, and was ordered to try, if the matter could be composed without blood: but Arundel, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they were not a loose body of People, easily dissipated. They sent their Demands to Court; 'That the old Service and Ceremonies might be set up again, that the Act of the six Articles, and the Decrees of General Councils might be again in force: that the Bible in English should be called in, that Preachers should pray for the Souls in Purgatory, that Cardinal Pool should be restored, that the half of the Abbey Lands should be restored, to found two Abbeys in every County, and that Gentlemen of 100. Marks a Year, might
might have but one Servant: and they desired a safe Conduct for their Chief Leaders, in order to the Redress of their particular Grievances: afterwards they moderated their desires, only to points of Religion. Cranmer writ a large Answer to these, shewing the Novelty and Superstition of those Rites and Ceremonies, and of that whole way of worship, of which they were so fond: and that the amendments and changes had been made, according to the Scriptures, and the Customs of the Primitive Church: and that their being fond of a Worship, which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in ignorance, without the Scriptures, shewed their Priests had greater power over them, than the common reason of all Mankind had: as for the six Articles, that Act had never past, if the King had not gone in Person to the Parliament, and argued for it: yet he soon saw his error, and was slack in executing it. After that there was a high threatening Answer sent them in the King's name, charging them for their Rebellion, and blind obedience to their Priests. In it the King's authority, under Age, was largely set forth, for by the pretence of the Kings Minority, the People generally were made believe, that their rising in Arms, was not Rebellion. In Conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the Kings mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardoned, but
of the Reformation, &c.

but had redressed their just Grievances. At the same time the like spirit of rage inflamed the Commons in Norfolk; they pretended nothing of Religion, but only to destroy the Gentry, and put new Coun-
dellors about the King: they were led by one Ket a Tanner, and in a few days grew to be 20000. They encamped near
Norwich, and committed great outrages: Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, went in among them, and with great freedom inveighed against their Re-
bellion and Cruelty, and warned them of the Judgments of God that would fall on them, for which he was in great dan-
ger of his life. Ket was now their Prince, and in imitation of the ancient Druids, he did Justice upon complaints brought before him, under an Oak called from thence the Oak of Reformation. The Mar-
ques of Northampton was sent against them, with Orders to keep at a distance, and cut off their provisions. There was at the same time a rising likewise in York-
shire, where the Commons being encoura-
ged by some pretended Prophecies run to-
gether, and committed acts of great bar-
barity on some Gentlemen. The French
King hearing of all this, resolved to take
his advantage, and regain Bulloigne: three
days before he marched with his Army, the English Embassadour pressing him up-
on the Intimations that were given him of his design, he assured him on the faith of a Gentleman, that he would not begin a

The French begin a War.
War, till he first gave warning. But many Princes reckon it a part of their Prerogative, to be exempted from such ties, by which only poor Subjects ought to be fettered. All these things falling upon the Government at once; it may be easily imagined, they were under no small consternation. A Fast was proclaimed at Court, where Cranmer preached with great freedom and vehemence: he laid out before them their vicious and ill lives, particularly of those who pretended a love to the Gospel; and set before them the Judgments of God that they might look for, and enlarged on the fresh example of the Calamities of Germany; and intimated the sad apprehensions he had of some terrible stroke, if they did not repent and amend their lives.

The Rebels in Devonshire besiegèd Exeter: the Citizens resisted their assaults, but could not so easily resist the assaults that hunger made on them, for they were not provided for a Siege. They were reduced at last to great extremities, which made the Lord Russell, after he had got such supplies, as he judged necessary, resolve to fall upon them. They possessed themselves of a Bridge behind him, both to inclose him, and to hinder others from joyning with him; but he marched back, and did quickly beat them from it, with the los of 600. of their Men: and by that effay he perceived how easie a work it would be to disperse them: he upon
that marched forward to Exeter; and beat the Rebels from a Bridge, that opened his way to their Camp, killing a 1000 of them: upon which they raised the Siege, and retired in great disorder to Lancaster: he pursued them, as long as they kept in a body, and great numbers of them were killed, some of their Leaders and Priests were taken and hanged. So happily was that Rebellion subdued, without any loss on the Kings side. But the Marquefs of Northampton was not so successful in Norfolk: he marched into Norwich. The Rebels having a great Party in the Town, which was a place of no strength, fell in upon him next day, and drove him out of it: 100. of his Men were killed, and thirty taken Prisoners. Upon this they were much lifted up, but the Earl of Warwick coming thither with 6000 Men, that were prepared to be sent to Scotland, they, after some skirmishes with him, were forced to retire, for they had wasted all the Countrey about, so, that their Provisions failed them: but Warwick followed them close, and killed great numbers, and dispersed them. Ket, and some of their Leaders were taken, and hanged in Chains. The news of this going to Yorkshire, the Rebels there that had not exceeded 3000. accepted the offer of pardon, that was sent them; and some of the more factious, that were animating them, to make new commotions, were taken and hanged. On the 21. of August.
August, the Protector published a General Pardon, in the Kings name, of all that had been done before that day. Many of the Council opposed this, and judged it better to keep the Commons under the lash; but the Protector thought, that as long as such Members continued in such fears, it would be easie to raise new disorders: so he resolved, though without the Majority of the Council, to go through with it. This disgusted the Council extremely, who thought he took too much upon him.

A Visitati- on of Cambridge followed soon after this. Ridley was the chief of the Visitors: When he found that a design was laid to suppress some Colledges, under pretence of uniting them to others, and to convert some Fellowships that were provided for Divines, to the study of the Civil Law, he refused to go along in that with the other Visitors; and particularly opposed the suppression of Clare Hall, which they began with. He said, the Church was already too much robbed, and yet some Mens ravenousness was not satisfied. It seemed the design was laid, to drive both Religion and Learning out of the Land; therefore he desired leave to be gone. The Visitors complained of him to the Protector, and imputed his concern for Clare-Hall to his partiality for the North, where he was born, that being a House for the Northern Counties. Upon that, the Protector wrote him a chi- ding
of the Reformation, &c.

... but he answered it with the freedom that became a Bishop, who was resolved to suffer all things, rather than sin against his Conscience: and the Protector was so well satisfied with him, that the College was preserved. There was at this time an end put to a very foolish Controversie, that had occasioned some heat, concerning the pronunciation of the Greek Tongue; which many used more suitably to an English than a Greek accent. Cheek, being the Professor of Greek, had taught the truer Rules of Pronunciation, but Gardiner was an Enemy to every thing that was new, and so he opposed it much in King Henry's time: and Cheek was made leave the Chair: but both he, and Sir Tho. Smith wrote in Vindication of his Rules, with so much Learning, that all People wondered to see so much brought out upon so slight an occasion; but Gardiner was not a Man to be wrought on by reason. Now the matter was settled, and the new way of pronunciation took place, and that the rather, because the Patrons of it were in such power, the one being the King's Tutor, and the other made Secretary of State: and that Gardiner, who opposed it, was now in the Tower. So great an Influence has Greatness, in supporting the most speculative and indifferent things.

Bonner was now brought in trouble: It was not easy to know how to deal with him, for he obeyed every Order that was sent...
sent him; and yet it was known that he
secretly hated and condemned all that was
done; and as often as he could declare
that safely, he was not wanting by such
ways to preserve his interest with the Pa-
pists: And though he obeyed the Orders
of Council, yet he did it in so remiss a
manner, that it was visible that it went
against the grain. So he was called before
the Council, and charged with several
particulars. That whereas he used to offi-
ciate himself on the great Festivals, he had
not done it since the New Service was set
out; that he took no care to repress Adul-
tery, and that he never Preached. So they
ordered him to officiate every Festival, to
Preach once a quarter, and to begin with-
in three weeks, and Preach at S. Pauls;
and to be present at every Sermon when
he was in health, and to proceed severely
against those who withdrew from the new
Service, and against Adulterers. They
required him to set forth the heinousness
of Rebellion, and the nature of true Re-
ligion, and the indifference of outward
Ceremonies, and particularly to declare
that the Kings Authority was the same,
and as much to be obeyed before he was of
age as after. On the first of September he
Preacht; he said nothing of the power of
Kings under Age, and spoke but little to
the other points; but enlarged much on
the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament.
Hooper, and W. Latimer, two of his hear-
ers, informed against him. So a Commis-

Bridgment of the History

Book II. August. 1549.
ion was granted to Cranmer, Ridley, the two Secretaries of State, and May, Dean of S. Pauls, to examine that matter, and to imprison, or deprive him, as they should see cause for it: They were also authorized to proceed in the summary way of the Spiritual Courts. He was summoned to Lambeth, where he carried himself with great disrespect and disingenuity towards the Delegates; and gave the Informers very foul language; and in his whole discourse he behaved himself like one that was disturbed in his Brain. When the Commission was read, he made a Protestation against it, reserving to himself power to except to diverse things in it. He said the Informers were Hereticks, and only prosecuted him because he had taught the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. At the next meeting Secretary Smith was there, who was not present at the first: So upon that account, Bonner protested against him, he also charged Heresie on his Accusers, who were thereby under Excommunication, and so not capable to appear in any Court. He denied that any Injunctions had been given him under the Kings hand or Signet; he said he had preached against the late Rebels, which implied that the Kings power was compleat, though he was under age. It was answered to this, that the Court might proceed ex Officio, without Informers: And that the Injunctions, concerning the heads of which he was required to treat in his Sermon, were read.
to him by one of the Secretaries, and were given him by the Protector, and they were afterwards called for; and that Article about the Kings power under age was, by Order of Council, added; and the Paper was delivered to him by Secretary Smith. At a third appearance the Informers offered to vindicate themselves of the charge of Heresie; but after some scurrilous language given them by Bonner, he was called upon to answer to the main business, which was, his saying nothing of the Kings power under age; to this he said, he had prepared notes about it, both from the Instances in Scripture, of Solomon, Joash and Manasses, of Josiah and Joakim, that reigned under age; as also several instances in the English story, as Henry the Third, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fifth; but he pretended these things had escaped his memory; and a long account of the defeat of the Rebels being sent to him by the Council, with an Order to read it, had put him in some confusion, and that the Book in which he had put his Notes, fell from him; for which he appealed to his Chaplains, whom he had employed to gather for him the names of those Kings who had reigned before they were of age. But this did not satisfy the Court, so they proceeded to examine Witnesses, whom Bonner intangled all he could with Interrogatories, and the niceties of the Canon Law. Bonner built his main defence on this,
this, that in the Paper which the Protector gave him, that Article concerning the Kings age was not mentioned, but was afterwards added by Smith; so that he was not bound to obey it: But it was proved that the whole Council ordered that addition to be made. Smith had treated him somewhat sharply, for his carriage was very provoking; upon that, he renewed his former Protestation against him, and refused to look on him as his Judge, since he had declared himself so partial against him: He complained, that Smith had compared him to Thieves and Traitors. Smith said it was visible he acted as they did: To which Bonner answered, that as he was Secretary of State he honoured him, but as he was Sir Thomas Smith, he lied, and he defied him. And being threatened with Imprisonment, he seemed not much concerned at it; he said he had a few Goods, a poor CartaS, and a Soul; the two former were in their power, but he would take care of the latter. And upon that he appealed to the King, and would not answer any more, unless Smith should withdraw: For that contempt he was sent to the Marshalsea; but as he was carried away, he broke out into great passion both against Smith and Cranmer. Being called again before them, he adhered to his former Appeal, and some new matter being brought against him, he refused to answer. Great endeavours were used to persuade him to submit, and promises...
were made him of gentler usage for the future, but he continued obstinate, and instead of retracting, he renewed his appeal. So on the first of October, Cranmer, Ridley, Smith and May, pronounced sentence of deprivation, because he had not obeyed the Orders of the Protector and Council, nor declared the Kings power while he was under age. He was sent back to prison till the King should give further Order, and a large Record was made of his whole deportment during the Process, and put in the Register of the See of London, which he took no care to deface when he was afterwards restored. This was much cenSure, as at best a great stretch of Law, if not plainly contrary to it. Some complained that Lay-men concurred in such a Sentence: But it was said this was no Spiritual Censure, for he was not degraded, but only deprived of his Bishoprick; and he had taken a Commission for holding it during the Kings pleasure, and so those that were Commissioned by the King might well deprive him, since he held it so precariously. It was also said that Constantine had appointed Triers for hearing the Complaints made of some Bishops; and they examined the business of Cecilian and the Donatists, upon an Appeal from some Synods, that had before judged that matter. That same Emperour did also by his own authority, turn out the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and the Bishop of Constantinople: And though the Orthodox
dox party complained of his doing it upon the false suggestions of the Arians, yet they did not deny his authority in such cases: And it was ordinary for the Emperours to appoint the Bishops that followed their Court to judge some other Bishops, which was not done Canonically, but by the Emperours authority. But to the matter of the Sentence, it was also said that it was hard to deprive Bonner for an omission, that might be only a defect of his memory, as he pretended it was, though few believed that. Upon the whole matter, it was visible that it had been resolved to turn him out on the first occasion that could be found, and that they took hold of him on this disadvantage, and that the fault was rather aggravated for his sake, than he deprived for the fault, which would have been more gently past over in another; but he had been fierce and cruel, and so was much hated, and little pitied. He remained a Prisoner till Queen Mary’s Reign, but continued to behave himself more like a Glutton than a Divine; for he sent about to his Friends to furnish him well with Puddings and Pears, and gave them all to the Devil that did not supply him liberally: Such Curses were strange acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction; yet they were mild, compared to those he gave out when he was again restored to his See in the next Reign, by which he condemned so many Innocents to the fire.

The English affairs in Foreign parts went very unsuccessfully this year, for when they were
were so distracted at home, no wonder if both the French and Scots took advantage from thence. Most of the Forts about Bulloigne were taken by the French, but though those that commanded them, did for their own excuse, pretend they were ill provided, yet the French Writers published that they were well stored. From these they came and sat down before Bulloigne, and though the Plague broke into the French Camp, yet the Siege was not raised: The King left the Army under the Command of Coligny, the famous Admiral of France. He found the sure way to take it, was to cut it off from Sea, and so to keep out all Supplies: But the several attempts he made to do that proved unsuccessful. The Winter that came on, forced him to raise the Siege: but he lodged a great part of his Army in the Forts about, so that it was in danger of being lost next year. In Scotland there was also a great turn; the Castle of Broughty was taken by the Scots, and the Garrison almost wholly cut off. The English took care to provide Haddington well, expecting a Siege; but upon that the Scots let it alone; yet the charge of keeping it was so great, and the Countrey about it was so wasted, that all their provisions were to be sent from Berwick, so that the Protector thought it more advisable to abandon it; and upon that, sent orders to the Garrison to flight the works, and come back to England. So that now the English had no place beyond the Borders, except Lander: and Thermes the French
General sat down before it, and if a Peace had not come, it had fallen into his hands. The Protector had now no Foreign Ally to depend on but the Emperour; and little was to be expected from him, for he was so dissatisfied with the changes that had been made in the matters of Religion, that they found his assistance was not to be trusted to. At this time the Emperour brought his Son to the Netherlands, that he might put him in possesion of those Provinces; though the secret considerations that made him do it so early, in those places where the Prince was not Elective, is not visible. It was thought they inclined to shake off his yoke, and that if the Emperour should have then died, they would have put themselves under Maximilian, Ferdinand's Son, afterwards Emperour. It was some such apprehension that moved Charles to make them swear obedience so early to his Son; and settle not only many limitations on him in the matter of imposing Taxes, and of not putting strangers in places of trust, not governing them by a Military power, but make a special provision, that in case his Son should break those rules, the Provinces should not be bound to obey him any longer: Which was the chief ground both in Law and Conscience, upon which they afterwards justified their shaking off his yoke. Charles, that was born in those parts, had a peculiar tenderness for them, and did perhaps fear that the rigid Councils of the Spaniards.
ards might prevail too much on his Son, which made him so careful to secure their liberties; a rare instance of a Prince's love for his people, by which he took such care of their rights, as to make their tye of obedience to his Son, to depend on his maintaining them inviolably. The Princes of Germany were now at the Emperour's mercy, and saw no way to recover their liberty but by the help of the French King: So there were applications made to him, which he cheerfully entertained, only he was resolved first to make himself master of Bulloigne, and then to turn his whole force towards Germany. Advertisements were given of this to the Protector, upon which he entered into a deep consultation with his Friends what was fit to be done in so critical a conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up Bulloigne to the French by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preserve it; which being on the French side, would prove a much more chargeable War to the English than to the French; and this was of very dangerous consequence when affairs were in so unsettled a condition at home; ill success, which was like to be the event of such a War, would turn on him that had the chief administration of affairs: so both regard to the publick, and to the establishing his private fortune, which could not be done in time of War, without drawing much envy on him, inclined him to deliver up Bulloigne. But his Enemies saw that the
continuance of the War was like to ruine him, whereas a General Peace would put the Nation wholly in his hands, and therefore they who were the majority in the Council, set themselves against all motions for a Treaty; and said it would be a lasting reproach on the Government if such a place as Bulloigne were sold.

Paget gave his opinion in Writing, in which, after he had with great Judgement ballanced the affairs of Europe, he concluded that the restoring the liberty of Germany, and the bearing down the Emperours greatness, was at present to be preferred to all other things, and that could not be done without a conjunction with France; and that was to be pursuied by the mediation of the Venetians. Thomas, a Clerk of the Council, and much employed in foreign affairs, was of another mind: He thought it was very dishonourable to deliver up the late Conquests in France, therefore he proposed their casting themselves on the Emperour, that so some time might be gained: They knew the Emperour would not be hearty, unless they would promise to return to the Roman Religion; but he thought that was to be done in such an extremity of affairs; and when the present difficulty was over, they might turn to other Councils. There was great danger in this, it would very much dishearten the few Towns that refused to bear the Emperours yoke in Germany, and it would provoke the Emperour more against them after-
afterwards, if he should find that he had been deceived by them: he also proposed that in order to the imbroiling of Scotland, some should be employed to perswade the Governour to aspire to the Crown, and that he should be assured of the assistance of England, for this would separate that Nation from the Interests of France.

The issue of these Consultations, was, first, the sending over Paget to the Emperor, to try what might be expected from him: His publick Instructions were to obtain an explanation of some ambiguous words in the former Treaty, and a ratification of it by Prince Philip, and to adjust some differences in the matter of Trade: but his secret Instructions were to see, if the Emperor would include Bulloign in the League defensive, and so protect it; or, if that could not be obtained, he was ordered to try, whether the Emperor would take Bulloign into his hands, and what recompence he would give for it; but this he was ordered to propose as a motion of his own. The Emperor shifted him off for some time by delays, and pretended that the carrying his Son about from Town to Town, making them swear obedience, took him up so, that till that was over, he could not receive his Propositions. But the Progress of the French about Bulloign, made Paget impatient, so the Bishop of Arras, and the Emperor's other Ministers were appointed to treat with him. They at first treated of some
of the Reformation, &c.

of the Reformation, &c.

differences between the Courts of Admiralty of both sides, and proposed some Expedients for adjusting them: for the Confirmation of the Treaty, it was offered, that the Prince should do it, but Paget moved likewise, that it might be confirmed by the States. It was answered, that the Emperor would never sue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties; he had fifteen or sixteen Parliaments, and would be in a very uneasy condition, if all these must know the secrets of his Negotiations: But since the King of England was under Age, it was more reasonable for them to demand a ratification from his Parliament. Paget answered, the King's power was the same at all Ages, and a ratification under the Great Seal did oblige him, as much, as if he had made the Treaty himself: and objected, that their last Treaty with France, was ratified by the Assembly of the States. To this they answered, that the Prerogative of the Kings of France was so limited, that they could not alienate any thing, which belonged to the Crown, without consent of the Parliament of Paris, and of the States; but the Emperor had a more unlimited power in making Treaties. As for the business of Bulloign, the Bishop of Arras said, it was taken after the Emperor's Treaty with England, and so was not included in it, nor could the Emperor comprehend it within it, without breach of his Faith and Treaties with France, which
which was so contrary to the Emperor’s honour, that it could not be done. For the honour of a Prince is a good excuse, when he has no mind to engage in a deceitful or unjust War, but it is often forgotten, when the Circumstances are more favourable. Poster, after several other Conferences, found there was nothing more to be expected of the Emperor: so he returned back to England. It was upon that proposed in Council, whether since by the Treaty with France, Bulloign was to be delivered up within a few Years, it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, the issue of which was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it presently; and if at the same time it were not more advisable to make an end of the War in Scotland, since there was no possibility of compassing the Marriage, for which it was first begun.

Upon this, all the Protector’s Enemies took off the Mask, and declared themselves against it. The Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Warwick were the chief sticklers: the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other hoped to be the chief Man in business, if he should fall. Many things concurred to raise the Protector many Enemies, his partiality to the Commons provoked the Gentry, his cutting off his Brothers head, and building a Magnificent Palace in the Strand, upon the ruines of some Bishops Houles
Houses and Churches, and that in a time both of War and Plague, disgusted the People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the changes made in Religion, but for his possessing himself of so many of the Bishops' best Mannors: his entertaining foreign Troops, both Germans and Italians, though done by the consent of Council, yet gave a general distaste: and that great advancement he was raised to, wrought much, both on himself and others; for it raised his pride, as much as it provoked the envy of others: The Privy Counsellors complained, that he was become so Arbitrary in his proceedings, that he little regarded the opposition that was made by the Majority of the Council, to any of his designs. All these things concurred, to beget him many Enemies: and except Cranmer, who never forsook his friend, and Paget and Smith, all turned against him: so they violently opposed the proposition, for a Treaty with France: they also complained, that the Places about Bulloign were lost by his carelessness, and by his not providing them well, and that he had recalled the Garrison out of Hadinton; and they put him in mind of the conditions, upon which he was first made Protector, by which he was limited to do nothing, but by their advice; though he had since that, taken out a Patent, which cloathed him with a far greater power. Upon Pagets return, when it was
was visible, that nothing could be expected from the Emperor, he press them much to consent to a Treaty with France, but it was said, that he had secretly directed Paget to procure no better answer, that so he might be furnished with an excuse, for so dishonourable an Action, therefore they would not give way to it.

The Protector carried the King to Hampton-Court, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which increased the Jealousies, so Nine of the Privy Council met at Ely-House, and assumed to themselves the Authority of the Council; and Secretary Petre being sent by the King, to ask an account of their meeting, instead of returning, joined himself to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's ill government and bad designs, and of his engaging the King to set his hand to Letters, for raising Men, and for dispersing Seditious Papers; therefore they resolved to see to the safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of London, and the Lieutenant of the Tower declared for them: They also sent Letters all over England, desiring the assistance of the Nobility and Gentry. Seven more Privy Counsellors came and joined with them. They wrote to the King, complaining of the Protector's obstinacy, and his refusing to hearken to their Counsels, though the late King had left the Government of his Person and Kingdom to them

Which turns to a publick breach, October.
in common, and the Protector was advanced to that dignity by them, upon conditions which he had little regarded; therefore they desired the King would construct well of their Intentions and proceedings. The Protector had removed the King from Hampton-Court, as being an open place, to Windsor, which had some more defence about it; and had armed some of his own Servants, and set them about the King's Person, which heightned the Jealousies of him; yet seeing himself abandoned by all friends, except a few, and finding the Party against him, was formed to such a strength, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offered to submit himself to the Council: So a Proposition of a Treaty was set on foot; and the Lords at London were desired to send two of their number with their Propositions, and a Passeport was sent them for their safety. Cranmer, and the other two writ to the Council, to dispose them to an agreement, and not to follow Cruel Counsels. Many false reports, as is usual on such occasions, were carried of the Protector, as if he had threatened, that if they intended to put him to death, the King should dye first, which served to increase the prejudices against him. The Council writ to Cranmer, and Paget charging them to look well to the Kings Person, that he should not be removed from Windsor, and that the Duke of Somerset's Servants might be put from him, and
and his own sworn Servants admitted to wait: they also protested that they would proceed with all the moderation and favour towards the Duke of Somerset, that was possible. The Council understanding that all things were prepared, as they had desired, sent first three of their number, to see that the Duke of Somerset, and some of his Creatures, Smith, Stanhope, Thynne, Wolf and Cecil should be confined to their Lodgings; and on the 12th. of October, the whole Council went to Windsor, and made great protestations of their duty to the King, which he received favourably, and assured them he took all that they had done in good part.

The Duke of Somerset, with the rest of his friends, except Cecil, who was presently enlarged, were sent to the Tower, and many Articles were objected to him; that he being made Protector, with this condition, that he should do nothing, but by the consent of the other Executors, had treated with Ambassadors apart, had made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants without their knowledge, had held a Court of Requests in his House, had emasculated the Coin, had neglected the Places the King had in France, had encouraged the Commons in their late Insurrections, and had given out Commissions, and proclaimed a Pardon without their consent: that he had animated the King against the rest of the Council, and had proclaimed them Traitors, and had put his own Servants armed about
about the King's Person. By these, it appears, the Crimes against him were the effects of his sudden exaltation, that had made him too much forget that he was a subject, but that he had carried his greatness with much Innocence, since no acts of Cruelty, Rapine, or Bribery, were objected to him: for they were rather errors and weaknesses than Crimes. His embasling the Coin was done upon a common mistake of weak Governments, who flye to that as their last refuge, in the necessity of their affairs. In his Imprisonment, he set himself to the study of Moral Philosophy and Divinity, and writ a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had made great Impressions on him. His fall was a great affliction to all that loved the Reformation, and that was increased, because they had no reason to truft much to the two chief Men of the party against him, Southampton and Warwick: the one was a known Papift, and the other was lookt on as a Man of no Religion: and both at the Emperor's Court, and in France, it was expected, that upon this revolution, matters of Religion would be again set back, into the posture, in which King Henry had left them. The Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner hoped to be discharged, and Bonner lookt to be re-established in his Bishoprick again, and all People began to fall off much from the new service: but the Earl of Warwick finding the King was zealously addicted to the
Reformation, quickly forsook the Popish party, and seemed to be a mighty promoter of that work. A Court of Civilians was appointed to examine Bonner's Appeal, and upon their report the Council rejected it, and confirmed the Sentence that was past upon him.

But next, foreign affairs come under their care. They suspected that Paget had not dealt effectually with the Emperour, to assist them in the preservation of Bulign; so they sent over Sir Tho. Cheyne, to try what might be expected from him: they took also care of the Garrison, and both encreased it, and supplied it well. Cheyne found the same reception with the Emperour, and had the same answer that Paget got. The Emperor pressed him much, that matters of Religion might be again considered, and confess, that till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually, as otherwise he would do: so now the Council found it necessary to apply to the Court of France for a Peace. The Earl of Southampton left the Court in great discontent, he was neither restored to his Office of Chancellour, nor was he made one of the six Lords, that were appointed to have the charge of the King's Person; this touched him so much, that he died not long after of grief, as was believed.

In November, a Session of Parliament met: in which an Act was past, declaring it Treason to call any to the number of Twelve
Twelve together, about any matter of State, if being required, they did not disperse themselves: other Riotous Assemblies were also declared felonious, the giving out of Prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was also made Penal. Another Law was made against Vagabonds, the former Statute was repealed, as too severe, and Provisions were made for the relief of the Sick and Impotent, and Implying such as could work. The Bishops made a heavy complaint of the growth of Vice and Impiety; and that their power was so much abridged, that they could not repress it: so a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, but it was thought, that it gave them too much power; yet it was so moderated, that the Lords past it. But the Commons rejected it: and instead of it, sent up a Bill, that impowered XXXII. who were to be named by the King, the one half of the Temporalty, and the other of Spirituality, to compile a body of Ecclesiastical Laws within three years, and that these, not being contrary to the Common or Statute Law, and approved of by the King, should have the force of Ecclesiastical Laws: of the 32. Four were to be Bishops, and as many to be Common Lawyers.

Six Bishops and six Divines were impowered to prepare a new form of Ordination, which being confirmed under the Great Seal, should take place after April next.
next. Articles were also put in against the Duke of Somerset, with a Confession signed by him. But some objected, that they ought not to proceed, till they knew whether he had signed it voluntarily, or not; and some were sent to examine him, he acknowledged he had done it freely, but protested that his errors had flowed rather from Indiscretion than Malice, and denied all treasonable designs against the King, or the Realm: he was fined in 2000L. a year in Land, and in the loss of all his Goods and Offices. He complained of the heaviness of this Censure, and desired earnestly to be restored to the King's favour, and promised to carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should make amends for his past follies, which was thought a sign of too abject a mind; others excused it, since the power and malice of his Enemies was such, that he was not safe as long as he continued in Prison: he was discharged in the beginning of February: soon after he had his pardon, and did so manage his interest in the King, that he was again brought both to the Court and Council in April. But if these submissions gained him some favour at Court, they sunk him as much in the esteem of the World.

The Reformation was now, after this confusion was over, carried on again with vigour. The Council sent Orders over England, to require all to conform themselves to the new service, and to call in
of the Reformation, &c.

all the Books of the old Offices. An Act past in Parliament to the same effect; one Earl, six Bishops, and four Lords only dissenting: all the old Books and Images were appointed to be defaced, and all prayers to Saints were to be struck out of the Primers published by the late King. A Subsidy was granted, and the King gave a General Pardon, out of which all Prisoners on the account of the State, and Anabaptists were excepted. In this Session the Eldest Sons of Peers were first allowed to sit in the House of Commons.

The Committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordination, finished their work with common consent, only Heath Bishop of Worcester refused to sign it, for which he was called before the Council, and required to do it, but he still refusing, was sent to Prison. This was thought hard measure, to punish one for not concurring in a thing not yet settled by Law. Heath was a Complier, who went along with the changes that were made, but was ready upon the first favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old superstition. It was found, that in the Ancient Church, there was nothing used in Ordinations, but Prayer and Imposition of hands: the Additions of Anointing and giving consecrated Vestments were afterwards brought in. And in the Council of Florence, it was declared that the Rite of Ordaining a Priest, was the delivering of Ordinations put out.
the Vessel for the Eucharist, with a power to offer Sacrifices to God for the Dead and Living, which was a Novelty invented to support the belief of Transubstantiation. So all these additions were cut off, and Ordination was restored to a greater simplicity, and the form was made almost the same that we still use, only then in ordaining a Priest, the Bishop was to lay one hand on his Head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a Chalice, and Bread in it. In the Consecration of a Bishop, the form was the same, that we still retain, only then they kept up the custom of giving the Bishop a staff, saying these words, Be to the Flock of Christ a Shepherd. In the middle of the sixth Century, the Anointing the Priest's hands was begun in France, but was not used in the Roman Church, for two Ages after that. In the eighth Century, the Vestments were given with a special blessing, empowering Priests to offer Expiatory Sacrifices; then their Heads were Anointed: and in the tenth Century, the belief of Transubstantiation being received, the Vessel for the Sacrament were delivered. It is evident from the several forms of Ordination, that the Church did not believe it self tied to one manner, and that the Prayer, which in some Ages was the Prayer of Consecration, was in other Ages esteemed only a Prayer preparatory to it. There were some sponsions promised, as a Covenant, to which the Ordination
oration was a Seal: The first of these was, that the Persons that came to receive Orders, professed that they believed they were inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghost. If this were well considered, it would no doubt put many that thirst after Sacred Offices to a stand, who, if they examine themselves well, dare not pretend to that, concerning which, perhaps they know nothing, but that they have it not: and if they make the answer prescribed in the Book, without feeling any such motion in their heart, they do publickly lye to God, and against the Holy Ghost, and have no reason to expect a blessing on Orders so obtained. But too many consider that only as a Ceremony in Law, necessary to make them capable of some Place of Profit, and not as the Dedication of their Lives and labours to God, and to the gaining of Souls. It were happy for the Church, if Bishops would not think it enough barely to put these questions, but would use great strictness in examining before hand the motives that set on those, who come to be Ordained. Another sponson is, that the Priests shall teach the People, committed to their charge, and exhort them both in private and publick, and visit the sick. By this they plight their faith to God, for the care of Souls, to be managed by them in person, and upon that they must find the Pastoral care to be a load indeed: and so will neither desert their Flocks, nor hire them out to weak,
weak, and perhaps scandalous Mercenaries. In which the faultiness of some have brought a blemish on this Church, and given scandal to many, who could not have been so easily persuaded to divide from it, if it had not been, that they were prejudiced by such gross and publick abuses.

The Council was now much perplexed with the business of Bulloign, and though they had opposed the delivering it up by the Protector, yet that end being served in pulling him down, they were convinced of the necessity of doing it, and so were induced to listen to the proposition that one Guidotti made for a Treaty. He was employed by the Constable Marmorancy, and gave them assurances that as soon as that was ended, the French King would engage on the behalf of the opprest Princes of the Empire.

At this time Pope Paul the Third died. In the Conclave that followed, Cardinal Farnese set up Cardinal Pool, whose wise behaviour at Trent had raised his esteem much; it also appeared that though he was of the Emperours faction, yet he did not serve him blindly. Some loaded him both with the imputations of Lutheranism, and of Incontinence: The last would not have hindered his advancement much, though true, yet he fully cleared himself of it. But the former lay heavier, for in his retirement at Viterbo, where he was Legate, he had given himself much to the study of Controversies, and Tramelli, Flaminio, and
and others suspected of Lutheranism, had lived in his house; and in the Council of Trent he seemed favourable to some of their opinions; but the great sufferings both of himself and Family in England, seemed to set him above all suspicions. When the party for him, had almost gained a sufficient number of Suffrages, he seemed little concerned at it, and did rather decline, than aspire to that dignity: And expressed a pitch of Philosophy on this occasion, that was more suitable to Ancient than Modern patterns. When a full number had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary Ceremony, he received it with his usual coldness; and that being done in the night, he said, God loved light, and therefore advised them to delay it till day came. The Italians, among whom Ambition passes for the Character of a great mind, looked on this as an unsufferable piece of dulness; so the Cardinals shrunk from him before day, and chose de Monte Pope, who reigned by the name of Julius the Third. His first promotion was very extraordinary, for he gave his own Hat to a Servant that kept his Monkey; and being askt the reason of it, he said, He saw as much in his Servant to recommend him to be a Cardinal, as the Conclave saw in him to induce them to chuse him Pope. But others imputed this to an unnatural affection for him.
Embassadors were sent over to France, the Lord Russel, Paget made also a Lord, and some others, to settle the Treaty of Peace: They were ordered in the first place to ask the delivery of the Scottish Queen, and payment of the perpetual Pension; but the French would not treat about these, their Master intended to marry the Scottish Queen to the Dauphin, and would not be tributary to another Prince, or pay a perpetual Pension, but they offered a sum of money for Bulloign; things stuck a little at the razing the Fortifications in Aldernay and Sark, two small Islands in the Channel which the French desired, and at the delivering up of Roxburgh and Aymouth to the Scots, then in the hands of the English. The Council ordered their Commissioners to insist on these things, and to offer to break up their Conference rather than yield to them; but if that had no effect on the French, then they were to let them go. In Conclusion, the English after a Protestation, by which they referred to the King all the rights that he had at the beginning of the War, agreed to deliver up Bulloign, and all the places about it, and all the Ordnance in it, except what the English had cast, for which the French were to pay them four hundred thousand Crowns: All the places which the English had in Scotland were to be delivered up, and the Forts razed; and six Hostages were to be given on both sides for the performance, who were the Sons of the
of the Reformation, &c.

the men of the greatest quality. So was the Peace fully concluded, and the Articles were duly performed on both hands: The Council approved of the proceedings of their Plenipotentiaries, only the Earl of Warwick, who had declared himself much against the delivery of Bulloign, pretended sickness, and was absent.

At this time the Earl of Warwick ordered a review to be made of all accounts, and brought in much money, by the Fines of those who were accused for Malversation: The Earl of Arundel was fined in 12000 l. Sir James Thynne in 8000 l. and many others of the Protectors creatures in 3000 l.

In February, Ridley was made Bishop of London and Westminster, 1000 l. a year of the Rents of the See were assigned him, with licence to hold two Prebends. Reps, Bishop of Norwich resigned, upon which Thereby, Bishop of Westminster, was removed to Norwich; and it was intended to re-unite London and Westminster; but though they still remained different Sees, yet they were now put under one man's care. His Patent was not during pleasure, but during life. It does not appear that there was any design in this Reign to put down Cathedrals; for though Westminster, Gloucester, and Durham were suppressed, the two former being united, one to London, and another to Worcester; and the latter being to be divided in two, yet in none
none of these were the Dean and Chapter.

Gardiner continued still in prison: During the Protectors Ministry some Privy Counsellors dealt with him, to sue to him for mercy, and to declare whether he approved the new Service or not: But he said he had done no fault, and so would not ask Pardon; nor would he declare his opinion while he continued a Prisoner, lest his Enemies might say he did it only to be set at liberty. Upon the Protectors fall, he expected he should have been discharged of his Imprisonment, and thought it so near, that he made a farewell Feast to the Officers in the Tower. Some Privy Counsellours were sent to him with Articles, acknowledging former offences, approving the Book of Common Prayer, and asserting the Kings Power when he was under age, and his authority to reform abuses in the Church, and that the six Articles were justly abrogated. He signed the Paper, only he wrote on the Margin, that he could not confess former offences, for he was not convinced of any fault he had done. Upon this, it was believed that he was to be quickly let out; but another Message was sent him, that he must confess that he had been justly punished: This he plainly refused to do, and said he would never defame himself. Ridley was sent to him with a new Paper, in which the confession of his faults was more
more softly worded; the rest related to the Popes power, the suppressing the Ab- 
bies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Masles, 
Images, the Adoration of the Sacra-
ment, Communion in both kinds, the 
abolishing the old Books of Service, 
and setting up the new; with the Book 
of Ordinations, and the lawfulness of a 
marrid Clergy: But he said he would sign 
no more Articles while he continued in 
Prison; and desired that he might be either 
tried, or fet at liberty; for he asked not 
Mercy, but Justice. And being called be-
fore the Council; and required to sign those 
Articles, he gave them the fame answer: 
He said some of these points were already 
setled by Law, others were not so, and in 
these he was at liberty to do as he pleased. 
Upon this, his Bishoprick was sequestred, 
and he was required to conform himself 
within three months, under pain of depri-
vation, and the freedome of the Tower 
was denied him. All this was much cen-
fured, as contrary to Law, and the liber-
ties of English men, and it was said that 
it favoured more of a Court of Inquisition, 
than of a legal way of proceeding. The 
Canon Law was not yet rectified, fo the 
King being in the Popes room, this way, 
ex Officio was excused, as grounded upon 
the forms of the Spiritual Courts.

There was a discourse on foot, of a 
Marriage between the King, and a Daugh-
ter of France, which grieved the Reform-
mers, who rather wisht him to marry Ma-
ximilians
Holmifian Daughter, who was believed to favour the Reformation, and was esteemed one of the best men of the age. Old Latimer preached at Court, and warned the King of the ill effects of bad Marriages, which were made up only as bargains, without affection between the parties; and that they occasioned so much Who-ring, and so many Divorces: He also complained of the luxury and vanity of the Age, and of many called Gospellers, who were concerned for nothing but Abbey and Chantry Lands; he also preft the setting up a Primitive Discipline in the Church. He preached this as his last Sermon, and so used great freedome: He complained that the Kings debts were not paid, and yet his Officers grew vastly rich: He prayed the King not to seek his pleasures too much, and charged all about him to be faithful to him.

The See of Gloucester fell vacant, and Hooper was named to it; upon which the heats concerning things indifferent, that have since that time so fatally rent the Church, had their first rise. He had some scruples about the Episcopal Vestments, and thought that all those Garments, having been Consecrated with much superstition, were to be reckoned among the Elements condemned by S. Paul: But Ridley justified the use of them, and said the Elements condemned by S. Paul were only the Jewish Ceremonies; which, though the Apostles condemned, when they were im-
of the Reformation, &c.

imposed as necessary, for that imported, that the Mosaiical Law was not yet abrogated, and that the Messiah was not come; Yet they themselves used them at other times, to gain upon the Jews by that Compliance. And if Apostles did such things to gain them, Subjects ought much more to obey the Laws in matters indifferent: And Superstitious Consecrations was as good an Argument for throwing down all the Churches, as for laying aside those Habits. Cranmer desired Bucer's opinion concerning the lawfulness of those Habits, and the obligation lying on Subjects to obey the Laws about them. His opinion was, that every creature of God was good, and that no former abuse could make a thing indifferent in its self, become unlawful: He thought ancient customes ought not to be lightly changed, and that there might be a good use made of those Garments; that they might well express the purity and candour that became all who ministred in Holy things, and that it was a sin to disobey the Laws in such matters. Yet since those Garments had been abused to Superstition, and were like to become a subject of Contention, he wished they might be taken away by Law; and that Ecclesiastical Discipline, and a more compleat Reformation might be set up, and that a stop might be put to the robbing of Churches; otherwise, they might see in the present State of Germany, a dreadful prospect of that which England ought
ought to look for. He also writ to the
same effect to Hooper, and wished that all
good men would unite against the greater
Corruptions, and then lesser abuses would
easily be redressed. Peter Martyr did also
deliver his opinion to the same purpose,
and was much troubled at Hooper's stiff-
ness, and at such contests among the pro-
fessors of true Religion. Hooper was suspen-
ded from Preaching; but the Earl of War-
wick writ to Cranmer to dispence with him
in that matter: He answered, That while
the Law continued in force, he could not
do it without incurring a Præmunire. Up-
on that, the King writ to him, allowing
him to do it, and dispensing with the
Law: Yet this matter was not settled till
a year after. John à Lasco, with some
Germans of the Helvetian Confession, came
this year into England, being driven out of
Germany by the Persecution there: They
were erected by Letters Patents into a
Corporation, and à Lasco was their Super-
intendent; he being a stranger, medled too
much in English affairs, and wrote both
against the Habits, and against kneeling in
the Sacrament. Polydore Virgil was this year
suffered to go out of England, and still to
hold the preferments he had in it. Pomet
was made Bishop of Rochester, and Caver-
dale Co-adjutor to Veysey in Exeter.

A review
of the
Common-
Prayer-
Book.

There was now a design set on foot, for
a review of the Common-Prayer-Book: In
order to which Bucer's opinion was ask-
ed. He approved the main parts of the
of the Reformation, &c.

former Book, he wished there might be not only a denunciation against scandalous persons that came to the Sacrament, but a discipline to exclude them: That the Habits might be laid aside, that no part of the Communion Office might be used, except when there was a Sacrament; that Communions might be more frequent, that the Prayers might be said in a plain voice; that the Sacrament might be put in the peoples hands, and that there might be no Prayers for the Dead, which had not been used in Justin Martyr's time: He advised a change of some phrases in the Office of the Communion, that favoured Transubstantiation too much, and that Baptism might be only in Churches: He thought the hallowing the Water, the Chrisme, and the White garment, were too scenical; nor did he approve of adjuring the Devil, nor of the Godfathers answering in the Childs name: He thought Confirmation should be delayed till the person was of Age, and came sincerely to renew the Baptifmal Covenant. He advised Catechizing every Holy-day, both of Children and the Adult, he disliked private Marriages, Extream Unction, and offering Chrifomes at the Churching of Women: And thought there ought to be greater strictness used in the examining of those who came to receive Orders.

At the same time he understood that the King expected a New-years gift from him, of a Book written particularly for his own
Essay of the History

own use: So he made a Book for him, concerning the Kingdom of Christ: He premeditated much the setting up a strict discipline, the Sanctification of the Lords' day, the appointing many days of Fasting, and that Plurality of Non-residence might be effectually condemned, that Children might be Catechized, that the Reverence due to Churches might be preserved, that the Pastoral function might be restored to what it ought to be, that Bishops might throw off Secular affairs, and take care of their Dioceses, and govern them by the advice of their Presbyters; that there might be Rural Bishops over twenty or thirty Parishes, and that Provincial Councils might meet twice a year, that Church-lands should be restored, and that a fourth part should be assigned to the poor; that Marriage, without consent of Parents, should be annulled; that a second Marriage might be declared lawful, after a Divorce, for Adultery, and some other Reasons; that care should be taken of the education of youth, and for repressing luxury; that the Law might be reformed, that no Office might be sold, but given to the most deserving; that none should be put in Prison upon flight offences, and that the severity of some Laws, as that which made Theft capital, might be mitigated.

The young King was much pleased with these advices; and upon that, began himself to form a Scheme for amending many things.
things that were amiss in the Government, which he wrote with his own hand, and in a stile and manner that had much of a Child in it, though the thoughts were manly: It appears by it, that he intended to set up a Church discipline, and settle a method for breeding of youth; but the discourse is not finished. He also wrote a Journal of everything that past at home, and of the news that came from beyond Sea. It has clear marks of his own composing, as well as it is written with his own hand. He wrote another discourse in French, being a Collection of all the places of Scripture against Idolatry, with a Preface before it, dedicated to the Protector.

At this time Ridley made his first Visitations of his Diocese; the Articles upon which he proceeded, were chiefly relating to the Service and Ceremonies that were abolished, whether any continued to use them or not, and whether there were any Anabaptists, or others, that used private Conventicles. He also carried some Injunctions with him, against some remainders of the former superstition, and for exhorting the people to give Alms, and to come oft to the Sacrament, and that Altars might be removed, and Tables put in their room, in the most convenient place of the Chancel. In the Ancient Church their Tables were of Wood: But the Sacrament being called a Sacrifice, as Prayers, Alms, and all Holy Oblations were, 

Altars put down.
they came to be called Altars. This gave the rise to the Opinion of Expiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the name and form of Altars. Ridley only advised the Curates to do this, but upon some contests arising concerning it, the Council interposed, and required it to be done; and sent with their Order, a Paper of Reasons justifying it: Shewing that a Table was more proper than an Altar; especially, since the opinion of an Expiatory Sacrifice was supported by it. Sermons began to be preached in some Churches on working-days, this occasioned great running about, and idleness; and raised emulation among the Clergy: upon which the Council ordered them all to be put down. Since that time there has been great contention concerning these; they were factiously kept up by some, and too violently suppressed by others: But now that matter is quieted, and they are in many places still continued, to the great edification of the people. The Government was now free of all disturbance: the Coyn was reformed, and Trade was encouraged. The faction in the Court seemed also to be extinguished, by a Marriage between the Earl of Warwick's Son, and the Duke of Somerset's Daughter. The Duke of Lunenburg made a Proposition of Marriage with Lady Mary, but the Treaty with the Infant of Portugal did still depend, so it was not entertained.

In Scotland, the Governor, now made Duke of
of the Reformation, &c.

of Chasteberault in France, was wholly led by his base Brothers Counsels, who, though he was Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, yet gave himself up, without any disguise, to his pleasures; and kept another man's Wife avowedly; by such means were the people more easily disposed to hearken to the new Teachers; and prepared for the changes that followed. The Queen Mother went to France, on design to procure the Government of Scotland to be put in her hands.

A Diet was called in Germany; the Town of Magdeburg was proscribed: But they published a Manifesto, expressing their readiness to obey the Emperor according to Law; and that they only stood to the defence of their liberties, without doing acts of Hostility to others. It was now visible that the design of the late War was to extinguish the Protestant Religion, and to set up Tyranny. It was better to obey God than Man: And they were resolved to put all to hazard, rather than give up their Religion. Tumults were raised in Strauburg and other Towns, when the Mass was again set up; and all Germany was disposed to a Revolt, only they wanted a Head. Severe Edicts were also set out in Flanders; but the execution of them was stopp'd, at the intercession of the English in Antwerp, who were resolved otherwise to remove the Trade to another place. The Emperor press'd the Diet to submit to the Council, when it should be brought
brought back to Trent: But Maurice of Saxe, to whom all the Protestants joyned, refused to do it, unless all their former decrees should be reviewed, and their Divines heard, and admitted to Vote; and that the Pope would dispense with the Oath which the Bishops sware to him: Yet he so far intimuated himself into the Emperor's confidence, that he was made General of the Empire, for the reduction of Magdeburg, and resolved to manage that matter, so as to draw great advantages from it. The Emperor reckoned that he might well trust him as long as he had John Duke of Saxe, in his hands: But he had provoked him too much in the matter of the Landgrave of Hesse, his Father-in-Law, to repose such consequence in him; so that this proved a fatal error to him, by which he lost the power he had then in Germany, and Maurice proved too hard for him in dissimulation, in which he was so great a Master.

The Popish Clergy did now generally comply to every Change that was made. Oglethorp afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, being informed against, as favouring the old Superstition, did under his hand declare, that he thought the Order of Religion then settled, was nearer the use of the Primitive Church, than that which was formerly received; and that he condemned Transubstantiation, as a late Invention, and approved the Communion in both kinds, and the Peoples receiving always with
with the Priest. Smith, who had written against the Marriage of the Clergy, and was upon some complaints put in Prison, being discharged by Cranmer's Intercession, writ a submission to him, acknowledging the mistakes he had committed in his Book, and the Arch-bishops gentleness towards him: and wished he might perish, if he did not write sincerely, and called God a witness against his Soul, if he lied. Day, Bishop of Chichester did also preach a Sermon at Court against Transubstantiation. The Principle, by which most of that Party governed themselves, was this, they thought they ought to oppose all the changes, before they were established by Law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them. Cranmer was a moderate and prudent Man, and willing to accept of any thing they offered, reckoning that whether they acted sincerely, or not, yet their compliance would be a means to quiet the Nation; he was also of so compassionate a nature, that he would never drive things to extremities, against Men that were grown old in their errors, and could not be easily weaned from them: only Gardiner and Bonner were such deceitful and cruel Men, that he thought it might be more excusable to make stretches, for ridding the Church of them.

Martin Bucer dyed in the beginning of this Year, of the Stone, and griping of the Guts. He had great apprehensions of death.
A fatal revolution in England; by reason of the ill lives of the People, occasioned chiefly by the want of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the neglect of the Pastoral charge. Orders were sent from the Court to Cambridge, to bury him with all the Publick honour to his Memory, that could be devised. Speeches and Sermons were made both by Haddon, the University Orator, and Parker, and Redmayn. The last of these was one of the most extraordinary Men, both for Learning, and a true Judgment of things, that was in that time: he had also in many things differed from Bucer, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive, of whom he hoped now to learn so much, as he had done by his conversation with him. Bucer was inferior to none of all the Reformers in Learning, but superior to most of them, in an excellent temper of mind, and a great zeal for preserving the Unity of the Church: a rare quality in that Age, in which Melanthon and he were the most eminent. He had not that nimbleness of disputing, for which Peter Martyr was more admired, and the Popish Doctors took advantage from that to carry themselves more insolently towards him.

Soon after this, Gardiner's Process was put to an end: A Commission was issued out to Cranmer, and three Bishops, and some Civilians, to proceed against him, for his contempt, in refusing to sign the Articles offered to him: he complained, that
of the Reformation, &c.

that all that was done against him, was out of malice, that he had been long imprisoned, and nothing was objected to him, that he was resolved to obey the Laws and Orders of Council, but that he would acknowledge no fault, not having committed any. The things objected to him, were, that he refused to set out in his Sermon the King's power, when he was under Age, and had affronted the Preachers, whom the King had sent to his Dioceses; that he had been negligent in executing the King's Injunctions, and refused to confess his fault, or ask the King's pardon; and it was said that the Rebellions raised in England, might have been prevented, if he had timously set forth the King's authority: he answered, that he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private course; yet Witnesses being examined upon those particulars, the Delegates proceeded to sentence of deprivation against him, notwithstanding his Appeal to the King in Person: and he was appointed to lie still in the Tower, where he continued till Queen Mary discharged him. Nothing was pretended to excuse the severity of these proceedings, but that he having taken out a Commission for holding his Bishoprick, only during the King's pleasure, he could not complain when that was intimated to him: and if he had been turned out merely upon pleasure, without the Pomp of a Process, the matter might have been bet-
fter excused. Paine was put in his See, and had 2000. Marks in Lands assigned him for his subsistence. Story was put in Rochester, and upon Vesey's resignation Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter. The scruples that Hooper made, were now so far satisfied, that he was content both to be consecrated in his Vestments, and to use them when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, but he was dispensed with upon other occasions.

By this time the greater number of the Bishops were Men that heartily received the Reformation: so it was resolved now to proceed to a settlement of the Doctrine of the Church: many thought that should have been done in the first place. But Cranmer judged it was better to proceed slowly in that matter: he thought the Corruptions in the Worship were to be begun with, since while they remained, the addresses to God were so defiled, that thereby all People were involved in unlawful compliances: he thought speculative Opinions might come last, since errors in them were not of such ill consequence: and he judged it necessary to lay these open, in many Treatises and Disputes, before they should proceed to make alterations, that so all People might be before-hand satisfied with what should be done. So now they framed a Body of Articles, which contained the Doctrine of the Church of England: they were cast into forty two Articles, and afterwards some
of the Reformation, &c.

Some few alterations being made in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, they were reduced to XXXIX. which being in all Peoples hands, need not be much enlarged on.

In the Ancient Church, there was at first a great simplicity in their Creeds; but afterwards, upon the breaking out of Heresies, concerning the Person of Christ, equivocal senses being put on the terms formerly used, new ones, that could not be so easily eluded, were invented. A humour of explaining Mysteries by similies and niceties, and of passing Anathema's on all that did not receive these, did much overrun the Church: and though the Council of Ephesus decreed, that no new additions should be made to the Creed, yet that did not restrain those, who loved to make all their own conceits be received, as parts of the Faith. The Fathers were carried too far with this curiosity, but the Schoolmen went farther, and spun the Thread much finer; they condemned every thing that differed from their Notions, as Heretical. Many of the Lutherans had retained much of that peremptoriness, and were not easy to those who differed from them. In England great care was taken to frame these Articles in the most comprehensive words, and the greatest simplicity possible.

When this was settled, they went about the review of the Common-prayer-Book.

Changes made in the Common-prayer-book.
Abridgment of the History

In the daily service, they added the Confession and Absolution, that so the worship of God might begin with a grave and humble Confession conceived in general words, but to which every one ought to joyn a secret confession of his particular sins: after which a solemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the Gospel, was to be pronounced by the Priest. This was thought much better, than the giving Absolution in such formal words, as, I absolve thee, which begat in the undiscerning Vulgar an Opinion, that the Priest had authority to pardon sin, and that made them think of nothing so much, as how to purchase it at his hands: and it proved, as it was managed, the greatest Engine that ever was, for overthrowing the power of Religion.

In the Communion-Service, they ordered a recital of the Commandments, with a short devotion between every one of them, judging that till Church-Discipline were restored, nothing could more effectually awaken such, as came to receive it, to a due seriousness in it, than the hearing the Law of God thus pronounced, with those stops in it, to make the People reflect on their offences against it. The Chrism, the use of the Cross in consecrating the Eucharist, Prayers for the Dead, and some expressions that favoured Transubstantiation were laid aside, and the Book was put in the same Order and Method, in which it continues to this day, excepting only some incon-
of the Reformation, &c.

Inconsiderable variations, that have been made since. A Rubrick was added to the Office of the Communion, explaining the reason of kneeling in it, that it was only as an expression of due reverence and gratitude, upon the receiving so particular a mark of the favour of God: but that no adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Christ was corporally present in it. In Queen Elizabeth's time this was left out, that such as conformed in other things, but still retained the belief of the Corporal Presence, might not be offended at such a Declaration: It was again put in the Book, upon his present Majesties Restoration, for removing the Scruples of those who excepted to that posture. Christ did at first institute this Sacrament, in the ordinary Table-gesture. Moses appointed the Paschal Lamb to be eaten by the People standing, with staves in their hands, they being then to begin their march; yet that was afterwards changed by the Jews, who did eat it in the posture common at Meals, which our Saviour's practice justifies: so, though Christ in his state of Humiliation did Institute this Ordinance, in so familiar a posture, yet it was thought more becoming the reverence due to him in his Exaltation, to celebrate it with greater expressions of humility and devotion. The Ancient Christians received it standing, and bowing their Body downward: Kneeling was afterwards used as a higher expression
pression of devout worship: but great difference is to be made, between the adoration practised in the Church of Rome, in which, upon lifting up the Host, all fall down and worship, and our being, during the whole action, in one continued posture of devotion: and if the Jews, who were more bound up to Ceremonies, made a change in the posture, at the Memorial of their deliverance, without any warrant mentioned in the Old Testament; it must be acknowledged, that the Christian Church, which is more at liberty in such matters, had authority to make the like change of the posture, in this Memorial of Christ's sufferings. At this time six of the most eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the Court by turns, two at a time, and the other four were sent as Itinerant Preachers, into all the Counties of England, in a Circuit, for supplying the defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

The Mass said in Lady Mary's Chappel, was now again challenged. The Court was less afraid of the Emperor's displeasure than formerly, and so would no longer bear with so publick a breach of Law: And the Promise they had made being but Temporary, and never given in Writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the Emperor assured her, that he had an absolute Promise for that Privilege to her: This encouraged her so much, that when the Council wrote to her, she said she would...
would follow the Catholick Church, and adhere to her Fathers Religion. Answer was writ in the Kings name, requiring her to obey the Law, and not to pretend that the King was under age, since the late Rebels had justified themselves by that. The way of Worship then established, was also vindicated, as most consonant to the word of God. But she refused to engage into any disputes; only she said she would continue in her former courses. And she was thinking of going out of England, insomuch that the Emperour ordered a Ship to lie near the Coast for her Transportation; which was strange advice, for it is probable, if she had gone beyond Sea, she had been effectually shut out from succeeding to the Crown. The Emperour espoused her quarrel so warmly, that he threatened to make War, if she should be hardly used, and the Merchants having then great effects at Antwerp, it was not thought fit to give him a colour for breaking with them, and seizing on these; so the Council were willing to let the matter fall, and only advised her to have her Mass privately said: yet the young King could not be easily induced to yield to that, for he said, he ought not to connive at Idolatry. The Council ordered Cranmer, Ridley, and Poines, to satisfy him in it: And they convinced him, that though he ought not to consent to any sin, yet he was not at all times obliged to punish it. He burst out in weeping, lamenting his Sisters ob- stinacy,
Abridgment of the History

Book II.

Tendency, and his own circumstances, that obliged him to comply with such an im-
pious way of Worship. Dr. Wotton was sent over to the Emperour, to convince
him that no absolute Promise was ever made: For Paget and Hobbey, whom the Em-
perour vouched for it, declared upon Oath, that they made not any but what was Tem-
porary; and since the King did not meddle in the concerns of the Emperours Family,
it was not reasonable for him to interpose in this. The Emperor pretended, that he had
promised to her Mother at her death, to pro-
tect her, and so he was bound in honour
to take care of her: But now when the
Council were not in such fear of the Em-
perours displeasure as formerly, they sent
to seize on two of her Chaplains, that had
said Mass in her House, when she was ab-
sent; they kept out of the way, and she writ
to the Council to stop the prosecution, and
continued to stand upon the Promise made
to the Emperour. A long answer was re-
turned to her by the Council, in which, af-
ter the matter of the Promise was cleared,
they urged her with the absurdity of Pray-
ers in an unknown tongue, offering the
Sacrament for the dead, and worshipping
Images: All the Ancients appealed upon
all occasions to the Scriptures, by these she
might easily discover the errors and cheats
of the old Superstition, that were support-
ed only by false Miracles and lying Stories.
They concluded, that they being trusted
with the execution of the Laws, were obli-
ged
ged to proceed equally. Mallet, one of the Chaplains, was taken, and she earnestly desired that he might be set at liberty, but it was denied her. The Council sent for the Chief Officers of her House, and required them to let her know the King's pleasure, that she must have the new Service in her Family, and to give the like charge to her Chaplains and Servants. This vexed her much, and did almost cast her into sickness: She said, she would obey the King in every thing in which her Conscience was not touched: But charged them not to deliver the Council's Message to her Servants. Upon that, the Lord Chancellor, Petre and Wyngfield, were sent with the same orders to her, and carried to her a Letter from the King, which she received on her knees; but when she read it, she cast the blame of it on Cecil, then Secretary of State. The Chancellor told her, the whole Council were of one mind, that they could not suffer her to use a form of Worship against Law: And had ordered them to intimate this both to herself and her Family. She made great protestations of duty to the King; but said, she would die rather than use any form of Worship but that which was left by her Father, only she was afraid she was not worthy to suffer on so good an account. When the King was of age, she would obey his Commands in Religion, and though he now knew many things above his age, yet as they did not think him yet capable of matters of War or Policy,
Policy, so much less could he judge in points of Divinity. If her Chaplains refused to say Mass, she could have none, but for the new Service she was resolved against it, and if it were forced on her, she would leave her house. She desired her Officers might be sent back to her, whom they had put in the Tower, for not intimating the Councils order to her Servants; which had been strange for them to have done, when she forbade it. She charged them to use her well for her Fathers sake, who had raised them all out of nothing. She was sick by reason of their ill usage, and if she died, she would lay it at their door. She insisted on the Promise made to the Emperour, who writ of it to her, and she believed him more than them all: She gave them a token, to be carried to the King, and so dismiss them. When they had laid a charge on her Chaplains and Servants, to the same effect, and were going away, she called after them, and desired they would send her Comptroller to her, for she was weary of receiving her accounts, and examining how many Loaves were made of a Bushel of Meal. Upon this resolution that she exprest, the Council went no further, only after this, her Mass was said so secretly, that she gave no publick scandal. From Copthall, where this was done, she removed, and lived at Hunsden, and thither Ridley went to see her: She received him very civilly, and ordered her Officers to entertain him at dinner: But when he begged leave to Preach
Preach before her, she at first blusht, but being further press'd, she said he might Preach in the Parish Church, but neither she nor her Family would be there: He asked her if she refused to hear the word of God: She answered, they did not call that God's word now, that they had called fo in her Fathers days; and that in his time they durst not have said the things which they then Preached: And after some sharp and reproachful discourse, she dismisht him. Wharton, one of her Officers, as he conduced him out, made him drink a little, but he reflecting on that, blamed himself for it; for he said, when the Word of God was rejected, he ought to have shaken off the dust of his Feet, and gone away. The Kings Sister Elizabeth did in all things conform to the Laws; for her Mother at her death recommended her to Dr. Parker's care, who instructed her well in the Principles of Christian Religion.

The Earl of Warwick began now to form great designs of bringing the Crown into his Family: The King was alienated from his Sister Mary, and the Privy Council had imbroiled themselves with her, and so would be easily engaged against her. The pretence against both the Sisters was the same, that they solder illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirmed in Parliament. So that it would be a disgrace to the Nation to let the Crown devolve on Bastards: And since the fears of the Eldests revenge, made
made the Council willing to exclude her, the only reason on which they could ground that, must take place against the second likewise. And therefore though the Crown was provided to them, both by Act of Parliament, and the late Kings Will, yet these being founded on an Error that was indispensable, which was the baseness of their descent, they ought not to take place. They being laid aside, the Daughters of the French Queen, by Charles Brandon, stood next in the Act, and yet it was generally believed that they were Bastards: For it was given out that Brandon was secretly married to one Mortimer, at the time that he married the French Queen, and that Mortimer out-lived her, so that the issue by her was Illegitimate. The Sweating Sickness did this year break out in England, with such Contagion that eight hundred died in one week of it in London; those that were taken with it, were inclined much to sleep, and all that slept died, but if they were kept awake a day, they did sweat it out. Charles Brandon's two Sons by his last Wife died within a day one of another. His eldest Daughter by the French Queen was married to the Marquess of Dorset, a good, but weak man; and so he was made Duke of Suffolk: They had no Sons, their eldest Daughter Jane Gray, was thought the wonder of the age. So the Earl of Warwick projected a Match between her and his fourth Son Guilford, his three elder Sons being then married: And because the Lady Elizabeth was
of the Reformation, &c.

was like to stand most in the way, care was taken to send her out of England: and a Match was treated for her with the King of Denmark.

A splendid Message was sent to France, with the Order of the Garter. The Marquis of Northampton carried it, three Earls, the Bishop of Ely, and five Lords were sent with him, and above two hundred Gentlemen accompanied them. They were to make a Proposition of Marriage for the King with a Daughter of France. The Bishop of Ely made the first Speech, and the Cardinal of Lorraine answered him: it was soon agreed on, yet neither Party was to be bound, either in Honour or Conscience, till the Lady should be of Years to give consent. A noble Embassy was sent in return from France to England, with the Order of Saint Michael. They desired in their Master's name the continuance of the King's friendship, and that he would not be moved by Rumors, that might be raised to break their Alliance. The young King answered on the sudden, 'that Rumours were not always to be believed, nor always to be rejected, 'for it was no less vain to fear all things, 'than to doubt of nothing: if any differ- 'ences hapned to arise, he should be al- 'ways ready to determine them, rather 'by reason than by force, so far as his 'Honour should not be thereby diminished. This was thought a very extraordinary

L 3  answer,
answer, to be made by one of Fourteen, on the sudden.

There was at this time a great Creation of Peers. Warwick was made Duke of Northumberland, the blood of the Piercies being then under an Attainder: Pawlet was made Marquess of Winchester, Herbert was made Earl of Pembroke, and a little before this, Russel had been made Earl of Bedford, and Darcy was made a Lord. There was none so likely to take the King out of Northumberland's hands, as the Duke of Somerset, who was beginning to form a new Party about the King; so upon some Informations, both the Duke of Somerset & his Dutchess, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Tho. Palmer, & Tho. Arundel, & several others, of whom, some were Gentlemen of Quality, and others were the Dukes servants, were all committed to the Tower. The committing of Palmer was to delude the World, for he had betrayed the Duke, and was clapt up as a Complice, and then pretended to discover a Plot: He said, the Duke intended to have raised the People, and that Northumberland, Northampton and Pembroke, having been invited to dine at the Lord Pagets, he intended to have set on them by the way, or have killed them at Dinner; that Vane was to have 2000 Men ready; Arundel was to have seized on the Tower, and all the Gendarmoury were to have been killed. All these things were told the young King with such Circumstances, that he too easily believed them,
and so was much alienated from his Uncle, judging him guilty of so foul a Conspiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke intended to have raised the City of London, one Crane confirmed Palmers testimony, and both the Earl of Arundel, and Paget were also committed as Complizes. On the first of December, the Duke was brought to his Trial: The Marquess of Winchester was Lord Steward, and 27. Peers sat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and the Earl of Pembroke. The particulars charged on him were, a design to seize on the King's Person, to imprison the Duke of Northumberland, and to raise the City of London; it seemed strange to see Northumberland sit a Judge, when the crime objected, was a design against his life: for though by the Law of England no Peer can be challenged, yet by the Law of Nature no Man can well judge where he is a Party. The Chancellour, though a Peer, was left out, upon suspicion of a reconciliation, which he was making with the Duke: He was not well skilled in Law, and neither objected to the Indictment, nor desired Counsel to plead for him, but only answered to matters of fact: he denied all designs to raise the People, or to kill Northumberland; if he had talked of it, it was in passion without any Intention: and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small Troop, could destroy the Gendarmoury, who were
were 900. The armed Men he had about him, were only for his own defence, he had done no mischief to his Enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had rendred himself without making any resistance: He desired the Witnesses might be brought face to face, and objected many things to them; chiefly to Palmer; but that was not done, and their Depositions were only read: The King's Council pleaded upon the Statute, against unlawful Assemblies, that to contrive the death of Privy Counsellors was Felony, and to have Men about him for his defence, was also Felony. The material defence was omitted, for by that Statute those Assemblies were not felonious, except being required to disperse themselves, they had refused to do it, and it does not appear that any such Proclamation had been made in this case. The Proofs of his raising Rebellion were insufficient, so he was acquitted of Treason, which raised a great shout of joy, that was heard as far as Charing-Cross, but he was found guilty of Felony, for intending to imprison Northumberland. He carried himself, during the Trial, with great temper, and all the sharpness which the Kings Council expressed in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any undecent passion. But when Sentence was given, he sunk a little, and asked the three Lords, that were his Enemies, pardon, for his ill design against them, and made sute for his
his life, and for his Wife and Children. It was generally thought, that nothing being found against him, but an Intention to imprison a Privy Counsellor, that never took effect, one so nearly related to the King, would not have been put to death on that account. It was therefore necessary to raise in the King a great Aversion to him: so a story was brought to the King, as if in the Tower he had confessed a design to employ some to assassinate those Lords; and the Persons named for that wicked service, were also persuaded to take it on them. This being believed by the King, he took no more care to preserve him, assassination being a crime of so barbarous a nature, that it possessed him with a horror, even to his Uncle, when he thought him guilty of it: and therefore he was given up to his Enemies rage. Stanhope, Partridge, Arundel and Vane were tried next, the two first were not much pitied, for they had made a very ill use of their Interest in the Duke, during his greatness: the other two were much lamented. Arundel's Jury was shut up a whole Day and a Night, and those that were for the acquittal, yielded to the fury of the rest, only that they might save their own Lives, and not be starved. Vane had done great services in the Wars, and carried himself with a Magnanimity, that was thought too extravagant: they were all condemned, and Partridge and he were hanged, the other Two were beheaded. The
The Lord Chancellor was become a secret friend to the Duke of Somerset, and that was thus discovered: he went aside once at Council, and writ a Note, giving the Duke notice of what was then in agitation against him, and endorsed it only for the Duke, and sent it to the Tower, but his Servant not having particular directions, fancied it was to the Duke of Norfolk, and not to Somerset, and carried it to him. He to make Northumberland his friend, sent this to him; Rich understanding the mistake, in which his Servant had fallen, prevented the discovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending some indisposition, desired to be discharged; and upon that took his Bed, so it seemed too barbarous to do any thing further against him, only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was put in the Bishop of Ely's hands. This was much censured, for all the Reformers had inveighed severely against the secular employments, and high places, which Bishops had in the Church of Rome, since by these they were taken wholly off from the care of Souls, or those spiritual exercises that might dispose them for it, and assumed only the name and garb of Churchmen, to serve their Ambition and Covetousness; and by this the People were much prejudiced against them, so upon Goodrick's advancement, this was turned against the Reformers: it was said, they only complained of those things, when their Enemies enjoyed them,
of the Reformation, &c.

them, but changed their minds, as soon as they fell into the hands of their friends: but Goodrick was no Pattern, he complied only with the Reformation, but turned when Queen Mary succeeded. Christ said, Who made me a Judge? St. Paul left it as a Rule, that no Man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life. This Saint Cyprian, and the other Fathers understood, as a perpetual prohibition of Churchmen's medling with secular matters; and condemned it severely. Many Canons were made against it in Provincial Councils, and a very full one was decreed at Chalcedon. But as the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria grew rich, and powerful, they established a sort of secular principality in the Church: and other Sees, as they increased in wealth, affected to imitate them. Charles the Great, raised this much everywhere, and gave great Territories and Privileges to the Church; upon which, the Bishop and Abbots, were not only admitted to a share, in the Publick Councils, by virtue of their Lands, but to all the chief Offices of the State; and then Ecclesiastical Preferments were given to Courtiers, as Rewards for their services: and by these means the Clergy became very corrupt, Merit and Learning being no more the standards, by which Men were esteemed or promoted: and Bishops were only considered, as a sort of great Men, who went in a peculiar Habit, and on great
great Festivities were obliged to say Mass, or perform some other Solemnities, but they wholly abandoned the Souls committed to their care, and left the spiritual part of their callings, to their Vicars and Arch-deacons, who made no other use of it, but to squeeze the Inferior Clergy, and to oppress the People: and it was not easy to persuade the world, that those Bishops did much aspire to Heaven, who were so indecently thrusting themselves into the Courts of Princes, and medling so much in matters, that did not belong to them, that they neglected those, for which they were to account to God.

On the 22. day of January, the Duke of Somerset was executed at Tower-Hill, the substance of his Speech, was a Vindication of himself, 'from all ill designs, he confessed his private sins, and acknowledged the mercies of God, in granting him time to Repent: he declared that he had acted sincerely in all he did, in matters of Religion, while he was in power: and rejoiced for his being Instrumental in so good a work: he exhorted the People to live suitably to the doctrine received among them; otherwise they might look for great Judgments from God. As he was going on, there was an unaccountable Noise heard, which so frightened the People, that many run away. Sir Anthony Brown came up, riding towards the Scaffold, which made the
the Spectators think, that he brought a Pardon, and this occasioned great shouts of Joy, but they soon saw their mistakes; so the Duke went on in his Speech, 'He declared his cheerful submission to the will of God, and desired them likewise to acquiesce in it; he prayed for the King and his Council, and exhorted the People to continue obedient to them: and asked the forgiveness of all, whom at any time he had offended. Then he turned to his private devotions, and fitted himself for the blow, which upon the signal given, severed his Head from his Body.

He was a Man of extraordinary Virtues, of great candor, and eminent Piety: he was always a promoter of Justice, and a Patron of the oppressed. He was a better Captain than a Counsellor, and was too easy and open-hearted, to be so cautious, as such times, and such Imploymets required. It was generally believed, all this Conspiracy, for which he, and the other Four suffered, was only a forgery: all the other Complices were quickly discharged, and Palmer, the chief Witness, became Northumberlands particular confidant: and the indiscreet words, which the Duke of Somerset had spoken, and his gathering armed Men about him, was imputed to Palmer's artifices, who had put him in fear of his life; and so made him do, and say those things, for which he lost it. His four friends did all end their Lives,
Lives, with the most solemn protestations of their Innocence, and the whole matter was lookt on, as a contrivance of Northumberlands, by which he lost the affections of the People entirely. Some reflected on the Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey's death, occasioned likewise by a Conspiracy of their own Servants, in which it was thought, this Duke was too active. He was also much cenfured for his Brothers death. He had raised much of his Estate out of the spoils of Bishops Lands, and his Palace out of the Ruines of some Churches; and to this some added a remark, that he did not claim the benefit of his Clergy, which would have saved him, and since he had so spoiled the Church, they imputed it to a particular Judgment on him, that he forgat it: But in this they were mistaken, for in the Act by which he was condemned, it was provided that no Clergy should purge that Felony.

The affairs of Germany. In Germany, Maurice began this year to form a great design: He enter'd into corresp Gonzales not only with the Princes of Germany, but also with France and England; and having given intimations of his designs for the liberty of Germany, and the security of the Protestant Religion, to some that had great credit in Magdeburg, he brought that Town to a surrender, and having made himself sure of the Army, he quartered his Troops in the Territories of
of the Popish Princes, by which they were all much alarmed, only the Emperour did not apprehend the danger till it was too late for him. A quarrel fell in between the Pope and the King of France, about Parma: The Pope threatened, if that King would not restore Parma, he would take France from him. Upon that, the Council being now again opened at Trent, the King of France protested against it, and declared that he would call a National Council in France, and would not obey, nor receive their Decrees. The Emperor still pressed the Germans to send Embassadors and Divines to Trent. The Council began with the points about the Eucharist, and it was ordered that these should be handled according to the Scriptures and Ancient Authors; the Italians did not like this, and said the bringing many quotations was only an Act of Memory, and that way would give the Lutherans great advantages: The sublime speculations of the Schools, together with their terms, were much safer Weapons to deal with. A Safe-Conduct was demanded from the Council, for the Emperours Conduct was not thought sufficient, since at Constance, John Hus, and Jerome of Prague were burnt, though they had the Emperours Safe-Conduct. The Council of Basil had granted a very full one to the Bohemians; so the Lutherans demanded one in the same form, but though one was granted, yet it was in many things short of that. The Elector of Braco.
Brandenburg sent an Embassador to Trent, who made a general Speech of the respect his Master had for them. The Legates answered, and thanked him for submitting to their Decrees, of which the Embassador had not said a word; but when he expostulated about it, the Legates said, they answered him according to that he ought to have said, and not to that he did say. The Council decreed, the manner of Christ's presence to be ineffable, and yet added that Transubstantiation was a fit term for it; for that was a notion as unconceivable as any that could be thought on. Then they decreed the necessity of Aureicular Confession, that thereby Priests might keep a proportion between Penances and Sins, which was thought a mockery; for the trade of slight Penances, and easie Absolutions for the greatest sins, shewed there was no care taken to adjust the one to the other. The Embassador of the Duke of Wurtemberg came, and moved for a Safe-Conduct to their Divines to come and maintain their Doctrine. The Legates answered, they would enter into no disputes with them, but if they came with an humble mind, and proposed their scruples, they would satisfy them. Embassadors from some Towns arrived at Trent, and those sent by the Duke of Saxe were on their way, upon which the Emperour ordered his Agents, to gain time, and hinder the Council to proceed in their decisions till those were heard, but all he could prevail in.
of the Reformation, &c. 161

in, was that the Article concerning the
Communion in both kinds, was postponed
till they should come.

The day after the Duke of Somerset's exe-
cution,a Session of Parliament was assembled.
The first Act they past was about the Com-
mon-Prayer-Book, as it was now amend-
ed: To it only one Earl, two Bishops,
and two Lords dissented. The Book was
appointed to be everywhere received after
All-hallows next. The Bishops were requi-
red to proceed by the censures of the
Church, against such as came not to it;
they also authorized the Book of Ordinati-
s, and enacted the same Penalties against
offenders, that were in the Act for the for-
mer Book three years before. The Papists
took occasion on the changes now made in
the Book, to say, that the new Doctrines,
and ways of Worship changed as fast as
the fashions did. It was answered, That
it was no wonder if corruptions, which,
had been creeping in for a thousand years,
were not all discovered, and thrown out
at once; and since they had been every
age making additions of new Ceremonies,
it might be excused, if the Purging them out
was done by such ease degrees. The Book
was not to be received till All-hallows, be-
cause it was hoped that between and then
the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws
would have been finished: A Bill concerning
Treasons past with only one dissent, it was
much opposed in the H. of Commons; for

Book II. 1552.

A Session of Parliament.
the multiplying of Treafons is always lookt on as a feverity in the Government. One Bill was rejected, but another was agreed on, 'If any called the King, or his Suc-
'cessors, named in the Statute of 35 Hen. 8.
'Heretick, Tyrant, or other opprobrious words, he was for the first offence to be punished with a forfeiture of Goods and Chattels, for the second with a Pramu-
nière, and the third offence was made Treafon; but if it was done in printing or writing, the first offence was Treafon. None were to be prosecuted for words, but within three Months: and two Witnesses were made neceffary, who should aver their Depofitions to the Par-
ties face. This seems to relate to the proceedings againft the Duke of Somerset, in which the Witnesses did not appear, fo that he loft the advantage of cross examining them: and many times Inno-
ce and guilt discover themselves, when the Parties are confronted. Another Law past for Holy-days and Fafts. 'No days were to be esteemed Holy in their own na-
ture, but by reafon of those Holy duties which ought to be done in them, for which they were dedicated to the service of God. Days were esteemed to be de-
dicated only to the honour of God, even those in which the Saints were comme-
morated; Sundays, and the other Holy-
days were to be religiously observed, and the Bifhops were to proceed to Cenfures against offenders, only Labourers or Fi-
of the Reformation, &c.

of the Reformation, &c.

...on them: The Eves before them were to be Fasts, and abstinence from Flesh was enacted, both in Lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays. This liberty to Tradesmen to work on these days, was abused to a publick profanation of them, but the stricter clauses in the Act were little regarded. An Act past, empowering Churchwardens to gather Collections for the poor, and the Bishops to proceed against such as refused to contribute; which though it was a Bill that taxed the people, yet had its first rise in the House of Lords. A Bill was past by the Lords, but rejected by the Commons, for securing the Clergy from falling under the lash of a Præmunire by Ignorance; and that they ought to be first prohibited by the Kings Writ, and not be sued unless they continued after that, stiff in their disobedience. An Act past for the Marriage of the Clergy, four Earls and six Lords dissenting from it: 'That where-...
marry another, unless he were first Di-
vorced; but it was laid aside by the
Commons. The Bishopric of Westminster
was re-united to London, only the Collegiate
Church was still continued.

An Act past concerning Usury, repealing
a Law made 37 Hen. 8. 'That none might
take above 20 per Cent. All Usury, or
profit for Money lent, was condemned, as
counter to the Word of God, and trans-
gressors were to be imprisoned, and fined
at pleasure. This has been since that time
repealed, and several regulations have
been made of the gain by lent Money,
which is now reduced to 6 per Cent. The
prohibitions of Usury by Moses have been
thought Moral, others have believed that
they were founded only on the equal di-
vision of the Land; and since it was then
lawful to take Usury of a stranger, they
have inferred that the Law was not Mo-
ral, otherwise it must be of perpetual ob-
ligation: It was also a great incitement
to industry not to lend upon profit, and
it made every man lay out his Money in
some way of advantage, and their neigh-
bourhood to Tyre and Sidon gave them a
quick vent of their Manufacture, without
which it is not easie to imagine how such
vast numbers could have lived in so nar-
row a Countrey: So that these Laws seem'd
to be only judiciary. It was thought at
first suitable to the Brotherly kindnes of
ought to be among Christians, to lend with-
out gain; but at laft Canons' were made
against
of the Reformation, &c. against taking Usury, and it was put among the reserved Cases. Mortgages were an invention to avoid that, for the use was paid as the Rent of the Land mortgaged, and not of the Money lent. Inventions also were found for those who had no Land to mortgage, to make such bargains that gain was made of the Money, and yet not in the way of Usury. These were tricks only to deceive people, and it is not easy to shew how the making such a gain as holds proportion to the value of Land is immoral in itself; if the rule setled by Law is not exceeded, and men deal not unmercifully with those, who by inevitable accidents are disabled from making payment. Another Bill was past against Simony, the reserving pensions out of Benefices, and granting Advowsons while the Incumbent was yet alive, but it had not the Royal Assent. Simony has been oft complained of, and many Laws and Canons have been made against it, but new contrivances are still found out to elude them all: And it is a disease that will still hang on the Church, as long as Covetousness and Ambition ferment so strongly in the minds of Church-men.

A Bill was sent to the House of Commons, signed by the King, repealing the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's Estate, 23 Hen. 8. made in favour of his Children, by his second Wife, to exclude the Children by his first, of whom are descended the Seimours of Devonshire, which
some imputed to a Jealousie, he had of his first Wife, and others ascribed it to the power his second Wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to void a settlement confirmed in Parliament, and so for Fifteen days it was debated: A new Bill was devised, and that was much altered, and the Bill was not finished till the day before the dissolution of the Parliament. The Lords added a Proviso, confirming the Duke of Somerset's Attainder, but that was cast out by the Commons. Some Writings had been sealed with relation to a Marriage between the Earl of Hartford, the Dukes Son, and the Earl of Oxford's Daughter, and the Lords sent down a Bill voiding these, but upon a division in the House of Commons, 68. were for it, and 69. were against it; so it was cast out. The House was now thin, when we find but 137. Members in it: but that is one of the effects of a long Parliament: many grow infirm, and many keep out of the way on design, and those who at their first Election were the Representatives of the People, after they have sat long, become a Cabal of Men, that pursue their own Interests, more than the Publick Service. Tonstall Bishop of Durham, upon some Informations, was put in Prison in the former year: The Duke of Northumberland intended to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North; and the accession of the Jurisdiction of the County Palatine, which is in that See,
of the Reformation, &c.

seemed so considerable, that he resolved to ruine Tonnall, and so make way for that. He complied in all the changes that were made, though he had protested against them in Parliament; he writ also for the Corporal Presence, but with more Eloquence than Learning: He was a candid and moderate Man, and there was always a good correspondence between Cranmer and him: and now when the Bill was put in against him, he opposed it, and protested against it, by which he absolutely lost the Duke of Northumberland: but all the Popish complying Bishops went along with it. There were some Depositions read in the House of Lords to justify it, but when the Bill with these was sent down to the Commons, they resolved to put a stop to that way of condemning Men without hearing them: so they sent a Message to the Lords, that he and his Accusers might be heard face to face, and that not being done, they let the Bill fall. By these Indications, it appeared that the House of Commons had little kindness for the Duke of Northumberland. Many of them had been much obliged to the Duke of Somerset; so it was resolved to have a new Parliament, and this which had sat almost five years, was on the 15th. of April dissolved.

The Convocation did confirm the Articles of Religion, that had been prepared the former year, and thus was the Reformation of Worship and Doctrine now brought A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws prepared.
brought to such perfection, that since that time there has been very little alteration made in these. But another Branch of it was yet unfinished, and was now under consultation, touching the Government of the Church, and the rules of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Two Acts had passed in the former reign, and one in this, impowering XXXII. to revise all the Laws of the Church, and digest them into a body. King Henry issued out a Commission, and the Persons were named, who made some progress in it, as appears by some of Cranmer's Letters to him. In this Reign it had been begun several times, but the Changes in the Government made it be laid aside. Thirty two were found to be too many for preparing the first draught, so Eight were appointed to make it ready for them: These were Cranmer and Ridley, Cox and Peter Martyr, Traheron and Taylor, and Lucas and Gosnold, two Bishops, two Divines, two Civilians, and two Common Lawyers; but it was generally believed, that Cranmer drew it all himself, and the rest only corrected what he designed. Haddon and Cheek were employed to put it in Latine; in which they succeeded so well, and arrived at so true a purity in the Roman style, that it looks like a work of the best Ages of that State, before their Language was corrupted with the mixture of barbarous terms and phrases, with which all the later Writings were filled, but none were more nau-
Severely rude than the Books of the Canon-Law. The Work was cast into fifty one Titles, perhaps it was designed to bring it near the number of the Books, into which Justinian digested the Roman Law. The Eight finished it, and offered it to the XXXII. who divided themselves into Four Classes, every one was to offer his Corrections, and when it had past through them all, it was to be offered to the King for his Confirmation; but the King died before it was quite finished, nor was it ever afterwards taken up: yet I shall think it no useless part of this work, to give an account of what was intended to be done in this matter, as well as I relate what was done in other things.

The first Title of it was concerning the Catholick Faith: it was made Capital to deny the Christian Religion. The Books of Scripture were reckoned up, and the Apocrypha left out. The four first General Councils were received, but both Councils and Fathers were to be submitted to, only as they agreed with the Scriptures. The second enumerates and condemns many Heresies, extracted out of the Opinions of the Church of Rome, and the Tenets of the Anabaptists: and among others, those who excused their lives, by the pretence of Predetermination, are reckoned up. 3: The judgment of Heresie was to lye in the Bishops Court, except in exempted places. Persons suspected might be required to purge themselves, and those who
who were convicted, were to abjure and do Penance, but such as were obstinate, were declared Infamous, and not to have the benefit of the Law, or of making Testaments, and so all Capital proceedings for Heresie were laid aside. 4. Blasphemy against God was to be punished as obstinate Heresie. 5. The Sacraments, and other parts of the Pastoral Charge, were to be decently performed. 6. All Magick, Idolatry, or Conjuring was to be punished arbitrarily, and in case of obstinacy, with Excommunication. 7. Bishops were appointed once a Year to call all their Clergy together, to examine them concerning their Flocks: and Itinerant Preachers were to be often employed for visiting such Precincts as might be put under their care. 8. All Marriages were to be after asking of Banes, and to be annulled, if not done according to the Book of Common-Prayer. Corrupters of Virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their Goods, and suffer Corporal punishment. Marriages made by force, or without consent of Parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and Mothers were required to suckle their Children. 9. The degrees of Marriage were settled according to the Levitical Law, but spiritual kindred was to be no barr. 10. A Clergy-man guilty of Adultery, was to forfeit his Goods and Estate to his Wife and Children, or to some pious use; and to be
be banished or imprisoned during life: a
Layman guilty of it, was to forfeit the
half, and be banished or imprisoned du-
ring life: Wives that were guilty, were
to be punished in the same manner. The
Innocent Party might marry again after
a Divorce. Defertion, or Mortal Enmity,
or the constant perverseness of a Husband,
might induce a Divorce, but little quar-
rels, nor a perpetual Disease might not do
it; and the separation from Bed and Board,
except during a Trial, was never to be
allowed. 11. Patrons were charged to
give presentations, without making bar-
gains; to choose the fittest persons, and
not to make promises till the Livings were
vacant. The Bishops were required to
use great strictness in the Trial of those,
whom they ordained: all Pluralities and
Non-residence were condemned, and all
that were presented were to purge them-
selves of Simony by Oath. The twelfth
and thirteenth were concerning the chan-
ging of Benefices. The fourteenth was con-
cerning the manner of purgation upon
common fame: all superstitious Purgati-
ons were condemned. Others followed,
about Dilapidations, Elections and Colla-
tions. The nineteenth was concerning
Divine Offices. The Communion was or-
dered to be every Sunday in Cathedrals, and
a Sermon was to be in them in the afternoon:
such as received the Sacrament, were to
give notice to the Minister the day be-
fore, that he might examine their Con-
sciences:
Abjuration of the History

172
Book II.

The Catechism was appointed to be explained for an Hour in the afternoon on Holy-days: After the Evening Prayer, the Poor were to be taken care of, Penances were to be enjoined to scandalous Persons, and the Minister was to confer with some of the Ancients of the People, concerning the state of the Parish. That admonitions and censures might be applied, as there was occasion given. The twentieth was concerning other Church-Officers. A Rural Dean was to be in every Precinct to watch over the Clergy, according to the Bishops directions: Archdeacons were to be over them, and the Bishop over all: who was to have yearly Synods, and visit every third Year. His Family was to consist of Clergymen, in imitation of St. Austin, and other ancient Bishops, these he was to train up, for the service of the Church: When Bishops became infirm, they were to have Co-adjudtors: Arch-bishops were to do the Episcopal duties in their Dioceses, and to visit their Province. Every Synod was to begin with a Communion, and after that the Ministers were to give an account of their Parishes, and follow such directions as the Bishop should give them. Other heads followed concerning Church-Wardens; Tithes, Universities, Visitations, and several sorts of Censures. In the thirtieth, a large Scheme was drawn of Excommunication, which was intrusted to Churchmen, for keeping the Church pure, and was
of the Reformation, &c.
was not to be inflicted, but for obstinacy in some gross fault: all causes upon which it was pronounced, were to be examined before the Minister of the Parish, a Justice of Peace, and some other Church-men. It was to be pronounced and intimated with great seriousness, and all were to be warned not to keep company with the person censured, under the like pains, except those of his own Family: Upon his continuing forty days obstinate under it, a Writ was to be issued out for Commitment, till the Sentence should be taken off: Such as had the King's Pardon for Capital offences, were yet liable to Church censures. Then followed the Office of absolving Penitents. They were to come to the Church-door, and crave admittance, and the Minister having brought them in, was to read a long discourse concerning Sin, Repentance, and the Mercies of God. Then the Party was to confess his sin, and to ask God, and the Congregation pardon; upon which the Minister was to lay his hands on his Head, and to pronounce the Absolution. Then a thanksgiving was to be offered to God, at the Communion Table, for the reclaiming that sinner. The other Heads of this work, relate to the other parts of the Law of those Courts. It is certain, that the abounding of Vice and Impiety, flows in a great measure from the want of that strictness of censure, which was the glory of the Christian Church in the Primitive times: and
and it is a publick connivance at sin, that there have not been more effectual ways taken for making sinners ashamed, and denying them the Priviledges of Christians, till they have changed their ill course of life.

There were at this time also remedies under consideration, for the great misery and poverty the Clergy were generally in: but the Laity were so much concerned to oppose all these, that there was no hope of bringing them to any good effect, till the King should come to be of Age himself, and endeavour to recover again a competent maintenance, for the Clergy, out of their hands, who had devoured their Revenues. Both Heath and Day, the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, were this Year deprived of their Bishopricks, by a Court of Delegates, that were all Laymen. But it does not appear, for what offences they were so censured. The Bishopricks of Gloucester and Worcester were both united, and put under Hooper's care; but soon after, the former was made an exempted Archdeaconry, and he was declared Bishop only of Worcester. In every See, as it fell vacant, the best Mannors were laid hold on by such hungry Courtiers, as had the Interest to procure the Grant of them. It was thought, that the Bishops Sees were so out of Measure enriched, that they could never be made poor enough: but such haft was made in spoiling them, that they were reduced to
of the Reformation, &c. 175

so low a condition, that it was hardly possible for a Bishop to subsist in them. Book II.
If what had been thus taken from them, had been converted to good uses, such as the supplying the Inferiour Clergy, it had been some mitigation of so heinous a robbery: But their Lands were snatched up by Laymen, who thought of making no Compensation to the Church for the spoils thus made by them.

This Year the Reformation had some more footing in Ireland than formerly. Henry the VIII. had assumed to himself, by consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, the Title of King of Ireland: the former Kings of England having only been called Lords of it. The Popes and Emperours have pretended, that such Titles could be given only by them: The former said, all power in Heaven and Earth was given to Christ, and by consequence to his Vicar. The latter, as carrying the Title of Roman Emperour, pretended, that as they Anciently bestowed those Titles, so that devolved on them, who retained only the name and shadow of that Great Authority. But Princes and States have thought that they may bring themselves under what Titles they please. In Ireland, though the Kings of England were well obeyed within the English Pale, yet the Irish continued barbarous and uncivilised, and depended on the heads of their Names or Tribes, and were obedient, or did rebel as they directed them. In Ulster they had
a great dependance on Scotland: and there were some risings there, during the War with Scotland, which were quieted, by giving the Leading-men Penions, and getting them to come and live within the English Pale. Monluc, Bishop of Valence, being then in Scotland, went over thither to engage them to raise new Commotions; but that had no effect: while he was there, his lasciviousness came to be discovered by an odd accident, for a Whore was brought to him by some English Friars, and secretly kept by him: but the searching among his Clothes, fell on a Glass, full of somewhat, that was very odoriferous, and drank it off; which being discovered by the Bishop, too late, put him in a most violent passion: for it had been given him, as a Present, by Soliman the Magnificent, when he was Ambassador at his Court. It was call'd the richest balm of Egypt, and valued at 2000 Crowns. His rage grew so boisterous, that all about him, discovered both his Passion, and Lewdness at once. The Reformation was set up in the English Pale, but had made a small progress among the Irish. This Year Bale was sent over to labour among them. He was a busie Writer, and was a Learned zealous Man, but did not write with the temper and decency that became a Divine. Goodaker was sent to be Primate of Armagh, and he was to be Bishop of Ossory. Two Irish Men were also promoted with them, who under-
undertook to advance the Reformation there. The Archbishop of Dublin intended to have ordained them by the old Pontifical, and all, except Bale, were willing it should be so, but he prevailed that it should be done according to the new book of Ordinations: after that he went into his Diocess, but found all there in dark Popery, and before he could make any progress, the King's death put an end to his designs. There was a change settled in the Order of the Garter this Year. A Proposition was made the former year, to consider how the Order might be freed from the Superstition, that was supposed to be in it. St. George's fighting with a Dragon, lookt like a Legend forged in dark Ages, to support the humour of Chivalry, then very high in the world. The story was neither credible in itself, nor vouched by any good Author: nor was there any of that name mentioned by the Ancients, but George the Arrian Bishop, that was put in Alexandria, when Athanasius was banished. Some Knights were appointed to prepare a Reformation of the Order: and the Earl of Westmorland, and Sir Andrew Dudley were this Year Installed according to the New Model. It was appointed to be called in all time coming, the Order of the Garter; and no more the Order of St. George; instead of the former George, there was to be on the one side of the Jewel, a Man on Horseback, with a Bible on his Swords point:
point: On the Sword was written *Protestatio*, and on the Bible *Verbum Dei*; and on the Reverse a Shield, and *Fides* written upon it: to shew that they would maintain the Word of God, both with offensive and defensive Weapons: but all this was reversed by Queen Mary, and the old Statutes were again revived, which continue to this day.

There was at this time a strict enquiry made into the accounts of all, who had been employed in the former part of this Reign; for it was believed, that the Visitors had embezel'd much of the Plate of the Churches: and these were the Creatures of the Duke of Somerset, which made Northumberland prosecute them more vehemently: On none did this fall more severely, than on the Lord Paget, who was not only fined in 6000 l. but was degraded from the Order of the Garter, with a particular mark of Infamy on his Extraction; yet he was afterwards restored to it with as much honour. He had been a constant friend to the Duke of Somerset, and that made his Enemies execute so severe a Revenge on him. Northumberland was preparing matters for a Parliament, and being a Man of an Insolent temper, no less abject when he was low, than lifted up with prosperity, he thought extreme severity was the only way to bring the Nation easily to comply with his administration of affairs; but this, though it
it succeeded for some time, yet when he
needed it most, it turned violently upon
him: for nothing can work on a free
People so much, as Justice and Clemency
in the Government.

A great design was settled this Year, which proved to be the foundation of all
that Wealth and Trade, that has since
that time flourished so much in this Na-
tion. Henry the III. had been much sup-
ported in his Wars, by the assistance he
got from the Free-Towns of Germany, in
recompence of which he gave them great
Priviledges in England. They were for-
med here in a Corporation, and lived in
the Still Yard near London-Bridge. They
had gone sometimes beyond their Char-
ters, which were thereupon judged to be
forfeited, but by great Presents they pur-
chased new ones. They traded in a Bo-
dy, and so ruined others by under selling
them; and by making Presents at Courts,
or lending great Summs, they had the
Government on their side. Trade was
now rising much, Courts began to be more
Magnificent, so that there was a greater
consumption, particularly of Cloth, than
formerly. Antwerp and Hamburgh lying,
the one near the mouth of the Rhine, and
the other at the mouth of the Elbe, had
then the chief Trade in these Parts of
the World; and their Factors in the Still-
Yard, had all the Markets in England in
their hands; and set such Prices, both on
what
what they imported or exported, as they pleased, and broke all other Merchants to such a degree, that the former Year they had shipped 44000. Clothes, and all the other Traders had not shipped above 1100. So the Merchant-adventurers complained of the Still-Yard Men, and after some hearings, it was judged that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was dissolved: nor could all the applications of the Hanse Towns, seconded by the Emperour's Intercession, procure them a new Charter. But a greater design was proposed, after this was settled; which was to open two free Mart Towns in England, and to give them such Priviledges, as the free Towns in the Empire had, by that means to draw the Trade to England: Southampton and Hull were thought the fittest. This was so far entertained by the young King, that he wrote a large Paper, ballancing the conveniencies and inconveniencies of it, but all that fell with his Life.

This year Cardan, the great Philosopher of that Age, past through England, as he returned from Scotland. The Archbishop of St. Andrews had sent for him out of Italy, to cure him of a Dropsie: in which he had good success; but being much conversant in Astrology and Magick, he told him he could not change his fate, and that he was to be hanged. He waited on King Edward as he returned, and was for...
of the Reformation, &c.

fo charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always spake of him, as the rarest Person he had ever seen: and after his death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he writ the following Character of him.

"All the Graces were in him: he had many Tongues, when he was yet but a Child; together with the English, his Natural Tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish and perhaps some more; But for the English, French and Latin, he was exact in them, and was apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of Natural Philosophy, nor of Musick; The sweetness of his Temper was such as became a Mortal, his Gravity becoming the Majesty of a King, and his Disposition was suitable to his high Degree: In sum, that Child was so bred, had such parts, and was of such expectation, that he looked like a Miracle of a Man: These things are not spoken Rhetorically, and beyond the Truth, but are indeed short of it. And afterwards he adds, 'He was a marvellous Boy; when I was with him, he was in the 15th year of his Age, in which he spake Latin as politely, and as promptly as I did: He asked me, what was the subject of my Book, de Rerum varietate, which I dedicated to him? I answered, that in the first
first Chapter, I gave the true cause of
Comets, which had been long enquired
into, but was never found out before.

What is it, said he? I said, it was the
cconference of the Light of wandering
Stars. He answered, How can that be,
since the Stars move in different moti-
ons? How comes it that the Comets are
not soon dissipated, or do not move af-
ter them, according to their motions. To
this I answered, they do move after them,
but much quicker than they, by reason of
the different aspect, as we see in Crystal,
or when a Rain-bow rebounds from a
Wall: for a little change makes a great
difference of place. But the King said,
How can that be, where there is no sub-
ject to receive that Light, as the Wall is
the subject for the Rain-bow? To this
I answered, That this was as in the Mil-
ky way, or where many Candles were
lighted, the middle place, where their
shining met, was white and clear. From
this little taft, it may be imagined what
he was. And indeed the ingenuity, and
sweetness of his Disposition had raised
in all good, and learned Men the grea-
test expectation of him possible. He be-
gan to love the Liberal Arts before he
knew them, and to know them before
he could use them: and in him there
was such an Attempt of Nature, that not
only England, but the World hath rea-
son to lament his being so early snatcht
away. How truly was it said of such
of the Reformation, &c.

extraordinary Persons, that their Lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old? He gave us an Essay of Vertue, though he did not live to give a Pattern of it. When the gravity of a King was needful, he carried himself like an old Man, and yet he was always affable, and gentle, as became his Age. He played on the Lute; he medled in affairs of State: and for Bounty, he did in that emulate his Father; though he, even when he endeavoured to be too good, might appear to have been bad: but there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in the Son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of Philosophy.

These extraordinary blossoms gave but too good reason to fear, that a fruit which ripened so fast, could not last long.

In Scotland there was a great change in Affairs in the Government: the Governor was dealt with, to resign it to the Queen Dowager, who returned this Year from France, and was treated with all that respect that was due to her rank, as she past through England. She brought Letters to the Governor, advising him to resign it to her, but in such terms, that he saw he must either do it, or maintain his power by force: he was a soft Man, and was the more easily wrought on, because his ambitious Brother was then desperately ill: but when he recovered, and found what he
he had done, he expressed his displeasure at it in very vehement terms. The young Queen of Scotland's Uncles proposed a Match for her with the Dolphin, which had been long in discourse, and the King of France inclined much to it. Constable Monmordancy opposed it: He observed how much Spain suffered, in having so many Territories at a distance: though those were the best Provinces of Europe. So he reckoned the keeping Scotland, would cost France more than ever it could be worth: A Revolt to England would be easie, and the sending Fleets and Armies thither would be a vast charge: He therefore advised the King, rather to marry her to some of the Princes of the Blood, and to send them to Scotland, and so by a small Pension, that Kingdom would be preserved in the Interests of France. But the Constable was a known Enemy to the House of Guise, and so those wise advices were little considered, and were imputed to the fears he had of so great a strengthening, as this would have given to their Interest at Court. In Scotland there were now two Factions: the one was headed by the Archbishop, and all the Clergy were in it, who were jealous of the Queen, as leaning too much to some Lords, who were believed to incline to the Reformation; of whom the Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the Earl of Murray was the chief: These offered to serve the Queen in all her designs; in particular, in sending the Matrimonial
of the Reformation, &c. 

monial Crown to France, upon their young Queens Marriage with the Dolphin, if she would defend them from the Violence of the Clergy in matters of Religion, which being made generally subservient to other Interests in all Courts, this was well entertained by the Queen, though she was otherwise very zealous in her own Religion.

There was a great and unexpected turn this year, in the affairs of Germany. The Emperor's Ministers began to entertain some jealousy of Maurice, so that the Duke of Alva advised the Emperor to call for him, and so to take him off from the head of the Army; and then make him give an account of some suspicious passages, in his treating with other Princes: but the Bishop of Arras said, he had both his Secretaries in pay, and he knew by their means all his Negotiations, and relied so on their Intelligence, that he prevailed with the Emperor not to provoke him, by seeming distrustful of him. But Maurice knew all this, and deluded his Secretaries, so that he seemed to open to them all his secretest Negotiations; yet he really let them know nothing, but what he was willing should come to the Emperor's ears, and had managed his Treaties so secretly, that they had not the least suspicion of them. At last the Emperor was so possessed with the Advertisements that were sent him from all parts, that he writ to Maurice to come and clear himself;
himself; and then he refined it higher: for he presently left the Army, and took Post, with one of his Secretaries, and a small Retinue: after a Days riding, he complained of a pain in his side, so that he could not go on, but sent his Secretary with his excuses: This appearance of confidence made the Emperour lay down all his jealousies of him. He had also sent his Ambassadors to Trent, and had ordered Melanthon, and some Divines to follow them slowly, and as soon as a safe conduct was obtained, to go to Trent. The Emperour's Agents had a hard task, between the Legats and the Lutherans: they dealt with the Legates to hear the other; but they answered, that it was against the rules of the Church, to treat with professed Hereticks. The Lutherans on the other hand, made such high demands, that they had as much to do to moderate them: they preft them not to ask too much at once, and promised, that if they would proceed prudently, the Emperour would concur with them, to pull down the Popes power, and to reform abuses. A Safe Conduct was demanded, such as had been granted by the Council of Basil, that their Divines might have a decisive voice, and the free exercise of their Religion, and that all things might be examined according to the Scriptures. But the Legates abhorred the name of that Council, that had acted so much against the Papal authority, and had granted such a
of the Reformation, &c.

a Conduct, that so they might unite Germany, and engage the Empire to join with them against the Pope. The Ambassadors from the Lutherans were heard in a General Congregation, where they gave the Council a very cold Complement, and desired a Safe-Conduct. The Pope understood, that the Emperor was resolved to set on the Spanish Bishops, to bear down the power of the Court of Rome, therefore he united himself to France, and resolved to break the Council on the first occasion, upon which he ordered the Legates to proceed to settle the doctrine; hoping the Protestants would upon that despair of favour, and go away. But while these things were in agitation, the War of Germany broke out, and the Legates suspended the Council for two Years.

After this, I shall have no occasion to speak more of this Council, so I shall offer this remark here, that this Council had been much desired both by Princes and Bishops, in hopes that differences of Religion would have been composed in it, and that the Corruptions of the Court of Rome would have been reformed by it, and that had made the Popes very apprehensive of it: but such was the cunning of the Legates, the number of Italian Bishops, and the disensions of the Princes of Europe, that it had effects quite contrary to what all sides expected. The breach in Religion was put past reconciling.
ling, by the positive decisions they made: 
the abuses of the Court of Rome were con-

ermed by the Proviso's, made in favours 
of the Priviledges of the Apostolick See: 
and the World was so cured of their 
longings for a General Council, that none 
has been desired since that time. The 
History of that Council was writ with 
great exactness and Judgment, by Father 
Paul of Venice, while the thing was yet 
fresh in all Mens memories; and though 
it discovered the whole secret of transac-
tions there, yet none set himself to write 
against it, for Forty Years after: of late 
then Pallavicini undertook it, and upon 
the credit of many Memorials, he in ma-
ny things contradicts Father Paul; but as 
many of these are likely enough to be 
forged, so in the main of the History, 
they both agree so far, that it is manifest, 
things were not fairly carried, and that 
all matters were managed by Intreagues 
and secret practices, in which it will be 
very hard to discern such a particular con-
duct of the Holy Ghost, as should induce 
the World to submit to their authority: 
and indeed Pallavicini was aware of this, 
and therefore he lays down this for a 
foundation; 'That there must be a Prin-
cipality in the Church, supported by 
great Wealth and Dignity; and many 
practices are now necessary that are con-
trary to what were in the Primitive time, 
which was the Infancy of the Church, 
and ought not to be a rule to it now, 
when
when it is grown up to its full state.

Maurice declared for the liberty of Germany, and took Augsburg, and several other Towns. The King of France fell also in, upon the Empire, with a great Force, and by surprize made himself Ma ster of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and thought to have got Strasburg. Maurice sent his demands to the Emperour for the Landgrave's liberty, and for restoring the freedom of the Empire: and the Emperour being slow in making answer, he marched on to Innsbruck, where he surprized a Post, and was within two Miles of him, before he was aware of it, so that the Emperor was forced to fly away by Torch-light: and from thence went to Italy. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly Instrumental in the ruine of the Empire, did now again assert its freedom; and all the Emperour's great design on Germany was now so blasted, that he could never after this put any life in it: he was forced to discharge his Prisoners, and to call in the Proscriptions, and after some Treaty, at last the Edict of Paffaw was made, by which the free exercise of the Protestant Religion was granted to the Princes and Towns: and so did that storm, which had almost overwhelmed the Princes of that Perfwasion end, without any other considerable effect, besides the Translation of the Electoral dignity from John to Maurice. The Emperour's misfortunes encreased on him, for against all reason...
reason he besieged Metz in December, but after he had ruined his Army in it, he was forced to raise the Siege. Upon that he retired into Flanders, in such discontent, that for some time he would admit none to come to him. Here it was believed, he first formed that design, which some years after he put in execution, of forsaking the World, and exchanging the Pomp of a Court, with the retirement of a Monastery. This strange and unlookt for turn in his affairs, gave a great demonstration of an over-ruling Providence, that governs all humane affairs, and of that particular care that God had of the Reformation, in recovering it, when it seemed to be gone, without all hope, in Germany.

In the beginning of this Year, there was a regulation made of the Privy Council. Several Committees had proper work assigned them, and directions given them for their conduct; of which there is an account extant, corrected with King Edward's hand. A new Parliament was called, and sat down the first of March; a motion was made for a Subsidy of two tenths, and two fifteenths to be paid in two years: at the passing of the Bill there was a great debate about it in the House of Commons, which seems to have been concerning the Preamble, for it contained a high accusation of the Duke of Somerset's administration, and was set on by the Duke of Northumberland's Party, to let the King
The Sons of the Nobility and Gentry had ordinarily Prebends given them, under this pretence, that they intended to follow their studies, and make themselves capable of entering into Orders: and this was like to become a great prejudice to the Clergy, when so many of the dignities of the Church were in Lay-hands. Upon this the Bishops procured a Bill to be past in the House of Lords, that none might hold there, that was not either Priest or Deacon: but at the third reading, the Commons threw it out.

Another Bill past for suppressing the Bishoprick of Durham, and erecting two new Sees, the one at Durham, and the other at Newcastle; the former was to have 2000. and the latter 1000. Marks Revenue; there was also a Dean and a Chapter to be endowed at Newcastle. Ridley was designed to be made Bishop of Durham. But though the secular Jurisdiction of that See was given to the Duke of Northumberland, yet the King's death stopt the further progress of this affair. Tonstall was deprived, as Heath and Day were, by a Court of Lay-delegates, upon the Informations that had been brought against him of Misprision of Treason, and was kept in the Tower till Queen Mary set him at liberty. The King granted a General Pardon.
Pardon, in which the Commons moved the Lords, that some words might be put, though that is not usual to be done; for Acts of Pardon, are commonly past without any Changes made in them. After the passing these Acts, the Parliament was dissolved on the last of March. For it seems either the Duke of Northumberland was not pleased with the proceedings in the House of Commons, or he was resolved to call frequent Parliaments, and not continue the fame, as the Duke of Somerset had done.

Visitors were sent after this to examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linnen, for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices, and to bring in all other things of value to the Treasurer of the King's Household, and to sell the rest, and give it to the Poor. This was a new rifling of Churches, by which it seemed some resolved not to cease, till they had brought them to a Primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers intended to bring them to a Primitive purity. The King set his hand to these Instructions, from which some have inferred, that he was ill principled in himself, when at such an Age, he joyned his Authority to such proceedings. But he was now so ill, that it is probable, he set his hand to every thing, that the Council sent him, without examining anxiously what it might import.
of the Reformation, &c.

Skip, Bishop of Hereford, dying, Harley succeeded him, and was the last that was promoted by the Kings Letters Patents; as Barlow was the first, being removed by them, from St. David's to Bath and Wells. The form of the Patent was, 'That the King appointed such a one to be Bishop during his Natural life, or as long as he behaved himself well: and gave him power to ordain or deprive Ministers, to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and perform all the other parts of the Episcopal Function, that by the Word of God were committed to Bishops, and this they were to do in the King's Name, and by his Authority. Ferrar was put in St. David's, upon Barlow's removal: he was an indiscreet Man, and drew upon himself the dislike of his Prebendaries, and many complaints were made of him, which, if true, discovered great weakness in him: at last he was sued in a Premunire, for acting in his own name, and not in the King's, in his Courts; and was put in Prison, where he continued, till Morgan, that was his chief Accuser, being put in his place by Queen Mary, condemned him to the Fire; which turned all former Censures, that he had given occasion for, by his simplicity, into esteem and compassion. By these Patents, the Episcopal Power was still declared to flow from Christ; they were only presentations to Bishoprics, such as other Patrons gave to inferior Benefices; and such
such as Christian Princes in France, and other Kingdoms gave in elder times, for Bishopricks. Their Courts were ordered to be held in the King's Name; but all this was repealed by Queen Mary: and when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, instead of reviving this, she revived that made in the 25 Hen. 8. by which Bishops were authorized to hold their Courts, as they had done formerly: and though Queen Mary's repeal of the Statute of this King, was afterwards taken away, so that this Act seemed thereby to be again in force; yet Queen Elizabeth's reviving that made by her Father, was understood to be, in effect, a Repeal of it: so that in King James's time, when some scruples were started about it, the Judges did not think it necessary to make an Explanatory Act, to clear the matter, for the thing did not seem to admit of any debate. A new and fuller Catechism was this Year composed by Poinet, and was published with the Kings approbation.

Affairs in Germany. The state of affairs beyond Sea, was now quite turned, so that the Progress the French had made, set the English Council on mediating a Peace. The Emperour represented to them the danger the Netherlands were in, since the French were Masters of Metz, and so could in a great measure divide them from the assistance, that they might receive from the Empire; therefore he desired that ac-
according to the Ancient Leagues, between England, and the House of Burgundy, they would now engage against the French. The Council sent over Ambassadors, both to the Emperor, and the French King, to mediate. The Emperor was then indisposed, but his Ministers complained much, that the French had broken with them perfidiously, when they were making solemn protestations, that they intended to observe the Peace religiously. The Germans proposed a League between the Emperor, the King of the Romans, the King of England, and the Princes of the Empire. The Emperor moved that the Netherlands might be comprehended within the perpetual League of the Empire; but the Princes refused that, since those Provinces were like to be the perpetual Seat of War, when ever it should break out between France and Spain; unless they might have reciprocal advantages, for exposing themselves to so much danger and charge. The French made extravagant Propositions, by which it appeared, that their King had a mind to carry on the War. They asked the restitution of Millan, Sicily, Naples, and Navarre, and the Soveraignty of the Netherlands; and that Metz, Toul and Verdun should continue under the Protection of France. The English would not receive these as Mediators, but took them only as a Paper of News, and so ordered their Ambassadors to communicate them to the Emperor. But the King's death broke off this Negotiation.
He had contracted great Colds by Violent Exercises, which in January settled in a deep Cough: and all Medicines proved ineffectual. There was a suspicion taken up, and spread over all Europe, that he was poisoned: but no certain grounds appear, for justifying that. During his sickness, Ridley preached before him, and among other things, run out much on works of Charity, and the duty of Men of high condition, to be Eminent in good works. The King was much touched with this; so, after Sermon, he sent for the Bishop, and treated him with such respect, that he made him sit down, and be covered: then he told him, what Impression his Exhortation had made on him, and therefore he desired to be directed by him, how to do his duty in that matter. Ridley took a little time to consider of it, and after some consultation with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, he brought the King a Scheme of several Foundations, one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were wilfully idle, or were mad, and a third for Orphans: so he endowed St. Bartholomew's Hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and Christ's Church near Newgate for the third; and he enlarged the Grant he made the former year, for St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark. The Statutes and Warrants relating to these, were not finished before the 26. of June, though he gave order to make all the haste that was possible: and
of the Reformation, &c.

and when he set his hand to them, he blest God that had prolonged his life, till he finished his designs concerning them. These Houses have, by the good Government, and great Charities of the City of London, continued to be so useful, and grown to be so well-endowed, that now they may be well reckoned among the Noblest in Europe.

The King bore his sickness with great submission to the will of God; and seemed concerned in nothing so much, as the state that Religion, and the Church would be in, after his death. The Duke of Suffolk had only three Daughters, the eldest of these was now married to Lord Guildford Dudley; the second to the Earl of Pembroke's eldest Son; and the third, that was crooked, to one Keys. The Duke of Northumberland, for strengthening his Family, married also his own two Daughters, the one to Sir Henry Sidney, and the other to the Earl of Huntington's eldest Son. He grew to be much hated by the People, and the jealousy of the King's being poisoned, was fastened on him. But he regarded these things little, and resolved to improve the fears the King was in concerning Religion, to the advantage of Lady Jane. The King was easily persuaded to order the Judges, and his Learned Council to put some Articles, which he had signed, for the succession of the Crown, in the common form of Law. They answered,
swered, that the Succession being settled by Act of Parliament, could not be taken away, except by Parliament: yet the King required them to do what he commanded them. But next time they came to the Council, they declared, that it was made Treason to change the Succession by an Act past in this Reign, so they could not meddle with it. Montague was chief Justice, and spake in the name of the rest. Northumberland fell out in a great passion against him, calling him Traitor, for refusing to obey the King's commands: for that is always the language of an Arbitrary Minister, when he acts against Law. But the Judges were not shaken by his threatenings; so they were again brought before the King, who sharply rebuked them for their delays, but they said, all that they could do, would be of no force, without a Parliament, yet they were required to do it, in the best manner they could: At last Montague desired they might have a Pardon for what they were to do, and that being granted, all the Judges, except Gosnald and Hales, agreed to the Patent, and deliver'd their Opinions, that the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal to it, and that then it would be good in Law; yet the former of these two was at last wrought on, so Hales was the only Man that stood out to the last: who, though he was a zealous Protestant, yet would not give his Opinion against his Conscience, upon any consideration whatsoever. The Privy Council
lours were next required to set their hand to it: Cecil, in a Relation he writ of this transaction, says, that hearing some of the Judges declare so positively, that it was against Law, he refused to set his hand to it, as a Privy Councillour, but signed it only as a Witness to the King's subscription. Cranmer stood out long, he came not to Council when it was past there, and refused to consent to it, when he was press'd to it; for he said, he would never have a hand in disinheritting his late Master's Daughters. The young dying King was at last set on him, and by his Importunity prevailed with him to do it, and so the Seal was put to the Patents. The King's distemper continued to encrease, so that the Physicians despaired of his Recovery. A confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put in her hands, but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightned the jealousie of the Duke of Northumberland, that had introduced her, and put the Physicians away. At last, to Crown his designs, he got the King to write to his Sisters, to come and divert him in his sicknes: and the matter of the Exclusion had been carried so secretly, that they apprehending no danger, had begun their Journey.

In the 6th. of July, the King felt death approaching, and prepared himself for it, in a most devout manner: He was often heard offering up Prayers and Ejaculations.
to God: Particularly a few Moments before he died, he prayed earnestly that God would take him out of this wretched life, and committed his Spirit to him; he interceded very fervently for his Subjects, that God would preserve England from Popery, and maintain his true Religion among them; soon after that, he breathed out his Innocent Soul, being in Sir Henry Sidney's arms. Endeavours were used to conceal his death, for some days, on design to draw his Sisters into the snare, before they should be aware of it, but that could not be done.

Thus died Edward the VI. in the sixteenth Year of his Age. He was counted the wonder of that time: he was not only Learned in the Tongues, and the Liberal Sciences, but knew well the state of his Kingdom. He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men of the Nation; he studied Fortification, and understood the Mint well; he knew the Harbours in all his Dominions, with the depth of Water, and way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs so well, that the Ambassadors that were sent into England, published very extraordinary things of him, in all the Courts of Europe. He had great quickness of apprehension; but being distrustful of his Memory, he took Notes of every thing he heard, that was considerable, in Greek Characters; that those about him might not understand what he writ, which he afterwards Copied out fair in the Journal that he kept.
His Virtues were wonderful, when he was made believe, that his Unkle was gui-
ty of conspiring the death of the other Coun-
fellours, he upon that abandoned him. Barn-
aby Fitzpatrick was his Favourite, and when
he sent him to travel, he writ oft to him, to keep good Company, to avoid excess and Luxury, and to improve himself in those things, that might render him capable of Employment, at his return. He was afterwards made Lord of Upper-Ossory in Ire-
land, by Queen Elizabeth, and did answer the hopes that this excellent King had of him. He was very merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingness to sign the Warrant, for burning the Maid of Kent. He took great care to have his debts well paid, reckoning that a Prince who breaks his Faith, and loses his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrust, and extreme contempt. He took special care of the Petitions, that were given him by poor and oppress People. But his great zeal for Religion crowned all the rest. It was not only an angry heat about it that acted him, but it was a true tenderness of conscience, founded on the love of God, & his Neighbors.

These extraordinary qualities set off with great sweetness and affability, made him be universally beloved by all his People. Some called him their Josias, others Edward the Saint, and others called him the Phoenix that rise out of his Mothers ashes; and all Peo-
ple concluded, that the sins of England must have
have been very great, since they provoked God to deprive the Nation of so signal a blessing, as the rest of his Reign would have, by all appearance, proved. *Ridley*, and the other good Men of that time, made great lamentations of the Vices, that were grown then so common, that Men had past all shame in them. Luxury, Oppression, and a hatred of Religion had over-run the higher rank of People, who gave a countenance to the Reformation, merely to rob the Church, but by that and their other practices, were become a great scandal to so good a work. The inferior sort were so much in the power of the Priests, who were still, notwithstanding their outward Compliance, Papists in heart, and were so much offended at the spoil they saw made of all good endowments, without putting other and more useful ones in their room, that they who understood little of Religion, laboured under great prejudices against every thing that was advanced by such tools. And these things, as they provoked God highly, so they disposed the People much to that sad Catastrophe, which is to be the subject of the next Book.
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 days 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
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 Neigh-
bourhood. 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 Con-
sultations they had engaged in, but she would pardon all that was done, to such as would re-
turn to their duty, and proclaim her Title to the Crown. By this it was found, that
the Kings death could 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 af-
flicted her much, and her being raised to the Throne, rather encreased, than lef-
sened her trouble. She was a very extra-
ordinary Person, both for Body and Mind. She had learned both the Greek and Latine
Tongues, to great perfection; and de-
lighted 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 Councillors 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 XXI. Privy Councillors 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.

The day after this they proclaimed Jane. But Lady Jane Gray was by Patent excluded his Sisters, that both were illegitimated by sentences past in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and confirmed in Parliament, and at best they were only his Sisters by the half blood, and so not
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 Dutches 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 Vintners 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.

Censures past upon that. Many descanted variously on this Proclamation. Those who thought that the King had his power immediately from God, said, that then it must 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 Scotland; but she being of the Church of Rome, claimed nothing upon the sentence against Queen Mary, esteeming it unlawful, and null: yet afterwards she made her claim against Queen Elizabeth. Others said, that though a Prince were named immediately by God, yet upon great reasons he might alter the
Succession from its natural course: for so David preferred Solomon to Adonijah. In England, the Kings claimed the Crown by a long Prescription, 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 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 Henrys, 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
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.

The severity against the Vintners 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 Maxime, that all Governments ought to begin with acts of Clemency, and affect the love rather than the fear of the People. Northumberland’s proceeding against the Duke of Somerset, upon so foul a Conspiracy, and the suspicions that lay on him, as the Author of the late Kings 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 dye 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

Many turn to Queen Mary.
of the Reformation, &c.

the Earl of Huntington's Brother, to raise Men in Buckinghamshire, and meet the Forces that should be sent from London at Newmarket.

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 Councilours 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 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 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, on the 14th. of July: but no acclamations or wishes of success were to be heard, as he past 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 Ambassadour had officiously meddled in their affairs. But the Emperour would not receive their Letters. Ridley was appointed to preach up Queen Jane's Title, and to animate the
the People against Queen Mary, which he too rashly obeyed. But Queen Mary's Party encreased every day. Hastings went over to her with 4000 Men out 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 out of it. The Earl of Arundel hated Northumberland. The Marquess of Winchester was dextrous 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 joyned. 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 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 unseasie 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
of the Reformation, &c.

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 it self, turns insolent, or abject, out of measure, with the various changes of fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and Sir Tho. 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 he 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 the
the first Instance, towards whom the Queen should express her Clemency.

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 Dutchess of Somerset, and Gardiner, of whose Commitment mention has been formerly made; as also the Lord Courtney, Son to the Marquess of Exeter, who had been kept there ever since his Fathers 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 was a Lady of great Vertues, 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 Mothers 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 her self pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in matters of Religion: She sent her two Latine Books for her entertainment, Saint Jerome's Epistles, and a Book of the Life of
of the Reformation, &c.

of Christ, which was perhaps the famous Book of Thomas à Kempis. The Kings displeasure at her was such, that neither the Duke of Norfolk, nor Gardiner, 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 Mothers death, she hearkned 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 writ both to her Father, and to Cromwell, 'Protest great sorrow for her former 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 Reliques; 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 Vertue, high Wisdom, and excellent Learning should think convenient for her. So perfectly had she learned the Stile, that she knew was most acceptable to her Father. After that, she was in all points obedient to him, and during her Brothers Reign, she set up on that pretence, that she would adhere to that way of Religion, that was settled by her Father.
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 flow steps she might again return to the obedience to the See of Rome. But the her self 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 Maximes made no great Impression on her, and that he was lookt on by her as a crafty tempori- rising Man, addressed himself to the Em- perour, 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 pre- cipitating things; and being so much go- verned by Italian Counsels: for he under- stood, that she had sent for Cardinal Pool. The People had a great Aversion to the Papal authority, and the Nobility and Gen- try were apprehensive of losing the Abbey Lands; therefore it was necessary to re- move these prejudices by degrees. He also assured the Emperor, that he would serve all his Interests zealously, and shew- ed him how necessary it was to stop Car- dinal Pool, who stood Attainted by Law: In this he was the more earnest, because he
he knew Pool 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 past 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 Duke of Northumberland, and his Son the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquefs 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, nor 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 Queens Mercy: So Sentence past upon them: and the day after that, Sir John Gates, Sir Tho. Palmer, and some others, were tried and condemned: But of Northumberland.
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 22. of August, he and the other two were beheaded. There past some expostulation between Gates and him: each of them accusing the other as the Author of their ruine. 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 temporised against his Conscience, and that he was always of the Religion of his Fore-fathers. 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
last passages of his life, that it increased the Jealousies that were raised of his having hastned 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.

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 22. 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 Saint Paul's; and Brown, 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 Brown safe home. This was a very welcome Accident to the Papists, and gave them a colour to prohibit preaching, by a Publick 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 publick Order should be taken in it by common Consent. She required her People to live quietly, not to use the terms of Papist, or Heretick, or other reproachful speeches, and that none should Preach without Licence: she also charged them not to punish any on the account of the late Re-bellion,
of the Reformation, &c.

bellion, but as they should be authorised by her. She would be sorry to be driven to execute the severity of the Law; but was resolved not to suffer Rebellious doings to go unpunished. This gave great occasion to cenfure, and was thought a Declaration, not for her Fathers 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 Publick Order 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 Licence, 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 Licence 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.
Abridgment of the History

Book III

In Suffolk the people thought their Services, and the Queens promised gave them a Title to own their Religion more avowedly: But orders were sent to the Bishop of Norwich to execute the Queens Injunctions, and to see that none should preach that had not obtained a Licence. 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 a 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, Tonstal, Heath and Day, were restored to their Bishopricks; they had all Appealed to the King before Sentence had past against them; so Commissioners 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
of the Reformation, &c.

of 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 publick 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.

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
was in, never left him till he drowned him-
self. This shewed that 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 Queens exclu-
sion, yet since he professest himself a Papist,
was made Lord Chief Justice; and Mont-
tague, who had proceeded in it with great
aversion, yet because he was for the Refor-
mation, was put in Prison, and severely
Fined; though he had this merit to pre-
tend, that he had sent his Son and twenty
men with him, to declare for the Queen;
and had this also to recommend him to pi-
ty, that he had six Sons, and ten Daugh-
ters. Peter Martyr was forced to retire
from Oxford: He came to Lambeth, but
was not like to find long shelter there.

Cranmer kept himself quiet for some time,
which gave the other party occasion to pub-
lish that he was resolved to turn with the
Tyde. 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 lit-
tle while. Some advised him to fly beyond
Sea; he answered, That though he could
not dissuade others to fly from the persecu-
tion they saw coming on, yet that was un-
becoming a man in his station, that had
such a hand in the changes formerly made.
He prepared a Writing, which he intend-
ed to have published: The substance of
of the Reformation, &c.

it was, 'That he found the Devil was more than ordinary busie in defaming the Servants of God; and that whereas the corruptions in the Mass had been cast out, and that the Lords Supper was again set up, according 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: Therefore he protested that was false, and that a dissembling Monk (this was Thornton Bishop Suffragan of Dover) had done it without his knowledge. He also offered that he and Peter Martyr, 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 Service 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 Chichester, coming to him, he shewed it him and desired 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 Saint Pauls, and many other Churches. He was at this time dismissed: Gardiner saw the Queen intended to put Cardinal Pool in his
his room, and that made him endeavour to preserve him. Some moved that a small Pension might be assigned him, and that he should be suffered to live private: for the sweetness 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 Heresie 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 Mothers 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 publick faith, had leave given him to go beyond Sea: so had also a Lasco, 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 Friseland. Many of the English foreseeing the storm, resolved to withdraw in time: so the strangers being required to
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 Ambassadors of the Princes, to whom they belonged. With those that fled beyond Sea, divers Eminent Preachers went: among whom were Cox, Sandys, Grindall, and Horn, all afterwards highly advanced by Queen Elizabeth.

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 Fathers Debts and her Brothers; and though her Treasure was much exhaus ted, yet she esteeming 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.

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 forcibly 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 Arch-bishops, 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 joyn 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. Nowell a Prebendary of Westminister, was returned.
of the Reformation, &c.

returned Burges 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 Proviso's, and the Commons did not then insist on their Priviledge, that the Lords could not alter a Bill of Money. The only publick Bill that was finished this Session, was a Repeal of all late Statutes, making any Crime, Treason, that was not so by the 25. of Edward the Third; or, Felony, that was not so before King Henry the Eighth: 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 meerly for Acts of Mercy.

At their next Meeting, after the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was past: a Bill past 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 concerning it; and had by Corruption procured the Seals of Foreign

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The Queen's marriage confirmed.
Universitys condemning it, and had by threatnings and sinitrous Arts obtained the like in England: Upon which Cranmer 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, performed 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 fallhood 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 pronounced. By this Act the Lady Elizabeth was upon the matter again, illegitimated, since the ground upon which her Mothers 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 suggest that a secret rivalry was the true spring of it. It was thought the Earl of Devonshire was much in the Queens favour, but he either not presuming so high, or liking Lady Elizabeth better, who was both more beautiful, and was XIX. Years younger than the Queen, made
made his addresses to her, which provoked the Queen so much, that it drew a great deal of trouble on them both.

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 past 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 publick
publick 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 lye 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 made: by which disorders, that might arise upon sudden heats, were declared to be Felonies. The Marquef 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.

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 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 Attaint him; as that he used Coats of Arms, which
of the Reformation, &c.

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, Guilford 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 reflection 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 Archbishopsrick; 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 willing 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 her self, but was always inexorable in matters of Religion.
Abridgment of the History

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 Popes Legate at Brussels sent over "Commendone, to see if he could speak with her, and to persuade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apostolick 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 Queens 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 Pool; and instructed "Commendone, in order to the sending over Pool with a Legatine power: She also asked him, whether the Pope might not dispence with Pool to marry, since he was only in Deacons Orders. This was a welcome Message to the Court of Rome, and proved the foundation of "Commendone's advancement. There was a publick 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.
of the Reformation, &c.

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 re-
union. Some of the stiffer Cardinals thought it was below the Popes dignity to send a Legate, till an Embassie should come from the Queen, desiring it: Yet the se-
cret was so whispered among them, that it was generally known. It was said, they ought to imitate the Shepherd in the Par-
ble, who went to seek the stray Sheep: And therefore Pool was appointed to go Legate, with ample powers. Gardiner was in fear of him, and so advised the Emperour to stop him in his journey; and to touch the Em-
perour in a tender part, it is said that he let him know that the Queen had some In-
clinations for the Cardinal. The Empe-
rour had now proposed a Match with her for his Son, though he was nine years young-
er than she was; yet she being but thirty seven, there was reason enough to hope for Children; and the unifying England to the Spanish Monarchy seem'd to be all that was wanting to strengthen it on all hands, so as to ruine 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 fo-

And for a Match with the Prince of Spain.

then

rign power: Yet it is more reasonable to think that Gardiner, who was always governed by his Interests, would have ra-
ther promoted the match with Pool, for
then he had been Infallibly made Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and had got Pool'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.

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 prefet 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 her self was persuadedito send to Pool, 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 Re-union: But the Parliament had expressed so great an aversion to the restoring the Popes power, and were so apprehensive of losing the Abbey-Lands, that it would prejudice her affairs much, if he should come over before the peoples 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 wrote a long and tedious answer; he rejoiced at the Acts that were passed, but observed great defects in them: In that concerning her Mothers Marriage, there was no mention made of the Popes Bull of Dispensation,
of the Reformation, &c. 1553

...tion, by which only it could be a lawful Marriage. The other for setting up the Worship, as it was in the end of her Fa-
...thers reign, he censured more; for they were then in a state of Schism, and so this established Schism by a Law: And he said, that while the Interdict lay on the Nation, it was a sin to perform Divine Offices. He had been very frankly dispatched by the Pope and the Consistory, with many favourable Instructions; but if these were so despised, and he still stopped, it might provoke him to recall his power. He knew all this flowed from the Emperour, who would perhaps advise her to follow such Political Maximes as himself was governed by, but his ill success in the business of the Interim, might well frighten others from following such Counsels: And he was afraid that Carnal Policy might govern her too much, and that so she would fall from her simplicity in Christ. He desired her to take Courage, and to depend on God; and advised her to go herself to the Parliament, having before-hand prepared some to se-
...cond her, and to tell them that she was touched in Conscience with a sense of the sin of Schism, and that therefore she desired the Act of Attainder that stood against him might be Repealed, and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apostolick See: And she might assure them that all necessary caution should be used to prevent the Nations being brought under a thralldome to the Papacy.

But
But the Queen was now possessed with Gardiner’s Counsels, and look’d on Pool’s advices as more candid than prudent. Gardiner persuaded her that though he was a good and learned man, yet he understood not the present genius of the Nation; and Pool lookt on Gardiner as a man of no Conscience, and that he was more conversant in Intrigues of State, than touched with any sense of Religion: But the Emperor was convinced that Gardiner’s Methods were surer, and preferred them to Pool’s.

When the Treaty of the Queens Marriage came to be known, the House of Commons was much alarmed at it; and they sent their Speaker with twenty of their Members, with an Address to her, not to marry a stranger: And they were so inflamed, that the Court judged it necessary to dissolve the Parliament. Gardiner upon this, let the Emperor know that the jealousies which were taken up on the account of the Match were such, that except very extraordinary conditions were offered, it would occasion a general Rebellion. He also writ to him that great sums must be sent over both to gratifie the Nobility, and to enable them to carry the Elections to the next Parliament, in opposition to such as would stand against them. As for Conditions, it was resolved to grant any that should be demanded; for the Emperor reckoned that if his Son were once married to her, it would be easie for him to govern the Councils as he pleased: And for Money
there was 400000 pound ordered to be divided up and down the Nation, at the discretion of Gardiner, and the Emperours Ambassadours: A great part of it was payed in hand, and the rest was brought over with the Prince. This the Emperour borrowed from some of the Free Towns of Germany; and when they were pressing him for the re-payment of it about a year after, he for his excuse told them the charge he had been at for his Sons Marriage, but that he hoped to be re-imburfed from England; which was thus bought and sold by a practising Bishop and a corrupted House of Commons. Gardiner did also make use of his power, as Chancellour, to force all people to comply with him; for there was no favour nor common Justice shewed in his Court of Chancery to any others.

With the Parliament a Convocation met, Harpsfield preached to them, he flattered the Queen, and the Bishops that had been deprived in the late times, with a zeal that shewed how fervently he aspired to preferment: He inveighed against the late times with great sharpness; so that his Sermon was divided between Satyr and Panegyrick. Six of the Reformed Divines were qualified by their dignities to sit in the lower House, being either Deans or Arch-Deacons, who were Philpot, Philips, Had- don, Coeyney, Ailmer and Young. They made a vigorous opposition to a motion that was proposed for condemning the Catechism and Common-Prayer-Book that had
had been set out in King Edward's time, and particularly 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 compile 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 & noise, so at first they refused 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 Theodore's saying that the Elements did not depart from their former substance, form, and shape. Moreman answered, that Theodore's words were to be understood of an accidental substance: It was replied, that form and
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 humane 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 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 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; other-
otherwise they would send him to Prison. He claimed the privilege of the House for freedome 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. Thoedores'd words were much and often insisted on; so Weston answered, if Thoedoris should be yielded to them, they had an hundred Fathers on the other side. Cheyne shewed out of Hesychius, that the custome 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 past, 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 joyn 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 point-
of the Reformation, &c.

ing 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 stronger 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 publick 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 Veysey was again reposeifled of the See of Exeter, Coverdale being now a Prisoner in the Tower.

In the beginning of the next year, a great Embassie came from the Emperour, 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 Emperour 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 Pr. Philip was to be named in all Writs, and his Image was to be on the 

R. Coin
Coin and Seals, yet the Queens 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 the consent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have of Jointure 40000l. out of Spain, and 20000l. 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 Kings 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 lookt on these 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 talkt of, and it was said England must now preserve it self, or be for ever infla

ved. Carew and Wiat undertook to raise the Countrey, 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.
of the Reformation, &c. But before it grew ripe, the design was discovered, and upon that Sir Peter Carew fled to France.

Wiat gathered some men about him, and on the twenty fifth 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 Knevst 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 Wiat 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 Wiat. Upon this, the Duke of Norfolk retired back to London; and Wiat, 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 Wiat 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. What 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 Hide Park next morning. His men were weary and disheartned, and now not above 500; so that though the Queen's forces could have easily 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
lucky for the ends of the Court, as if Gardiner had projected it; for in a weak Government an ill digested Insurrection raises 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 Poineer'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 Gray, and her Husband; she had lived six Months in the daily Meditations of Death, so she was not much surprized 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 fence she had of Religion. She writ 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 pathetick Letter, setting forth his Aposta-
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 her self, 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 encrease their Grief, and disorder: and continued so settled in her temper, that she saw his beheaded Body carried to the Chappel 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 11th 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.
of the Reformation, &c.
imred. It affected Judge Morgan, that
had pronounced the Sentence; so much, that
he run mad, and thought he still followed
him. The Queen her self was troubled at
it; for it was rather reason of State, than
private Resentment, that let her on to it.

Her Father was soon after tried by his Several o-
Peers, and Condemned and Executed. He
was the less pitied, because by his means
his Daughter was brought to her untimely
end. What 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 flander was cast on the Earl of Dvon-
shire, and Lady Elizabeth, as if they had
set on the rising that was intended in the
West. What, 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 Nicolas 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 Jo. 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 Eng-
land 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 re-
ounced
Abjuration of the Bishop

Book III

15.5.4.

nounced his Religion: But though he got his Liberty upon that, yet he could never recover the quiet of his mind; so he languished for some time and dyed.

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 not other Complice found, but one Drake; and they both were made to do Penance for it publickly 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 K. 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 Heresie was to be put in Orders; they were required to suppress Heresie and Hereticks, 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.
of the Reformation, &c.

and that was declared to be no valid Or-
dination.

The Queen gave also a special Commit-
ment to Bonner, Gardiner, Tomctall, Day, and
Kitchin, to proceed against the Archbishop
of York, and the Bishops of St. Davids, Chester, and Bristol, and to deprive them
of their Bishopricks, for having contracted
Marriage, and thereby having broken their
Vows, and defiled their Function. She also
authorised them, to call before them the
Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester and Hereford,
who held their Bishopricks, 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 Bishopricks 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 meer Ar-
bitrary Government. And all this was
done by vertue of the Queens being Head
of the Church, which, though she condemned
as a sinful and sacrilegious power, yet he
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 the being questioned for it.
He was an ambitious Man, and so no won-
der, if earthly considerations prevailed more
with him, than a good Conscience. Scory,
that 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 Eliza-
beth's reign: so that his Compliance was
the effect of his weaknesses and fears. Barlow
resigned Bath and Wells, and a Book of re-
cantation was published in his name, con-
taining severe reflections, both on the Re-
formers, 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 like-
ly, that he would have been put from his
Bishoprick: 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 much as restored to their former
Sees, but put in meaner ones. By all these
deprivations and resignations, there were
sixteen
sixteen new Bishops made, which made no small change in the face of the English Church. Now the Old Service was everywhere 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 Saint Katherine's day, the Quiresters 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 12000, and most of them were judged upon common fame, without any Proceeds, 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 Topicks 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.

On the 2d. of April a Parliament met, but the most considerable Members were beforehand corrupted by Gardiner, who gave
gave them Pensions, some 200, and others 1000 a Year for their Voices. The first Act that past 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 un-
of the Reformation, &c.

This the Ambassadors brought to the Queen, and prayed her to keep it very secret. But she disliked it, 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 beg'd her not to listen to such Plat-forms, which might be brought her by base Sycophants: Upon that, she burnt the Paper, and charged the Ambassadors 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 past, 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 VII. 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 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 Bishoprick of Durham was again restored, after a vigorous resistance made by the of Gateside near Newcastle. The Attainders
tainders of the Duke of Suffolk, and Fifty-eight more, for the late Rebellion, were confirmed: The Commons sent up four several Bills against Lollard's, 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 forpossessing 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.

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
of the Reformation, &c.

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 Prolocutor called him often an Unlearned and Impudent Man: But he carried himself with that gravity and mildness, that many were observ'd 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, meerly 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 humane Nature, to swallow down a living Man.
Man; that this Opinion was contrary to the humanity of Christ, and was a new Doctrin, unknown to the Fathers, and brought into the Church in the later Ages. Smith argued against him, from Christ's appearing to Saint Stephen, and to Saint 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 Chrysostome's expressisons were alledged, 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 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 though he could not dispute well, yet his Faith
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 like a Country Game, than a Dispute among Divines; four or five spoke off at once, so that it was not possible to hear what they said, much less to answer it. The Committee of 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 hustling 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, by 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 those 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 Controversie, 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,
tion, that is much taken with the gracious looks of their Princes, was thought a sign of vaft pride and morosenefs. The Queen met him at Winchester, where they were married: he being then in the XXVII. and she in the XXXVIII. Year of her Age. The Emperour resigned to him his Titular Kingdom of Jerusalem, and his more valuable one of Naples, fo they were proclaimed with a Pompous Enumeration of their Titles. The Kings 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 distributed among those, who for his Spanish Gold, had fold 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 he lived. Wiat had accused them, in hopes of saving his life, but when that did not preserve him, he did publickly vindicate them on the Scaffold. The Earl of

S 2

Devon.
Devenshire, to be freed from all jealousy, Book III went beyond Sea, and dyed 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 Dolphin, 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 dye 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 fullen 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,
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.

The Bishops went to make their Visita-
tions 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 Mar-
riage, and their living chastly; whether they were suspected of Heresie, or of fa-
vouring Hereticks? whether they went to Taverns or Alehouses? whether they admit-
ted any to officiate, that had been Ordained schismatically, before they were reconciled, or to preach, if they had not obtained a Li-
cence? 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 Peo-
ple, the Elements of the Christian Religion in the Vulgar Tongue? They did not pro-
ceed steadily, in relation to the Ordina-
tions 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
have annulled all Ordinations made in them; yet they have not annulled the Ordinations of the Greek Church, though they esteem the Greeks both Hereticks and Schismaticks: Thus there were many questions put among the Articles of the Visitation, yet these were asked only for form, the main business was Heresie, 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 brains were a little disorderd 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 Saint Pauls on Easter-Day: The custom was to lay the Host in the Sepulchre at Even-Song
of the Reformation, &c.

Song, on Good-Friday, and to take it out on Easter Morning; and the Quire Sung these words, *He is risen, he is not here,* when it was taken out: but when they lookt to take it out, they found it was not there indeed, for one had stollen 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 was taken to discover the Author of this, but he was not found.

The Queen's third Parliament met on the 11th. of November: In the Writ of Commons 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. *Pool* 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 past, was a Repeal of Pool'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 entred privately to London, on the 24th. of November, 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 lodg-
ed 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.

The Nation is reconciled to the See of Rome.

Pool 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 quickned 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 publick demonstrations of joy upon it. The Priests said, that here was another John Baptist to come, that leapt 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 recompence of which, he
was now to reconcile them to the Body of the Church: He made a long Speech, of the Conversion of the Britains and Saxons to the Faith, and of the Obedience they had paid to the Apostolick 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 ruine 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 necessitie 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 past, 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, with 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. 8. against the Pope's authority, but all foundations of Bishopricks and Cathedrals, all Marriages, tho' contrary to the Laws of the Church, all Institutions, all Judicial Procesles, and the settlements made, either of Church or Abbey Lands, were confirmed. The Convocation of Canterbury had joyned their Intercession with the Cardinal, that he would
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 Belshazz.
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 sufficiently maintained:
all which was put in the Act, and confir-
med 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 Pramunire, if any went about to di-
sturb the Possessors, by the pretence of an
Ecclefaistical power. They also declared,
that the Title of Supream Head of the
Church, did never of right belong to the
Crown; & enacted that it should be left out
of Writs in all time coming. All Exempti-
ons granted to Monasteries, and now con-
tinued in Lay hands, were taken away,
and all Churches were made subject to E-
episcopal Jurisdiction, except Westminster,
Windsor, and the Tower of London. The
statute of Mortmain was repealed for 20.
years to come, and all things were brought
back to the state in which they were, in
the 2oth. year of King Henry's reign. The
Lower House of Convocation 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.
of the Reformation, &c.

... Abbey Lands; and praying that the Statute of Mortmain might be repealed, and that all the Tithes might be restored to the Church: they proposed 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 condemned, and all Simoniacaal 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 Pramunire, till a Prohibition were first served and disobeyed, that so they might not be surprised and ruined a second time. By another Bill all former Acts made against Lollards were revived. The Commons offered another Bill for voiding all Leafes 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 declared, 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...
for words, but within six Months after they were spoken. Another Act past, declaring it Treason in any to pray for the Queens death, unless they repented of it, and in that case they were to suffer Corporal punishment at the Judges discretion.

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 Pool take out a Licence, 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 ratifie these, as well as his Legate did now consent to them. But to all this, it was answer-
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 Pool gave to all, to make restitution; & 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 Sacrilege: 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.

Now the Parliament was at an end: and the first thing taken into consideration, was, what way they ought to proceed against the Heretics. Pool 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 Confidets
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. Pool 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 Heresie: 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 publick 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 Church.
Churchmen, the Hereticks would take advantage from that, to defame the Church the more, and raise a clamour against all Clergymen. Gardiner's spite was at this time much whetted by the reprinting of his Books of true Obedience, which was done at Strasburg, and sent over. In it he had called King Henry's marriage with Queen Catherine, Incestuous, and had justified his Divorce, and his second Marriage with his most godly and vertuous Wife, Queen Anne. This was a severe exposing of him, but he had brown enough, and bore down these reproaches, by saying Peter had denied his Master; but others said a Compliance of 25 years continuance was very unjustly compared to a sudden denial, that was presently expiated with so sincere a Repentance. The Queen was for joining both these Councils together, and intended to proceed at the same time, both against scandalous Churchmen and Hereticks. 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 Saint 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.

But soon after began the Persecution: 1555. Rogers, Hooper, Taylor, Bradford, and seven more were brought before the Council, and asked one by one, if they would return
turn to the Union of the Catholick 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 Dioces, 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.

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 lookt 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 Councellours that were present.
of the Reformation, &c.

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 hindred the Flame to rise up and choke him, or destroy his Vitals; so that he was near three quarters of an hour in great Torment, but he continued still calling on God,
God; his last words were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* Sanders, that had been Minister at Coventry, and Taylor that was Minister at Hadly, 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 Licence, after the Queens Prohibition; and the latter for making opposition to some Priests, that broke violently into his Church, and said *Mafs 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, call'd *Hereticks,* were now rather inflam'd than depressed, he resolved to meddle no more in those Trials; and turned over that Invicious matter to Bonner, whose temper was so cruel, that he undertook it cheerfully.

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 meerly for their Opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to Law. One Piece of Cruelty was also singular: when the Council
cil sent away those that were to be burnt in
the Countrey, 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 Vest-
ments: Ridley and he had been entirely re-
conciled, and wrote very affectionate Letters
to one another. The sense they had of
those differences, when they were preparing
for another World, and that bitter pal-
fage, through which they were to go to it,
ought to inspire all others with more mod-
erate thoughts in such matters. Those that
loved the Reformation, were now posseffed
with great aversion to the Popish Party, and
the whole Body of the Nation grew to dif-
like this Cruelty; and came to hate King
Philip for it. Gardiner, and the other Coun-
cellours had openly laid, that the Queen
set them on to it, so the blame of it was
laid on the King, the sworneff of whole
temper, together with his bigotry in mat-
ters 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 Peoples lives
for Opinions in Religion; and Inveighed
Abridgment of the History

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.

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 Fathers 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 the 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 to her, that God had trusted her with the Sword, which she ought to imploy for the protection of her People, & was not to abandon them to the Cruelty of such Wolves: The Petition
of the Reformation, &c.

Petition also turned to the Nobility, and rest of the Nation, and the dangers of a Spanish Yoke, and a bloody Inquisition were set before them. Upon this the Popish Authors writ several Books in Justification of those proceedings. They observed that the Jews were commanded to put blasphemers to death; and said the Hereticks 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: Saint Peter, by a Divine Power, struck Ananias and Saphira dead. Christ, in the Parable, said, Compel them to enter in. Saint Paul said, I would they were cut off that trouble you. Saint 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 XIX. Years old, was condemned and burnt on the same account. Bonner was so much concerned to preserve him, that he offered him Forty Pound to change: so mercenary did he think other Men's consciences were, measuring them probably by his own. Two Gentlemen, Canston 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, that had been Bishop of S. Davids, 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 Landaff, 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 Fower, a rash and furious Man, wounded a Priest at S. Margaret's Westminster, as he was
of the Reformation, &c.

was officiating; for which being seised on, and found to be an Heretick, 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 her self 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 Pool should think fit. Some imputed this to a Bull set out by the Pope, excommunicating all that kept any lands belonging to Abbies 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.

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
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 Popes power was such, that it was more easie 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 sickned 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 Pool, 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.

On the day of his Election, the English Ambassadors entred Rome in great state, having in their Train 140. 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 Publick Audience was

The Eng-
lish Am-
bassadors
come to
Rome.
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 Supream Power which God had given him to destroy, or to build Kingdomes 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 Sacriledge, and all were obliged, under the pains of damnation, to restore to the last farthing, every thing that belonged to the Church: he said likewise, that he would send over a Collector 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 Ambassadours. But the Pope would endure no contradiction, and repeated this every time they came to him.

In England, Orders were sent to the Justices to look narrowly to the Preachers of Heresie, and to have secret Spies in every Parish, for giving them Information of all Peoples behaviour. This was imputed to the sownness of Spanish Councils, and seemed to be taken from that base practice of the Roman Emperours, that had their Informers (or Delatores) that went into all Companies, and accommodated themselves to all Men's Tempers, till they had drawn them...
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 not to meddle any further, 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 Hereticks, or to proceed against them according to Law: and he quickly shewed how ready he was to mend his pace, upon such an admonition.

In the beginning of May, the Court was in expectation 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 flye 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 hopes of making himself Master, left her, and that increased her Melancholy.

More Hereticks burnt. 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 some-
what favouring of Herefie, 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 County, to gather many togeth
er, 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 dexte-
rously did they study to cherish a spirit of
Cruelty among the People. Bradford, who
had been committed soon after he had sav-
ed 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 Confeffor, and
Alphonfus a Castro went to fee, 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 car-
riage in suppressing that Tumult, it appear-
ed that he had set it on: but he appealed to
God, who saw how unworthily they retn-
ned him evil for good; and he appealed
to Bourne, who was sitting among the Bi-
shops that judged him, if he had not pray-
ed him for the Passion of Christ to endea-

Book III

vour his preservation; and if he had not
done it, at the hazard of his own Life.

But Bourn, as he was ashamed to accuse
him, so he had not the honesty, nor the
courage to vindicate him: a young Appren-
tice was burnt with him, whom he en-
couraged much in his sufferings, and in
transports of joy, he hugged the Faggots
that were laid about him. Thornton, Harps-
field, and others, set on a Persecution at
Canterbury, though Cardinal Pool was averse
to it, but he durst not now discover so
much, for the Pope had an inveterate ha-
tred to him, and was resolved upon the
first occasion to recall him, and for that
end, he entred in a Correspondence with
Gardiner, who hoped thereby to have been
made a Cardinal, and Archbishop of Can-
terbury: and upon the hopes he had of
that, he still preserved Cranmer, for tho'
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 Par-
ty, if he could be wrought on to forfake
it, whereas if he should be burnt, and
should dye with such resolution as others
expressed, it would much raise the spirits
of his followers. The See of Canterbury
was now only sequestred in Pool'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 Dorsetshire 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. pag. 117. 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: but they that did it, could not be discovered. Judge Rastall published Sir Tho. 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
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 *Mores*, 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 Councils care, that every where there might be 'good Preaching, and that there might be 'a Visitation of the Universities: she desir'd that Justice might be done on the Hereticks, in such a manner, that the People 'might be well satisfied about it, and prest '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 compleated his Apostasie 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 *Poo*,
of the Reformation, &c.

Ridley said, he payed great respect to Pol, as he was of the Royal Family, and esteemed him much for his Learning and Vertues, but as he was the Popes Legate, he would 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 S. 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 nights respite was granted them, but they continuing stedfast next day, they were condemned as obstinate Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the Writs were sent down for their burning. They prepared themselves for it with such patience and cheerfulness as very much amazed their Keepers: As they
they were led out, they looked up to Cran-
mer'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 ear-
nestly to God to assist them in their suffer-
ings. 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
profeth nothing:* And he compared their
dying for Heresie, to *Judas's that hanged
himself.* Ridley desired leave to answear
some points in his Sermon; but it was told
him, that he was not to be suffer'd to speak,
except he intended to recant: So he turn-
ed 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 the Bishoprick of *London,*
from whom he had taken Fines, for which
he had renewed their Leases; and prayed
that either their Leases might be confirm-
ed, 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 Gun-powder
was hanged about their necks, and that
being fired, put *Latimer* quickly out of his
pain; but *Ridley* had a more lingering tor-
ment: 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.
of the Reformation, &c.

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 Judgement; the other was lookt 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.

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 belie-
Abjuration of the History

Book III

1555

ved to be of noble extraction, though base-bred; 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 Bower 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 Dilimulation. He died now when he had the prospect of a Cardinals Hat, and of all the honours which a Pope, that found him after his own heart, could do him. Heath was made Chancellour 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 White-hall, 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.
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 6s. in the pound, but that would not serve her present occasions; so the debate grew high: But to prevent further heats the Queen sent 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 Supream Head of the Church: She also thought, that all Tythes and Improprations were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was resolved to resign such of them as were in her hands. The former part past easily in the House, but great opposition was made to the latter part of her motion: for it was lookt on as a step to the taking all the Improprations out of the hands of the Laity: yet upon a division of the House, it went so near that 126
were againft it, and 193 were for it, so it was
the Dutchefs 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
paft it, but the Commons threw it out;
for they began now to repent of the severe
Laws they had already consented to, and re-
solved to add no more. They also rejected an-
other Bill, for incapacitating some to be Ju-
ftices of Peace, who were complained of for
their remiflness in prosecuting Hereticks.
An Act was put in for debarring one Ben-
net Smith, who had hired some Affilinates
to commit a most detestable Murder, from
the benefit of Clergy; which by the course
of the Common Law, would have fa-
vned him. This was an invention of the
Priests, that if any, who was capable of en-
tering 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 Eccleflastical Immunity; which made
diverse of the Bishops oppose this Act;
Yet it paft, though four of them, and
five Temporal Lords protested againft
it. There was such heat in the House of
Commons in this Parliament, that one
Sir Anth. Kingston, who was a great stickler,
called one day for the Keys of the House;
buts when the Parliament was dissolved, he
was
of the Reformation, &c.

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 Pool 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 Pramunire. In it several decrees were proposed by Pool, 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 Armenians. 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,
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 Advowsons before Benefices fell vacant. 9. Against Symony. 10. Against Dilapidations. 11. For Seminaries in every Cathedral for the Dioceses; 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 Controversie; the second was for the exposition of the Creed, the Lords 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 Vertues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. In these, the wise and good temper of Cardinal Pool 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 Pluralitys and
of the Reformation, &c.

and Non-residences, and the other abuses of Church-men 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, Heresie 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 Hereticks, yet he both gave Commissions to other Bishops and Arch-Deacons to try them, and suffered a great deal of Cruelty to be exercised in his own Diocess; but he had not courage enough to resist Pope Paul the Fourth, who thought of no other way for bearing down Heresie, but by setting up Courts of Inquisition every where. He had clapt up Cardinal Morone, that was PooL's great friend, in prison, upon suspicion of Heresie; and would very probably have used himself so, if he had got him at Rome.

The Jesuites were at this time beginning to grow considerable: They were tied, besides their other Vows, to an absolute obedience to the See of Rome; and set themselves every where to open Free Schools, for the education of youth, and to bear down Heresie. They were excused from the hours of the Quire, and so were looked on as a mongrel Order, between the

He refuses to bring the Jesuites to England.
Regulârs and the Seculars. They proposed to Cardinal Pool, 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. Pool did not listen to this, for which he was much cenasured 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 had since flowed from their Schools, and has been infused by them generally in Confessions, so that their whole Church is now overrun with it. Three were burnt at one Stake in Canterbury in November, and Philipot 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.

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.
of the Reformation, &c.

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 displeased 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 Africk, 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

Book III

1555.
for his Expence 100000. 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 Scepters 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 Herefrle, and Miranda Archbishop of Toledo, that conversed much with him at this time, was clapt 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.

1556. 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 payed 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
thority 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 remembred 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 Heresie himself. But he vindicated himself from all aspiring to the See of Canterbury, which appeared visibly by the flownes 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
which he thought was free to all Men, and was certainly much better than to defile other Men's Wives: After much discourse had past 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.

14 Febr. In February this Year, Bonner and Thirléby 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 Ceremonies of degradation, in which Bonner carried himself with all the Insolence, that might have been expected from him: Thirléby 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.
of the Reformation, &c.

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 publick Example: so the Writ was sent down to burn him, and after some stop had been made, in the Execution of it, now 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 dye 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.

He was on the 21. of March carried to St. Maries, 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
great hopes of Heaven, and promised him all the relief that Dirigis and Malle 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 exorted the People to good Life, Obedience and Charity, he in most pathetick 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 on 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
Heart had continued true. They did not make a Miracle of it, though they said the Papists would have made a great matter of it, if such a thing had fallen out in any that had dyed for their Religion.

Thus did Thomas Cranmer end his days, His Chai- in the LXVII. Year of his Age: He was a Man of great Candor, 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 Stile. 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 a patient Martyrdom: and those that compared Ancient and Modern times, did not stick to compare him, not only to the Chrysostomes, 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 Ignatius's, the Polycarps, and the Cyprians. And it seemed necessary that the Reformation of the Church, being the restoring of the Primitive
PrIMITIVE AND APPOSTOLICAL DOCTRINE, SHOULD have been chiefly carried on by a Man thus Eminent, for Primitive and Aposto-

More burn-

ations.

1 5 5 6.

LEIN E:

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 taking pains on them, to make them recant; he sent them back to Col-

chester, where they were burnt: He con-

demned also both 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 Glo-

cester, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at Beckles in Suffolk; five were burnt at Lewis, and one at Leicester. But on the 27th. of June, Bonner gave the sig-
nallest Instance of his Cruelty, that Eng-

land ever saw: for 11. 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
of the Reformation, &c.

burnt none till April next year. In June three were burnt at Saint Edmondsbury, 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 Inhumane 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 Darby; Four were burnt at Bristol, and as many at Mayfield in Sussex, and one at Nottingham: So that in all LXXXV. 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 extrem an aversion in this Nation to that Religion, that it is no wonder if the apprehensions of being 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, Frankfort, 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 Frankford, 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 Strasbourg, 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
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 made many reflect 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.

In England, Pool 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 Vertues of the Pall: without either Learning or Eloquence: for it was observed, that he had so far changed his stile, 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 12th. Century, in which they began first to send those Cloaks to Archbishops, as a Badge of their being the Pope's Legates bora.

The Queen had founded a House for the More Re- Franciscans of the Observance in Greenwich last religious Year: This year she founded Houses for the Franciscans and Dominicans in London, as also a House for the Catherbians at Skene.
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, be raised: 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 Glasfenbury 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 Countrey would contribute towards their subsistence: and it is probable that the like designs were set on 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,
of the Reformation, &c.

ing, to deliver themselves from the sin and punishments of Sacrilege; by making restitution. It is true, the Nobility and Gent
try 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 Licences from the Queen, for making those Endowments.

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 prest 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
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 courtse: 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 mad-man: 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 Guize, 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 Hereticks; but said, he lookt on them as Angels of God, and was confident, God
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 56. Year of his Age, should retire to a Monastery; and that one bred a Monk, and so. Years old, should set Europe in a Flame.

The next Year Pool 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 Colledges 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 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 Hereticks, and the dead.
dead Bodies, with many Heretical Books were all burnt in one Fire. Peru was Vice-Chancellor at this time, and happened to be in some Office four years after, when, by Queen Elizabeth's Order, publick 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 Visititation of all the Colledges 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 Witnesses could be found to convict her of Heresie: 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 Saint Frideswide's, by Queen Elizabeth's Order.

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 uncontrolable, they seized on any they pleased, upon such Informati-ons, or Presumptions, as lay before them. They
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 they were the only sure means for extirpating Herefie. 'So as a step to the setting them up, a Commission was given to Bonner and twenty more, the greatest part Lay-men, to search all over England for all suspected of Herefie, that did not hear Maffe, go in Processions, or did not take Holy bread, or Holy water: they were authorized, three being a Quorum, to proceed either by Preferments, or other Politick ways: they were to deliver all 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 subalterne to theirs, were issued out for several Counties and Diocesses. This was looked on as such an advance towards an Inquisition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carried 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 More bury-Canterbury, and four in other parts of Kent: 22. were sent out of Colchester to Bonner; but it seems Pool had chid him severely for the Fire he had made of thirteen the last Year.
Abridgment of the History

Year, so he writ to Pool for directions. The Cardinal implored 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 Pool 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 Hereticks. 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 Lewis. In July, two were burnt at Norwich; and in August, ten were burnt in one day at Colchester. They were some of those 22. that were by Pool'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 Cardinals gave, and to make Examples of some of them. In August, one was burnt at Norwich; two at Rochester, and one at Lichfield. One Eagle, that went much about from place to place, from which he was called Trudge-over, was condemned as a Traytor,
Traytor, 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 K. 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 79 were burnt in all this year.

This Year a horrid Murder of one Argol, and his Son was committed by the L. 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 past 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
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 Queen joyns in the War against France.

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 from England to France, and it was believed that the French secretly supplied and encouraged them to imbroil her affairs. One Stafford had this Year gathered many of them together, and landing in Yorkshire, he surprized the Castle of Scarborough, and published a Manifiesto 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 render, and four of them were hanged. The English Ambassadour 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
of the Reformation, &c.

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 80000 Men to his assistance, who joined the Spanish Army consisting of 50000, that was set down before 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 S. 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 Battel of S. Quintin.
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 Pool, for suffering the Queen to join with the Enemies of the Apostolick See: and having made a General Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuntios in the Spanish Dominions, he recalled Pool'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 Pool's powers, and required him to come to Rome, and answer to some Complaints made of him, for the favour he 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 Prerogative. He died soon after. Cardinal Pool laid aside the Ensigns of a Legate, and sent over Ormaneto with so submissive a Message,
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 punctilio's 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 Title: 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 S. Peter; and the Pope gave him Absolution, in as Insolent a manner, as if he had been the Conqueror. The news of this Reconciliation were 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'oisell 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
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, pressling them to conclude the Marriage between the Dolphin 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, 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.

In Germany, the Papists did this Year blow up the differences between the Luthers and the Zwinglians, 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 Papish party, in engaging those that divided from
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 200 assembled in St. Germain, 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 most escaped, but 160 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 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 1. of January. The Garrison consisted but of 500 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 Governour, 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 Governour with 50 Officers, were made Prisoners of War. Thus was this Important place, which the English had kept 210 Years, lost in a Week, and that in Winter. From this the Duke of Guise went to besiege Guines, which had a better Garrison of 1100 Men, but they were much disheartned 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
of the Reformation, &c.

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 more than were usually kept there in times of Peace; of this, both he, and Sir Edward Grimston, that was Controller, 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, & came to England, and lived till the 98. 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.
Great 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 Hereticks had found such shelter and connivence 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 52,000 l. 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 Hereticks, 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 Heresie: and therefore moved that preparations might
might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

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 payed 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, that Lady Elizabeth could be excluded. He had a publick reprimend given him for insinuating a thing so much to the Queen's dishonour.

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 this Reign.
though the Messenger declared that his Ma-
fter, 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 af-
sured him, that if the Queen would leave
her to her self, she 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, otherwife the condition she was then
in, was neither so eafe, nor so secure, but
that she had reafon to desire to be out of
her Keeper's hands; and to apprehend that
her danger encreased, as the Queen's health
was impaired: for many of the Bishops
were offering Cruel counfels againft Her.
She had been firft sent for upon the break-
ing out of Wiat's Conspiracy: and though
she lay then fick in Bed, she was forc'd to
come to Court: There she was at firft con-
fined to her Lodgings, and was afterwards
carried to the Tower, and led into it by the
Traytor'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 fuffered 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 ac-
cused her, except Wiat, and he retracted
what he had laid 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 Benfield. 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 medled in no sort of business; but gave her self 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 blest.

Y 4  During
Abjuration of the History

During the setting of Parliaments, the Bishops did always intermit their Cruelties, but as soon as they were over, they returned to them. Cuthbert Simpson, one in Deacons Orders, had been taken at the Meeting in Islington, and was ractt with extremt 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 Queens 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 Brainford, in July: a Minister was burnt at Norwich, in that Month: In August, a Gentleman was burnt near Winchester: At St. Edmondsbury, 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, three Men and two Women were burnt at Canterbury; in all XXXIX.
of the Reformation, &c.

this Year. All that were burnt during this Reign, as far as I could gather the number, were 284. though Grindall, that lived in that time, writes, that in two Years 800. were burnt: many more were imprisoned, 60. 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 Apostasie. 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 Queens life, so it encreased 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 Hereticks, 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 dye a good Catholic; for it was said, if he recanted sincerely, he was fit to dye; 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.

This Year the Lord Clinton was sent with a Fleet of 120. Ships, and 7000. Land-men in it, against France, he made but one des-
cent, and loft 600. Men in it; fo after an
inglorious and expenceful Voyage, he re-
turned back. The English had loft their
Hearts, and began to think that Heaven
was against them: Extraordinary accidents
encreased those Apprehensions: Thunder
broke violently in Nottingham; the Trent
swell'd excessively, and did much mischief.
Hail-stones of a huge bigness fell in some
places. Intermitting Fevers were fo Uni-
versal and Contagious, that they raged like
a Plague, fo that in many Places there were
not People enough to reap the Harvest:
all which tended to encrease 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 Lorrain, who
were the chief Favourites to the two Kings,
and were both much set on extirpating He-
resie, which could not be done, during the
continuance of the War; the Cardinal of
Lorrain was more earnest in it, because the
Constable, who was the Head of the Facci-
on, against the House of Guiffe, was suspec-
et to favour it, and his three Nephews, the
Coligny's, were known to encline to it: The
King of France had also loft another Battel,
this Year, at Gravelin, which made him de-
sire a Peace: for he thought the driving the
English out of France, did compensate both
that, and his los at St. Quintin: So both
thole Princes reckoned they had such advant-
tages, 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 Heresie, and the Brothers of Guise possessed the King of France with the same Maximes: which seemed more necessary, because Heresie 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 Publick 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 was a weak Man: His Queen was the wonder of her Age, both for great Parts, Eminent Vertues, 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 was the Dauphin married to the Queen of Scotland, which was honoured by an Epithalamium, writ by Buchanan, reckoned to be one of the rarest Pieces of Latine Poetry. The Deputies sent 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 repre-
sent 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 was 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 Argile, and the Prior of St. Andrews, who had been the chief Sticklers for the French Interest, in hopes of the Queen Regents Protection, against the rage of the Bishops, in matters of Religion.

In England, a Parliament was called, the 5th. 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,
of the Reformation, &c.

death, on the 17th. put an end to the Parliament.

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 Dropsey, 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 Pool 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 Executor: but as Pool 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.

Pool was a learned, humble, prudent and moderate Man: and had certainly the best notions of any of his Party, then in Character. 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 joyned to the
the Probity and sweetness of his Temper, produced great effects in him: his Character observes 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.

The Queen had been bred to some more than ordinary knowledge: A forward fort of Vertue, 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 her self up to follow all the dictates and humours of the Clergy: and though she esteemed Pool 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 Herefie, was more likely to be Infallible than the Cardinal: and as Princes were required by the fourth Council in the Lateran, to extirpate Hereticks, under the pain of forfeiting their Dominions; so the Pope had set out a Decree this Year, by the advice of all his Cardinals, confirming all Canons
Canons against Hereticks, declaring that such Princes, as fell into Heresie, 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 Hereticks with all their might: so that the Principles of that Religion, working on sower and revengeful tempers, it was no wonder that Cruel Councils were more acceptable than moderate ones.
BOOK IV.

OF THE

SETTLEMENT

OF THE

REFORMATION

In the beginning of

Qu. 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, whole
Abridgment of the History

who their 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 griefs 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 past 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 Impref-
tions of the hardships she had met with in her Sister's time, and treated those that had used her worst, with great gentleness, Bezaesfield himself not excepted; only with a sharpness of raillery, she used to call him her Taylor. 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 Karr, 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 Apostolick See. The Queen hearing this, recalled Karr's power; but he being a zealous Papist, continued still at Rome.

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
Abridgment of the History

all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen Catherine, upon which the Validity of her Mothers Marriage, and her legitimation did depend. Yet though she firmly resolved not to marry King Philip, she thought, that during the Treaty at Cambry, 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 righteous Heir to the Crown of England.

The Queen continued to employ most of her Sisters Privy-Councellours, 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 Will. Cecil, and Sir Nicolas 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 Supream 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
null Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular disorders. The Queen defired, 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 Supream Head, as importing too great an Authority. She loved Magnificence in Religion, as she affected it in all other things; this made her incline 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 Scheme was formed of the Method, in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put in Cecyl’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 imployed 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
would be ease to bring them within the Statute of Premunire: Care was also to be taken to expose the former Councellours, for the ill conduct of affairs in Q. 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.

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 laid 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 Chappel, 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, 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,
sultation, was the finding out fit Men for
them. Dr. Parker was pitched on, as the
fittest for the See of Canterbury: He had
been Chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and had been
imployed in instructing the Queen, in the
Points of Religion, when she was young:
He was well known to Sir Nicolas Bacon, and
both he and Cecil gave so high a Character
of him, that it meeting with the Queen's par-
ticular esteem, made them resolve on ad-van-
cing him: but as soon as he knew it, he used all
the Arguments he possibly could against it,
both from the weaknels of his Body, and
his unfitness for so great a charge. He de-
sired that he might be put in some small Be-
nefice of 20 Nobles a Year; So far was he
from aspirings to great Wealth, or high
Dignities: and as Cranmer had done before
him, he continued for many Months so a-
verle to it, that it was very hard to over-
come him. Such Promotions are generally,
if not greedily fought after, yet at least
willingly enough undertaken: but this look-
ed liker the practifes in Ancient than Modern
times. In the best Ages of the Church, instead
of that Ambitus, which has given such fcan-
dal to the World in later times, it was
ordinary for Men to flye from the offer of
great Preferments, and to retire to a Wil-
derness, or a Monastery, rather than un-
dertake a charge, which they thought above
their Merit or Capacity to discharge. And
this will still shew it felf in all such as have a
just fense of the Pastoral care, and consider
the discharging that, more than the raising

343

Book IV

Parker re-

fuses the

See of Can-
terbury

long.
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 Bacon's hands, who was declared Lord Keeper, and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellors 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.

On the 13th of January, the Queen was Crowned: When she entred into her Chariot at the Tower, she offered up an humble acknowledgment to God, for delivering her out of that Lions 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 Sisters Sowreness had alienated them from her. Under one of the Triumphant 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.
ed by Oglethorp, 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.

The Parliament was opened on the 25th. A Parliament is called. 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 Panegyrick of 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 Supream 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.

The
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 a 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 separated 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.
of the Reformation, &c.
tained. It was agreed, that at the end of
eight Years, Calais should either be restored,
or 500000. Crowns should be payed 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 in-
volved 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 Im-
propriated Benefices, which Queen Mary
had surrendred, were restored to the Crown.

After this, the Commons made an Ad-
dress to the Queen, desiring her to choose
such a Husband, as might make both her
self, and the Nation happy. She received
this very kindly, since they had neither li-
mited her to time, nor Nation: but decla-
red, that as hitherto she had lived with
great satisfaction in a single state, and had
refused

The Com-
mmons pray
the Queen
to marry.
refused the Propositions that had been made her, both in her Brothers and Sistres reign, so she had no Inclination to change her course of life. If ever she did it, she would take care, that 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 dy'd 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.

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 Mothers 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 de-
cended. This was thought a much wiser way, than if they examined the Sentence of Divorce, that past, upon the Confession of
of a Precontract, which must have revived the remembrance of things that were better left in silence.

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 dissent. 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. 8. 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 Suprem 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 Commissions, for Judging and Reforming Ecclesiastical matters; who were limited to judge nothing to be Herezie, 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,
ded, either by express words of Scripture, or by those Councils, were to be referred to the Parliament and Convocation. The Title of Supreme Head was changed, partly, because the Queen had some scruples about it, and 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 laid 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 Diocess: 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
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 by such, as obtained a Licence under the Great Seal for it: She likewise sent an Order to the Convocation, requiring them, under the pains of a Pramunire, 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 Cognisance of the Pastors of the Church. The greatest part of both Universities had also set their hands to all these Points, except the last.

This, it seems, was the rather added by the Clerks of Convocation, to hinder a publick Conference, which the Queen had appointed, between the Bishops and the Reformed Divines. It was first proposed to Heath, who was still a Privy Councillour, 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

Preaching without Licence forbidden.
Ceremonies, and the Masse's being a Propitiatory Sacrifice, for the Dead and the Living: All was to be given in 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 held in Westminster Abby, 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 Hereticks, 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.

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: yet it was in the power of the Church to alter
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, & 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 Saint Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians; in which he enjoyned 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 not an Interpreter. Things so expressly enjoyned 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.

A a When
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 day 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 before-hand, yet they continued all resolute, and would not proceed any further; Ferknam only excepted: but he said, he could do nothing alone, since the rest would not joyn 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 Hereticks, to dispute with them: and that both the Queen and
of the Reformation, &c.
and her Council deserved to be excommunicated, for suffering them to argue against the Catholick 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 most considerable alteration was, that the express Declaration, which was made in the second Book, set out by King Edward, against the Corporal 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 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

The English Service is again set up.
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 in to the House of Lords, Heath, and Scot Bishop of Chester and Ferknyn, 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 Catholick 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 deter-
of the Reformation, &c.
determined matters that were contested; so did also the Orthodox Bishops, after Ari.
anism had so over-spread 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 Emperour, than it was at present. Even in Queen Mary's time, many superstitions, as Pilgrimages, & the wor-
shipping of Reliques 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 past in the House of Lords, eight Spiritual Lords, and nine Temporal Lords, protested against it; among whom was the Marquefs of Winche-
ster, Lord Treasurer. Another Act past with more opposition, that the Queen might reserve some Lands belonging to Bishopricks to her self, 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 past. All Religious Houses founded by the late Queen, were suppress and united to the Crown. The deprivation of the Popish Bishops in King Edward's time was decla-
red valid in Law, by which all the Leafes 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 past; 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 extream 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 impowering XXXII. 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 Supremacy was tendred to the Bishops, and all, except Kitchin, Bishop of Landaffe, 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 Bishoprick. It was generally believed that he quitted it, rather because being extream, old,
of the Reformations, &c.

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. Towneall and Thirleby 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 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 Curfe 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, S. 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 7th 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 ruine, 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
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 Licence: Inquiry 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 Ministring 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 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 importated a Prayer for the Dead, was changed. The obliging Churchmen
men 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 acknowledgment of his Divinity, as was made by standing 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 Methods could be found out, as would once bring her People under an Union, though perhaps there might remain a great diversity of Opinion, 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 Million to England; which have since that time been the occasion of almost all the distractions this Nation has laboured under.

The Queen granted Commissions for the two Provinces of Canterbury and York, consisting most of the Laity; some few of the Clergy being mixed with them: 'Impower- ing them to visit the Churches, to suspend
or deprive unworthy Clergymen, to proceed against scandalous Persons, by Imprisonment or Church-censures; to reserve Penions for such, as resigned their Benefices, and to restore such as had been unlawfully put out in the late Reign. By these reserved Penions, as the Clergy that were turned out, were kept from extrem want, so they were in great measure bound to their good behaviour by them: The Impowering Laymen to deprive Churchmen, or Excommunicate, could not be easily excused, but was as justifiable, as the Commissions to Lay-chancellours for those things were. There are 9400. 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, & 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.

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 Indig-
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 were 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 past 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 required to accept of that great advancement, he at last writ to the Queen her self, 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 unworthines, 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
of the Reformation, &c.

Learning, Vertue 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 Conge d'eslie, chosen by the Chapter of Canterbury; and in September, the Queen issued out a Warrant for his Consecration, which was directed to Tonsall, Bourn and Pool (the last was Cardinal Pool'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 Offory, 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.

After this Parker ordained Grindall for the See of London; Cox for Ely, Horn for Winchester, Sandys for Worcester, Merick for Bangor, Young for St. Davids, Bullingham for
Abridgment of the History

for Lincoln, Jewett 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 Duresme 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. Davids to York; and Pilkinton was put in Duresme.

All this is opened the more particularly, for discovering the Impudence of the Contrivance of the Naggs-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 Naggs-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 pretend-ed, that Neale, one of Ronner’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 Chap-
of the Reformation, &c. 367
pel, 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 first thing that 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 Edward the VI. 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 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. For still it retains, according to the Scriptures, a true Humane 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
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 Eu-
charist. But the design of the Queen's
Council, was, to unite once the whole Na-
tion, into the Communion of the Church;
and it was feared, that so express a defi-
nition against the Real Presence, would
have driven many out of the Communion
of the Church, who might have been other-
wise 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 Convo-
cation had so positively determined this mat-
ter, it was thought more conducing to the
publick peace, to dash it in the Original
Copy, and to suppress it in the Printed
Copies.

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 Di-
vines, as were learned in the Greek or He-
brew Tongues, and by their assistance they
were to translate that parcel that fell to
their share: and so when one had com-
pleted that which was assigned to him,
he was to offer it to the Correction of
those that were appointed to translate the
other
other parts, and after every Book had thus past 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 compleat 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 of 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 dreadfulest 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 that 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.
quarrel with so much animosity, that it should 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.

At this time there was a great revolution of affairs in Scotland. When there was a probability of bringing the Treaty of Cambrai to a good effect, the Cardinal of Lorraine wrote to his Sister, the Queen Regent of Scotland, and to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and let them know the Resolution that was taken, to extirpate Heresie, and exhorted them to use their endeavours for that end. The Queen Regent saw, that by doing this, she would not only break her faith to 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:
of the Reformation, &c.

...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 fell a Cord to tye 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 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 Hereticks, and that nothing might be judged Heresie, but that which was condemned by
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 Glencawn was, upon that, sent to put her in mind of her former promises; she answered him roughly, 'That maugre all that would take those Mens 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.

It is first set up in St. Johnstown.

In St. Johnstown, that Party entered into the Churches, and had Sermons publickly 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 not appearance, they were
were all declared Rebels. This foul dealing made many leave her, and go over to those that were met at St. Johnstown. 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 Souldiers together, with such others, as would joyn with her: but the Earl of Glencairn gathered 2500. Men together, and with incredible haft, he marched to that place, where there were now in all 7000. armed 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. Johnstown, 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 Hereticks; 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,
her, and in many places they began to pull down Images, and to raise 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 Countrey. 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
that in their Queens 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.

They objected many Maleadministrations to her, as her beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in strangers to subdue it, her embacing the Coin, governing without consent of the Nobility, & 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 Sterlin: upon which the French came to Edinburgh, and set up the Maffe again in the Churches, then a new Supply came from France, commanded by the Marquess of Elbeuf, one of the Queen Regents 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.
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 should continue their Obedience to their own Queen: upon which, 2000. Horle, and 6000. Foot, were sent to assist the Scots. These besieged Lieth, 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 to put Calais again in the Queen of England's hands, if she would recall her Forces out of Scotland: She answered on the sudden, that she did not value that Fish-Town, so much as she did the quiet of the Isle of Brittain. 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 Scottish 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
of the Reformation, &c.

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 referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's absence, the Kingdom was to be governed by a Council of 12. all Natives; of these the Queen was to name 7. and the States were to choose 5. So both the English and French were sent out of Scotland and the Parliament met in August.

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 Abbies 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 Inferiour Clergy, all the encouragements to Religion and Learning had been to such a degree withdrawn, that Barbarism must have again over-run 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 of England Scotland from its ancient dependance 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 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.
In France, upon Henry the second's fatal end, great Divisions arose between the Princes of the 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 22. and that during his 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 14. 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 Conde, 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 Papist 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 Councillors, and 8. Courts of Parliament, allowing the free exercise of that Religion: yet after this, the Duke
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 the throwing of stones; by one of which the Duke was hurt: upon which his Servants killed 60. of the Protestants, and wounded 200. and upon this the Edict was everywhere broken. It was said, that the Regent's power did not extend so far, as that he could break so Publick an Edict, and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. The Prince of Conde 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 30. 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 oftner with Money, so that she had near the half of that Kingdom depending on her.
In the Netherlands, a long continuance of civil Wars 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 Latus 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 Conjunction 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.

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 ruine of the great Armada, which Spain lookt on 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
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 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 joyn herself to the See of Rome, that he would annul the sentence against her Mothers 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 Countrey. But her own officious friends, and the frequent Plots that were laid, for taking away the Queens 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 fort justi-
of the Reformation, &c.

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 thundred 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.

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 French man, giving him an account of all the severities of the Queen's Government, both against Papists and Puritans.

The substance of which is, 'That the Queen laid down two Maximes of State; the one was not to force Consciences; the other was not to let factious practices go unpunished, because they were covered with the pretences of Conscience: At first, she did not revive those severe Laws past in her Father's time, by which the refual of the Oath of Supremacy was made Treason, but left her People to the freedom of their thoughts, and made
made it only Penal to extoll a foreign
Jurisdiction: She also laid aside the word
Suprem Head, and the refusers of the
Oath were only disabled from holding
Benefices, or Charges, during their Re-
refusal. Upon Pius the Fifth’s Excommu-
icating her, though the Rebellion in the
North was chiefly occasioned by that,
she only made a Law against the bring-
ing over, or publishing of Bulls; and the
venting of Agnus Dei’s, or fuch other
Love-tokens, which were fent from Rome,
on design to draw the Hearts of Her
People from her, which were no Essen-
tial parts of that Religion; fo that
this could hurt none of their Consci-
ences. But when after the 20th. Year
of her Reign, it appeared that the King
of Spain defigned to Invade her Domi-
nions, and that the Priests that were
fent over from the Seminaries beyond
Sea, were generally employed to cor-
rupt the Subjects in their Allegiance,
by which, Treafon was carried in the
Clouds, and Infused fecretly in Confef-
sion; Then pecuniary Punifhments were
inflicted on fuch as withdrew from the
Church: and in Conclusion, she was for-
ced to make Laws of greater rigour,
but did often mitigate the severity of
them, to all that would promife to ad-
here to her, in cafe of a Foreign Inva-
sion. As for the Puritans, as long as they
only inveighed againft fome abuses, as
Pluralities, Non-residence, or the like, it was not their Zeal against those, but only their Violence that was condemned: When they refused to comply with some Ceremonies, and questioned the superiority of Bishops, and declared 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, were judged dangerous, and they made such use of the aversion the Nation had to Poverty, that it was visible they were in a hazard of running from one Extrem 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 born 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 brake 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.
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.

The 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 compleat settlement in the time of this Queen. Of whose Reign, if I have adventured to give an 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 sav'd 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 44 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.

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